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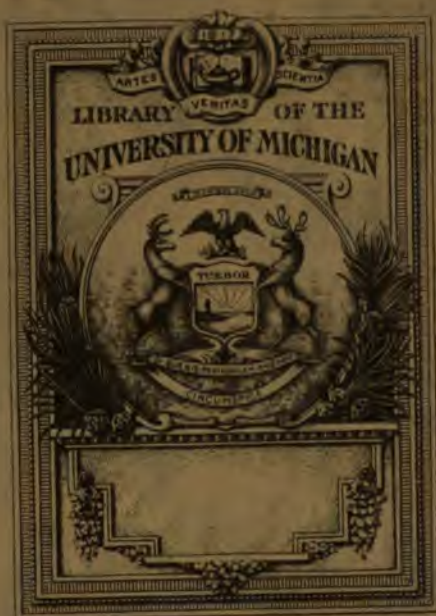
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THE GIFT OF
Margaret L. Tatlock

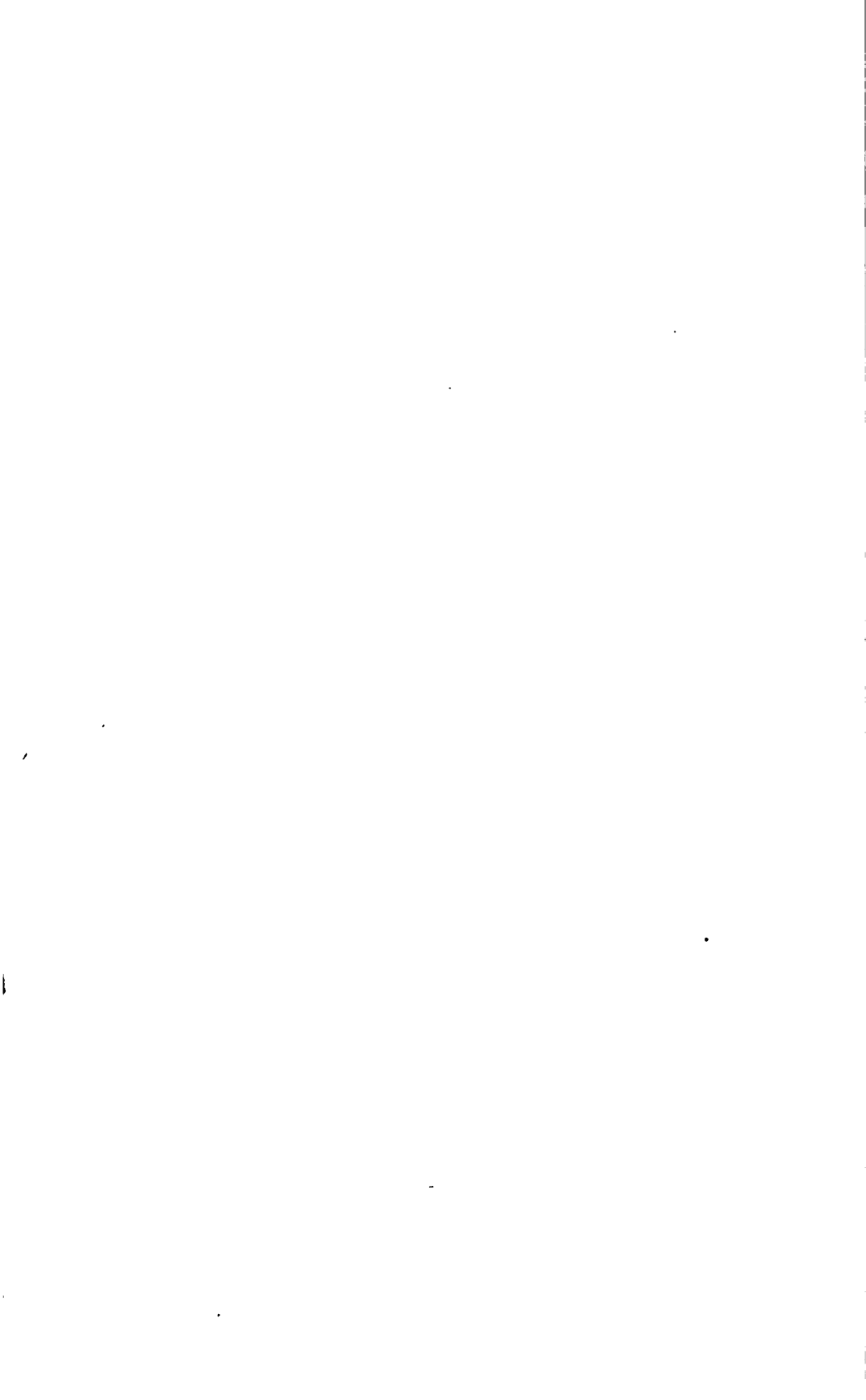


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THE DOCTRINE
OF
SACRED SCRIPTURE

A
CRITICAL, HISTORICAL AND DOGMATIC INQUIRY INTO
THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE OLD
AND NEW TESTAMENTS

BY
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VOLUME I.

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1883

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THIS BOOK
IS DEDICATED TO
THAT GREAT NUMBER OF
CHRISTIAN TEACHERS AND THINKERS
WHO HOLD THE BIBLICAL SYSTEM OF MORAL
AND RELIGIOUS TRUTH BUT WHO ARE IN DOUBT
AS TO WHAT THEY SHALL CONCLUDE
CONCERNING THE SACRED WRITINGS
IN WHICH THAT SYSTEM
IS CONTAINED

*Quibus parum vel quibus nimium est mihi ignoscant
Quibus autem satis est non mihi sed Domino mecum
gratias congratulantes agant.*

AUGUSTINE: *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 30.



82.
Samuel H. Jallie
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PREFACE.

THE particular scope and method of this book are set forth in the introduction, and the fuller justification of its purpose and plan must be left to the results reached by the entire course of its discussions. All its parts, however, have been made as impersonal as possible; for the author has not been willing to seem to be inculcating his own opinions rather than seriously and thoroughly investigating the truth of a great subject. A few words of a more personal and familiar kind will surely, then, be both suitable and welcome. I speak these words in the preface, in order that my readers and I may enter upon this difficult investigation, being already on good terms and disposed to keep in right relations with each other. A certain *mutual* justice and courtesy must enter into these right relations; for, while every author should feel bound to render a fair equivalent for the time which he asks of his readers, and should never rudely discredit their cherished opinions, he may feel also that he, in turn, has certain just claims to make upon them.

The embarrassing fear that the subject of this book would prove interesting to only a few of the thoughtful, happily has not stood in the way of the work necessary for its construction. It was begun some years since, and has been continued with well-sustained ardor, in part because the tokens of intense public interest in its subject were frequent and unmistakable. At that time, even, I had made rather a generous estimate of the long and laborious course of investigation which lay before me. It scarcely needs to be said that this original estimate has required over and over again to be expanded. In the mean time my professional life has changed from that of a preacher and pastor to that of a teacher of philosophy. But both the work of the preacher and pastor, and that of the teacher of philosophy, have — it is my belief — contributed some valuable elements

to this investigation; for the former made me acquainted with the questions which those who make practical use of the Bible as a guide in matters of faith and Christian life most need to have answered, and the latter has given me some special satisfaction (and perhaps some courage and aptitude) in attempting the profounder philosophical problems which are so intimately related to the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture. It is far from my intention, however, to claim any especial skill or fitness for accomplishing this most difficult task. It is my intention to say only this: I was led to it both by the outward call of circumstances and by inward impulse; and I have tried to accomplish it with such patience, candor, and thoroughness, that I can conscientiously ask the same qualities of all my readers.

There can be no doubt, however, that two classes of these readers will find it especially difficult to comply with the one simple requisition just made upon them. These two classes comprise all those who are already firmly convinced of the unassailable truthfulness of opinions that diverge widely, in two opposite directions, from those to which I have been obliged to come. Of these two classes, one is convinced that nothing can shake, or must be permitted to shake, the confidence of the public and of the Church in the traditional view of the origin and nature of the Bible. In the thought of such persons, the dearest interests, and perhaps the ultimate destiny, of Christianity are inseparably bound up with a certain traditional view. To present the evidence for the partially untenable nature of this view, is, in their minds, equivalent to making an attack upon Christian truth as the ground and source of Christian life. I can heartily sympathize with this strong and warm interest in preserving the fundamental faiths and the supremacy and authority of biblical religion: it is in the hope of contributing some additional evidence to the reasonableness of these faiths and this authority, that I have undertaken and conducted all my investigations. With the above-mentioned fear of whatever disturbs the tradition, I have, however, no sympathy. I may be permitted to ask, without any sin against charity or courtesy, whether such a fear does not in part grow out of the secret sense of weakness and ignorance, and whether there can be any cure possible for such a fear besides that intelligent conviction which results from the fullest and fairest possible examination. The attention of this class of readers is particularly called to the first and third parts of this book: in the first part, the claims which the Bible makes for itself are con-

sidered; in the third part, the views of the Christian Church in the past are presented. Above all others, the advocate of biblical infallibility should prove the sincerity of his advocacy by a candid and patient inquiry as to what the Bible really claims for itself. Above all others, such an advocate should be zealous to distinguish between these claims, and those which he has himself been accustomed to make in behalf of the Bible.

But if, on the other hand, the uncompromising adherent of the traditional view really places the evidence for that view in the necessary truthfulness of the tradition itself, he surely should be willing to inquire diligently as to what the tradition has indeed been. No one else is so bound to know the exact position of orthodoxy as he who is firmly resolved at all hazards to remain in this position. No one else, then, should be so eager to ascertain what the thought of the Church has been, touching the origin and nature of her Sacred Scriptures. But the thought of the Church must be historically ascertained. The candid and full statement of the history of this doctrine should, then, be especially welcome to this class of readers. It would not be courteous in the author to suspect that any of this class could really be unwilling to consider either what the Bible or the Church has to say concerning the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. Such unwillingness would seem to be possible in the case only of those who either secretly distrust their own religion, or else have no confidence that either the Bible or history can establish any truth which contradicts their individual and uncritical opinion.

For establishing cordial relations with the second class of readers, from whose views most divergence may be expected in this book, I am not quite sure what can best be said. This class comprises those who are already confirmed in naturalistic views of revelation and inspiration, or who cannot bring themselves to consider the Bible as differing at all fundamentally from the other collections of writings upon morals and religion which might be made from the extant literature of various peoples. I must at once admit that such persons (should any of them read my book) will find the entire argument resting upon certain fundamental assumptions which they do not themselves admit. This argument will itself, therefore, not prove conclusive to such readers. It may be urged, in justice to myself, however, that the long and careful study which I have given to the assumptions, and the indirect justification of them through the whole course of

historical and critical investigation in which they are involved, have made their truth a matter of scientific verification to my own mind. I have the right which every investigator enjoys, to build my investigation upon some truths taken for granted. Any controversy which I might be expected to undertake with those who deny these assumptions would have to be carried on in a different sphere from that in which the discussion of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture is moving. There is hope, however, that some who hold firmly fixed opinions upon matters of criticism and religious philosophy, which I am compelled to believe destructive of the very foundations of biblical religion, will at least make the effort to consider candidly all the evidence which I am able to bring forward for my own view of Sacred Scripture.

There is yet another and third class of readers, — a class which I am glad to believe is rapidly coming to constitute the majority, — who will need no cautioning or persuading to secure their earnest and candid consideration of this book. Many of this class have already become convinced of the partial untenableness of the views which have been so largely current for the past two and a half centuries; but, as to precisely what views can be substituted for these untenable views, they are still in a position of doubting and waiting. They have general confidence enough in Christianity, however, to believe that its verities and activities are not dependent upon the firm holding of traditional dogma beyond the time when the unsatisfactory character of that dogma has become obvious. To all such persons I would most gladly bring a word of courage and cheer; to all such I have been honestly desirous that this book should prove a real and abiding helper. In brief: there is every reason to suppose that all such as really sympathize with the spirit in which the author has tried to undertake and execute his difficult task will remain upon terms of amity with him to the end.

It would be quite too much, however, to expect that all my readers should agree with me in all the statements of fact and doctrine which this work involves. Indeed, in a work involving the discussion of scores of intricate and disputed questions, — both critical and philosophical, — the reading and citing of hundreds of books, the dealing with thousands of minute matters of fact, to escape all error would be more than human. Upon this point of accuracy and trustworthiness, it can only be said, that great pains has been expended, and the best powers at my command have been given to the task. The

correction of any errors into which I have fallen, whether in matters of fact or of opinion, will be heartily welcomed. The only kind of criticism which the book and its author deprecate is incompetent and ignorant criticism. But my confidence in the substantial and unassailable truthfulness of the conclusions reached is in exact proportion to the patient care which has been bestowed upon the collection and weighing of the evidence.

The precise nature of the one comprehensive question which this book discusses can be made perfectly obvious only by the progress of the discussion itself. That the book is not merely, or chiefly, a treatise upon inspiration as the sole inclusive quality of the biblical writings, its title is designed to indicate. This title indicates, indeed, that the book proposes the discussion of the much larger question, "What is the Bible?" To propound some theory of the inspiration of Scripture, technically so called, and to make a fair show of justifying such a theory, would be a comparatively easy matter. But the attempt to consider the whole ground, — exegetical, critical, historical, dogmatic, — upon which we must base our most comprehensive answer to the inquiry touching the complete origin and nature of Sacred Scripture, requires an almost indefinite range of investigations. The question, "What is the Bible?" is, however, the one comprehensive question, the answer to which must carry with it all the tenable theories of revelation, of inspiration, and of the nature and authority of the Word of God. It is also the question, to the answer of which modern critical and historical science has so largely contributed. I hope, therefore, that this book, inasmuch as it attempts to answer this comprehensive question, may prove of some large and permanent value beyond that which would be possible for any mere treatise on the so-called inspiration of the Bible. And, if it should introduce its readers to fresh materials and new thoughts regarding a number of the important questions (subordinate to its one inclusive question) which are now before the minds of biblical students, this result would, perhaps, not be among the least helpful of its offices. It is my hope, at least, that I have furnished some new light upon a number of the problems which enter into the one comprehensive question of the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture.

The very nature of the work has necessitated an extensive, and, in some of its parts, a constant use of authorities. Such authorities have never been uncritically adhered to: I hope they have not often

been inconsiderately trusted. But, since all biblical science and all the philosophy of religion may be made tributary to this one question, only the large and free use of authorities could make the task of answering it possible within an ordinary lifetime. The foot-notes and the index will indicate sufficiently how many and what have been the books consulted; although many others have also been consulted, but are not referred to, because little or no benefit has been derived from them. I also gratefully acknowledge my personal obligation to Professor George P. Fisher of Yale Theological Seminary, and Professor J. H. Thayer, lately of Andover Theological Seminary, for not a few valuable suggestions; but neither of these scholars is to be considered as in any way committed to any of my statements, whether as respects matters of fact or of opinion.

As to the spirit in which this work has been accomplished, I do not feel that I am called upon to make a declaration to the reader. If the spirit does not breathe through the body of the book, it is of little worth to speak of its existence within the author; but, if it manifest itself in this body, its own quality and inmost intent will readily be discerned. Let others make the best possible use of this book in the service of Christ and of his Church, if it be capable of such a use. For myself, it is enough to call the attention of the reader again to those words of Augustine, which I have placed at the beginning of my book as its motto: "*Quibus parum vel quibus nimium est, mihi ignoscant; quibus autem satis est, non mihi sed Domino mecum gratias congratulantes agant.*"

NEW HAVEN, 1883.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
The right to re-examine the doctrine of Sacred Scripture	1
The relation of this doctrine to the other Christian doctrines . . .	3
Importance of the ideas of history and revelation	5
Subordinate ideas which enhance the importance of the theme . . .	7
Actual demand for the re-examination	9
Questions which enter into the main inquiry	11
Scope and method of the inquiry	13
Necessity and nature of the true inductive method	15
Necessity and nature of the postulates involved	19
Course and order of the inquiry	23

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATURE OF OLD-TESTAMENT SCRIPTURE AS DETERMINED BY THE TEACHING OF CHRIST.

The right dogmatic point of view involves the person of Christ . . .	27
The infallibility of Christ's understanding of the Old Testament . . .	28
Connection of Christ's religious teaching with critical inquiries . . .	29
Application of the principle of accommodation	30
Extent to which the authority of Jesus is pledged	33
General attitude of Jesus toward the Hebrew Scriptures	34
Definition of Christ's mission to fulfil the Old Testament	36
Perpetuity of the ideal and absolute contents of Scripture	38
Distinction between absolute and relative contents in the Mosaic Law .	42
Treatment given by Christ to the ceremonial law	46
Moses as the chosen medium of the legal revelation	48
The contents of the Torah in part also prophetic	50
Doctrine of Christ as to the distinctively prophetic contents of the Old Testament	52
Teaching of Christ as to the prophecies of his death	52
Typical view of Messianic prophecy	54
Christ's view as to the nature of the prophetic consciousness	59

	PAGE
Paradisiacal vision of Abraham	59
The case of Ps. cx.	61
The inspiration of the Messianic passages	62
Christ's view of the Old-Testament historical narratives	64
His authentication of the Book of Jonah	65
Other references to Old-Testament history	68
Christ's ethical use of the Hebrew Scriptures	70
His treatment of the <i>ipsissima verba</i>	70
Summary of Christ's teaching touching the nature and origin of Old-Testament Scripture	71

CHAPTER II.

THE NATURE OF NEW-TESTAMENT SCRIPTURE AS DETERMINED BY THE PROMISES OF CHRIST.

Connection of Christ's promises with New-Testament Scripture	75
The authority delegated to the apostles	75
The gift of the Spirit involves divine guidance	76
Culminating form of the promises in the Fourth Gospel	77
Primary application to the personal work of the apostles	79
Realization of the promises dependent on subjective considerations	79
Realization of the promises gained by progressive approaches	81
Relation of the promises to critical questions	83
The partial fulfilment of the promises	86

CHAPTER III.

THE CLAIMS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GENERAL, AND OF MOSAISM IN PARTICULAR.

Certain assumptions involved in the proposal to examine	87
Effect of the authority of Christ	87
Meagreness of the claims put forth by the Old-Testament writings	88
The claim set up in the contents of the writings	89
The claims of the later writings for the earlier	90
Possibility of constructing the basis of a doctrine of Sacred Scripture from the claims of the Old Testament	91
Application of the claims to the three divisions of the writings	92
The claim from an expressed theocratic consciousness	92
The claim implied in the doctrine of a divine covenant	95
The claim to be a record of successive acts of revelation	97
The more special claims made by Mosaism	98
Instances of an alleged divine commission to write	99
The case of the Decalogue and Book of the Covenant	100
The Song of Moses	103
The Book of Deuteronomy	104
Later notices of a written Torah	107
Summary of the claims of the writings of Mosaism	110

CHAPTER IV.

THE CLAIMS OF PROPHETISM AND OF THE HOKHMAH.

Difference between the claims of Prophetism and those of the Torah	114
The general conditions of prophecy among the Hebrews	115
The subject of prophetic inspiration is the believing community	117

CONTENTS.

xiii

	PAGE
The law of the working of prophetic inspiration	119
Growth of the ethical elements of prophecy	120
The schools of the prophets	122
Three elements in the true conception of a prophet	124
Terms for the Hebrew prophet	125
Formulae for the gift of the Spirit	127
The basis of the prophetic consciousness	129
The vocation or divine call of the prophet	129
The divine commission to the prophet	132
The nature of the prophetic consciousness	133
The divine gift of ethical insight and foresight	136
Intuitions of heathen diviners and prophetic foresight	137
Excitement of the moral emotions in prophecy	140
More specific claims of certain prophetic writings	142
Inference from the claims of the persons to their writings	145
The claims of the Hokhmah in general	147
The claims of the Psalter in the Old Testament	148

CHAPTER V.

THE CLAIMS FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT BY THE WRITERS OF THE NEW.

Authority to be allowed to the writers of the New Testament	153
Objective conditions governing the views in the New Testament	154
The unity of the apostolic doctrine touching the Old Testament	155
Different views in the New Testament respecting the Old	157
View of the Epistles of James and Jude	157
View of the Gospel of Matthew	158
Use of apocryphal writings by Jude	159
Petrine doctrine of the Old Testament	160
Pauline doctrine of the Old Testament	163
View of the writings of Luke and of the Epistle to the Hebrews	166
Johannean view of Mosaism	167
Quotations from the Old Testament in the New	169
Emphasis laid upon ethical correspondences	171
Alleged instances of rabbinizing	172
Formulae in citations from the Old Testament	175
New-Testament view of the nature of Hebrew prophecy	176
Free handling of the <i>ipsissima verba</i> of the Old Testament	178
Verbal inaccuracy in the New-Testament citations	179
Individual differences in the manner of citation	181
General doctrine of Sacred Scripture as taught in 2 Tim. iii. 16	182

CHAPTER VI.

THE CLAIMS FOR THE NEW TESTAMENT BY ITS OWN WRITERS.

Relation of the promises of Christ to the claims of the New Testament	183
Revelation belongs to the community of believers	185
Inspiration belongs to the community of believers	186
The donative and distributive work of the Spirit	188
New-Testament prophets and prophecy	190
Special call and commission of the apostles	191
Special endowment of the apostles	192

	PAGE
Claims made for himself by the Apostle Paul	192
The source of apostolic authority	194
Application of apostolic authority to different classes of truths	197
The three classes of New-Testament contents	199
Alleged mistakes of judgment and of fact	200
Misconceptions of the meaning of Old-Testament Scripture	205
Claims of New-Testament writers to inspiration of form	206
More specific claims for certain portions of the writings	210
Inspiration of the apostolic ordinance	211
Particular claims of the Synoptic Gospels	211
The claims of the writings ascribed to the Apostle John	212
Summary of the biblical claims	213

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Relation of the biblical phenomena to an inductive theory	223
Scope and classes of the phenomena to be examined	224
Relation of certain postulates to the inquiry proposed	226

CHAPTER II.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE SCIENTIFIC CONTENTS OF THE BIBLE.

No strictly scientific contents are found in the Bible	229
Necessary relations of coincidence or contradiction between scientific dis- coveries and the biblical statements	230
Assumptions of scientific infallibility unwarranted	233
Reasons for expecting scientific inexactness in the Bible	234
Biblical doctrine of God the Creator	236
Biblical conception of the relation of the universe to time	238
Doctrine of a successive creation taught in the Bible	239
Biblical doctrine of God the Preserver	242
God as the Author of particular events	243
God as the Creator and Lord of life	244
Unintermitting connection of God with physical phenomena	245
God as the ruler of events in history	246
Hebrew conceptions of man's relations to nature	247
Characteristics of the biblical descriptions of nature	248
New-Testament doctrine of God and nature	248
Attitude of Jesus toward nature	249
Crude conceptions of physical phenomena	250
Coincidences of the biblical and the scientific views	252
Characteristics of the Mosaic cosmogony	253
Elements of doctrine taught in the Mosaic cosmogony	254
Coincidences and contrasts between the scientific and the Mosaic cos- mogony	258
Special scientific difficulties in the Mosaic cosmogony	261

CONTENTS.

	XV
	PAGE
The different forms of so-called reconciliation	263
The hypothesis of literalism	264
The hypothesis of restitution	265
The hypothesis of concordance	267
The hypothesis of ideal construction	269
The Mosaic cosmogony as revealed and inspired	270
Extra-biblical cosmogonies contrasted with the biblical	271
The difficulties of the Noachian deluge	273
The origin and unity of the race	275
The antiquity of the race according to science and the Bible	276
General conclusions as to the inspiration of the scientific contents	283

CHAPTER III.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE MIRACULOUS CONTENTS OF THE BIBLE.

Influence of the prepossessions upon the discussion	286
Miracles as a species of the supernatural	287
Effect of the postulate of a personal God	288
The internal and the external miracle	290
Philosophical and critical assumptions counter to miracles	291
The <i>a priori</i> possibility of the miracle	292
False and true conceptions of the miracle	293
The conception of the old orthodoxy untenable	294
Miracles not violations of the laws of nature	296
Essential elements of the true conception	299
The biblical view of the nature of miracles	300
The teleology of the miracle	305
General credibility of the biblical miracles	308
Fallacy of the reasoning of Hume	310
The evidence from the inherent nature of Christianity	311
Organic connection of some miracles with the person of Christ	312
Physico-psychological theory of the miracles of Jesus	314
Necessity of miracles to a course of revelation	318
Explanation of the New-Testament idea of a miracle	320
Nature and amount of evidence from the eye-witnesses	323
Value of the testimony of the Apostle Paul	326
Construction of the evidence from the central point of view	327
Criteria for judging the individual accounts of miracles	329
Evidential value of miracles	330
Growth of the idea of the miracle	331
The relative miracle in the Bible	334
Case of the alleged miracle in Josh. x.	336
Relation of miracles to the doctrine of revelation	338
Characteristics of the biblical records of miracles	339
Conclusions touching the doctrine of Sacred Scripture	340

CHAPTER IV.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE HISTORICAL CONTENTS OF THE BIBLE.

Dignity of subject and form in the biblical histories	341
Twofold nature of the inquiry	343

	PAGE
False assumptions excluded from the examination	345
Historical character of the biblical revelation	345
The nature of the sources of the biblical historians	346
Examination of the first twelve chapters of Genesis	347
Narrative of the first pair	347
The temptation and the fall	350
The genealogies of the Cainites and Sethites	352
The ten antediluvian patriarchs	354
Marriage of the sons of God and the daughters of men	355
Ethnographic table of Gen. x., and account of Nimrod	356
Traditions of the Flood	357
Effect of Mosaic monotheism upon the early legends	358
The first material of Hebrew history	359
Traditions of the life of Abraham	361
The tradition of the Exodus	363
Narratives of Balaam and Samson	364
Alleged history in the Book of Daniel	366
The historical character of Esther	369
Position of Kuenen toward the Old-Testament histories	370
Historical character of the Gospels	375
Effect of the presumption against miracles	376
Worthlessness of extra-biblical histories of the life of Jesus	377
Literature implied in the existence of the Synoptic Gospels	378
Historical value of the Epistles of Paul	379
Historical evidence from the existence of the Gospels	380
Principal elements of the evangelistic history	381
Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels	382
Harmony of the Synoptists with the Fourth Gospel	383
The Bible an alleged history of a course of revelation	386
Degree of accuracy attained in the biblical histories	387
Historical accuracy of Gen. xiv.	388
Accuracy in details of the story of Joseph	389
Joseph and the Hyksos dynasties	391
The reigns of David and Solomon illustrated	392
Points of contact between the early kings and profane history	393
Shalmaneser and the son of Omri	394
The annals of Phul and Sargon	395
The annals of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon	397
Claim of the biblical histories to fair treatment	398
Conclusions adverse to a claim of historical infallibility	399
Minute verbal discrepancies of the Evangelists	400
Possible solutions for some historical discrepancies	402
Inaccuracies growing out of lapses of memory	404
Validity and accuracy of the biblical genealogies	406
Difficulties of the biblical chronology	408
Negative nature of the conclusions	410
Positive value of the criticism of the biblical histories	410
Influence upon the narratives from the religious consciousness	411
Inspiration and historical accuracy	412
Degrees of inspiration in the biblical histories	414

CHAPTER V.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE PREDICTIVE
CONTENTS OF THE BIBLE.

	PAGE
Value attributed to the predictive contents of the Old Testament	415
Claim of the Hebrew prophets to foretell future events	416
Prediction an element of genuine prophecy	417
Mistaken views of the old orthodoxy	417
Prediction not mere calculation	419
Relation of history and revelation to prediction	422
Certain ideas in which predictions germinate	423
The distinction between prediction and prognostication	424
Special difficulties of the earlier prognostications	425
Earliest germs of Messianic prophecy	426
Predictive contents of the Old Testament organic	427
The ethical and religious limitations of prediction	428
The historical limitations of prediction	430
Precise dates and exact names rare in prophecy	431
The theory of perspective	432
The personal limitations of prediction	434
Nature of the Messianic prophecies in the widest sense	435
In what does Messianic salvation consist?	435
Who shall share in the expected Messianic salvation?	438
Who shall introduce the Messianic salvation?	439
The fulfilment of prediction	441
Alleged cases of unfulfilled predictions	442
New-Testament view of Old-Testament prediction	444
The Psalms cited as Messianic	447
Hermeneutical errors in the interpretation of prophecy	447
The New-Testament predictions	449
Effect of the work of criticism upon the argument from prophecy	450
The historical and the ideal in prophecy	451
The system of predictive contents	452

CHAPTER VI.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS DEPENDENT UPON THE ETHICO-
RELIGIOUS CONTENTS OF THE BIBLE.

Impossibility of separating the ethico-religious from the other contents	454
Necessity for a change in the method of inquiry	456
Biblical claims for the ethico-religious contents	457
The ethico-religious contents embodied in all the others	458
The imperfect and the ideal elements of ethical teaching	460
Revelation and inspiration apply to ethical and religious truth	461
Relative perfection of the ethico-religious contents	463
The morality of the Book of Esther	464
Proverbs from the ethical point of view	465
The ethical position of the Song of Solomon	466
Ethics of the biblical descriptions of personal experience	466
Ethical condition of the writers of the Old Testament	467
Ethics of the deed of Jael and of similar deeds	468
Ethics of the wars of extermination	470

	PAGE
Old-Testament estimate of its own heroes	470
Moral character of the imprecatory Psalms	471
Ethics of the Torah	473
The ethics of the <i>jus talionis</i> among the Hebrews	473
The ideal side and divine characteristics of the Torah	475
Historical excellences of the ethico-religious contents	478
The biblical ethics refers to a divine personality	479
Biblical view of the nature and function of conscience	480
Ethical teachings of Christ	481
Ethical power of Christian faith	482
Ethics of the Bible not speculative	483
Value and force of the principle of love	484
Argument from the ethical and religious truth of Scripture	486

CHAPTER VII.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE AUTHORSHIP
AND COMPOSITION OF THE BIBLICAL BOOKS.

Intimate relation of the critical to the dogmatic inquiry	490
Valid conception of the modern higher criticism	491
Inadequacy of the tradition as to questions of authorship	492
Effect of recent theories upon the conception of biblical religion	493
More direct relations of criticism to the doctrine of Sacred Scripture	496
Uncertain authorship of many of the biblical books	497
The cases of most complex growth	498
The two classes of books to be considered	500
The ancient tradition as to the authorship of the Pentateuch	500
Introduction of the modern era of Pentateuch criticism	502
The essential question debated by modern criticism	502
Tradition disproved by critical inquiry	503
Facts opposed to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch	504
Strata of laws in the Pentateuch	504
Divergent historical accounts in the Pentateuch	507
Tone of speech and indirect allusions	509
Particular reference of sections to their sources	510
Evident composite structure of the Pentateuch	512
The true conception of Pentateuch criticism	513
History of the analysis of the entire Hexateuch	514
Tabular description of the various groups of writings	515
Conclusions from a review of the tables	525
Question as to the date and authorship of Deuteronomy	526
The legislation of Deuteronomy	527
Discovery of the written Torah in the reign of Josiah	528
Nature and origin of the so-called <i>Grundschrift</i>	530
True conception of the age of Ezra	530
Naturalistic theories of the rise of Old-Testament religion	531
Necessity of an adequate conception of the personality of Moses	532
Most ancient elements in the so-called <i>Grundschrift</i>	534
Nature of the fundamental law-book	535
Gradual codification of the laws	536
The origin of the feasts	538
Sanctifying of the first-born	539

CONTENTS.

xix

	PAGE
The laws of offerings and sacrifices	539
The day of atonement	540
The tabernacle and the priesthood	541
Language and style of the so-called <i>Grundschrift</i>	544
The origin of the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah	545
The problems offered by the Synoptic Gospels	547
Personal authors of the Synoptic Gospels	549
Importance of the inquiry into the authorship of the Fourth Gospel	550
Antecedent improbability of a forgery like John's Gospel	552
Early pseudonymous Christian literature	552
No peculiar deficiency in the external testimonies	554
Improper use of the <i>argumentum e silentio</i>	555
Early citations from John's Gospel	557
The witness within the Gospel	559
Modern attacks upon the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel	559
The ethical consciousness of the author	561
Influence of reflection upon the historical elements	562
Literary relation of the Fourth to the Synoptic Gospels	563
Theological position of the Gospel of John	565
The Christology of the Gospel of John	566
Discourses of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel	568
More specific historical relations to the Synoptists	570
Delicate indications of the eye-witness in John	571
Summary of the argument for the genuineness of John	572
Inspiration of the Fourth Gospel	573
The case of the Book of Daniel	573
General conclusions touching the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture from the critical discussion of questions of authorship	575

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE BIBLICAL BOOKS.

Certain indirect relations between the language of the Bible and the doctrine of Sacred Scripture	581
Inspiration of the linguistic form of the Bible	583
Differences between the language of the Old Testament and that of the New	585
The Hebrew considered as one of the Semitic languages	585
Origin and ancient form of written Hebrew	586
Means for a comparative study of biblical Hebrew	587
Secular Hebrew literature	589
Principal characteristics of the biblical Hebrew	590
Lack of literary style in the Old Testament	595
Wealth of words found in the biblical Hebrew	595
Characteristics of the Hebrew prose	596
The forms of Hebrew poetry	597
Figures of speech employed in the biblical poetry	598
Nature and effect of the Hebrew parallelism	600
Peculiarities of the language of prophecy	602
The growth of Hebrew literature	603
Inferiority of the later Old-Testament writings	604

	PAGE
Epoch beginning with the rise of written prophecy	605
Linguistic peculiarities of the individual authors	606
Power over language of the Christian ideas	607
The three elements of the New-Testament language	608
Origin and nature of the <i>κοινή</i>	609
The Greek used in Hellenistic religious writings	613
Hebraisms in the Septuagint and in the New Testament	614
Specific characteristics of the New-Testament Greek	617
The new Christian symbolism	618
Certain specifically Christian words	618
Authorial peculiarities in the New Testament	623
Characteristic language of the Apostle Paul	623
Providential preparation of a language for biblical religion	624
Influence of revelation and inspiration upon language	626

CHAPTER IX.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE HISTORY OF THE CANON.

Relation between the growth of a Canon and Sacred Scripture	629
The question of the Canon an historical question	631
Effect of critical inquiries upon the question of the Canon	633
Necessity for a true conception of the Canon	635
History of the word "canon"	636
Meaning of the term "apocryphal" as applied to writings	638
Conception of canonical writings held by the ancient Church	640
Nature of the doubt as to the New-Testament Antilegomena	641
Difficulty of giving a precise history of the Old-Testament canon	642
Indications in the Old Testament of a process of collecting books	643
The canonization of Deuteronomy	644
The canonization of the Pentateuch	645
Formation of a canon of the Prophets	646
Canonization of the Hagiographa	647
Redactionary revisions of the Old-Testament writings	648
Fixing of the limits of the Old-Testament canon	649
Witness of Sirach to the Old-Testament canon	651
The testimony of Second Maccabees and of Josephus	652
Nature of the process of forming a New-Testament canon	653
The three steps of this process	654
Early use of the New-Testament writings	655
The reading of uncanonical Christian writings	656
Argument from the silence of early writers	657
Free manner of quotation among the Church Fathers	658
Earliest testimonies to the existence of New-Testament books	660
State of the testimony at the close of the second century	663
Connection of the Canon and the growth of the Church Catholic	665
Co-ordinating of the apostolic writings with the Old Testament	666
Proofs of an early unity of view	667
Settlement of the question of the Antilegomena	670
The canon of Eusebius and its effect	671
Continued vacillation of view as to the Old-Testament Apocrypha	672
The Canon according to Jerome and Augustine	673

CONTENTS.

xxi

	PAGE
Possibility of early pseudonymous writings	675
Period of the traditional view of the Canon	676
Revival of an interest in questions of the Canon	678
Luther's views concerning the Canon	678
The dogmatic view of the Canon in the post-Reformation era	680
Historical and critical estimate of the Canon by Semler	682
Modern critical conception of the Canon	683
Summary of conclusions as to the nature of Sacred Scripture	683

CHAPTER X.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

Connection of the text of the Bible with the post-Reformation dogma	691
Impossibility of maintaining the diplomatic certainty of Scripture	692
Difference in the textual uncertainties of the two Testaments	693
Nature and date of the oldest Hebrew manuscripts	694
The traditional fixing of the text as Masora	695
Construction of the Masoretic text with its punctuation	695
Value of the Old-Testament Keris	697
Care for the transmission of the text in the Talmudic era	698
Impossibility of vindicating perfectly the Masoretic text	699
Testimony of the Septuagint to the Hebrew text	700
Sources and value of the text of the Septuagint	701
Origin and date of the Samaritan Pentateuch	703
Inability to fix the details of the pre-Exilian text	704
Sources and classes of errors in the Hebrew text	706
Existence of so-called tendency changes	706
Conjectural emendations of the Masoretic text	707
Fate of the autograph copies of New-Testament writings	708
Nature of the early New-Testament manuscripts	709
Origin and character of the divisions of the text	711
Extent of the resources in New-Testament manuscripts	713
Sources and nature of the corruptions of the Greek text	713
Limits of the variation of the New-Testament text	717
Conclusions as to the nature of Sacred Scripture	718

CHAPTER XI.

INDUCTIVE THEORY OF SACRED SCRIPTURE.

Comparison of the biblical claims with the results of criticism	720
Points of coincidence and of divergence established by inquiry	721
Argument from the parsimony of the biblical claims	722
Review of the nature of the historical claims	722
Perfect historical accuracy neither claimed nor proved	724
Difficulties growing out of mistaken views as to authorship	725
Statement of the relations of the later to the earlier writers	732
Difficulties growing out of apparently pseudonymous writings	734
Confirmation of the essential claims	735
Value of the claims which are confirmed	736
Necessity that revelation shall have an historical record	737
The most direct and important of the ethico-religious claims	738
Argument from the progressive nature of biblical revelation	741

	PAGE
Claims arising from a relation to the person of Christ	742
The three more specific elements of an inductive theory	744
Certain respects in which the biblical writings are not a unity . . .	744
Difference of the two Testaments with respect to unity	745
Unity of the biblical writings as due to the unity of revelation . . .	747
The unity of the Spirit as a co-ordinating force in history	748
Unity of the biblical writings as secured by the process of the Canon .	750
Pre-eminent unity of relation to the person and work of Christ . . .	751
Unfitness of the word "infallible" as applied to sacred writings . . .	752
Disproof of the dogma of infallibility as a result of the induction . .	752
Sense in which the Bible is an unfailing source of truth	756
Meanings of the word "inspired" as applied to the biblical writings .	757
Suggestion of the differences between the biblical and other writings .	760
Summary of the inductive conclusion concerning the Bible	761

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE facts and doctrines of biblical religion perpetually offer themselves for re-examination by the human mind. Within certain limits, such a general statement as this needs no defence: when rightly explained and understood, it commends itself to all whose opinion it is worth while to regard. The whole question of the relation which exists between revelation and the faculties and activities of the human mind has received, indeed, a variety of answers. The particular relation in which that combination of such faculties and activities somewhat loosely called "reason" should stand to the biblical religion has long been a special subject of debate. Some difficulties raised in the debate can as yet scarcely be said to be settled. Those, then, who theoretically admit the truth of our opening statement, will differ in their answers to such questions as the following: How far, and with what purpose, may we perpetually re-examine the facts and doctrines of this religion? With what spirit, and with what postulates, should we begin any such proposed re-examination? How far must we regard certain traditional views as fixed, and how far subject to modification? And how shall we satisfy the demands of the religious consciousness, and promote the religious life, while at the same time we satisfy the demands of the reason in critical, historical, and philosophical investigations? Right answers to these and similar questions do, without doubt, involve many and great difficulties. They must be attempted, so far as the general purpose of our work makes it necessary, in their proper place. We only claim, at present, the general right, and feel the common obligation, to

accept that offer of themselves for full and searching re-examination which is made by the facts and doctrines of biblical religion. The same claim is implicitly made, the same obligation professedly felt, by every inquirer; and this is equally true whether the inquirer propose to himself the simple defence or the thorough testing of traditional views, and whether, as the result of the inquiry, his own views form themselves into the so-called orthodox, or the so-called heretical.

For, indeed, he understands nothing of the spirit and tendencies of the age who does not see that this same human mind is conscious of having won a right to carry its researches to the extreme limits of possibility. It insists upon being untrammelled by conventional restrictions, and upon recognizing no barriers this side of the insuperable. This spirit and these tendencies have doubtless resulted in no little direct mischief to individual minds, and in certain weaknesses and follies indirectly produced, which permeate the common understanding of the age. But the mischief cannot be cured, the weaknesses and follies cannot be diminished, by any attempts to force the reason back into its ancient limitations. Nor are the spirit and tendencies of the age by any means essentially irreverent or pernicious. They may be seen to be themselves due, in much of their strength and in many of their more notable characteristics, to the influences of this same biblical religion. Certain it is that the Christian Church — whether for her ultimate injury or benefit, we make it a matter of faith in her Divine Lord not to doubt — is much agitated by the same spirit and tendencies. Her devoted and trusted adherents are among the foremost in the examination of the fundamental facts of her early history, and in the discussion of her cardinal doctrines. That these adherents feel, in addition to their ordinary zeal in pursuing such stimulating and promising subjects of inquiry, a particular eagerness to serve the cause of Christianity with their best learning and most devout piety, it is not courteous nor just to doubt. But it cannot be forgotten that they can claim the right to render this service at all only by making common ground with their opponents in emphasizing the perpetual privilege and duty of re-examination. And already the beneficial effects of assuming such a position toward the truths of biblical religion abundantly appear. They appear in the better understanding and higher appreciation of the real nature of historical Christianity, and in the profounder and broader faith

and comprehension of its most sacred truths. They appear in the multitude of the offerings which have been made, at great cost of research, thought, and solicitude, to the cause of these truths. These effects we would by no means consent to part with in order to secure the supposed benefits of an age when faith should be wholly undisturbed, and reason dumb through fear to utter the questions and doubts she cannot avoid feeling. No justification for an attempt to re-examine the doctrine of Sacred Scripture is, then, needed beyond the general one that this doctrine, like all the others, is not only properly subject to, but openly invites, the best efforts of each new inquirer. The inquirer need desire no higher honor than to make the attempt with the same general purpose which has actuated a Müller, a Ritschl, or a Dörner.

But there are special reasons why the doctrine of Sacred Scripture should receive a re-examination at the present time. That this statement does not proudly over-estimate the importance of our own particular inquiry, even a superficial acquaintance with the most palpable facts will make manifest. A wide feeling of interest and expectation, touching the origin and nature of the biblical writings, certainly exists. This interest and expectation appear to be in some sort peculiar, both on account of the peculiar relation of this doctrine to other doctrines in the system of Christian truth, and also by reason of the nature of the history of this doctrine in the past. They also indicate the special promise of some result in the better understanding and statement of this doctrine through the recent discoveries of exegetical, critical, and historical science.

The relation which the doctrine of Sacred Scripture sustains to the other doctrines in the Christian system of fact and truth is, of necessity, somewhat peculiar. It is undeniably true, on the one hand, that the knowledge of the earliest facts of biblical religion is derived almost wholly, and of its doctrines very largely, from the biblical writings. How those facts and doctrines must be understood, cannot fail, then, to be to a considerable extent dependent upon what these writings are. Indeed, all the questions which concern the origin and nature of biblical religion are very intimately connected with those which concern the origin and nature of the Bible itself. So intimate is this connection, that certain of the latter questions, however much emphasis may be thrown upon their purely critical and historical character, can never sink to the level of ordinary

archæological researches: on the contrary, they must be considered as in some sort essential questions of religion and religious faith, so long as biblical religion and the faith of mankind in it endure. But it is undeniably true, on the other hand, that the post-Reformation dogma of inspiration greatly exaggerated the importance, and quite completely misconceived the nature, of this connection. It thus came about, that the whole value and efficiency of the truths of redemption, as well as the conduct of the redeemed life, were made logically dependent upon a dogma as to the origin and nature of certain writings. A theory of so-called inspiration became guarded and worshipped as the *articulus vel stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae*. Totally different subjects of inquiry then became confused, and really unimportant interests were mistaken for those of capital importance. And finally the whole fabric of Christian truth seemed in danger of crumbling in the sight of human reason, whenever an additional sign of the insecurity of the Hebrew and Greek texts, or a new ground for calling in question the genuineness and authenticity of some book or passage of Scripture, appeared. Thus did the forces of rationalism, whether so-called orthodox or so-called heretical, seem to have conspired together to make a rational faith impossible. Under the load of arguments and facts accumulated either for the defence of the Bible or for the attack upon it, Christianity itself seemed liable to break down.

Let it not be supposed that the last century has brought no improvement in respect to the intelligent comprehension of that relation which really exists between the biblical writings and the biblical religion. In the minds at least of thoughtful students of biblical criticism and theology, a great change has taken place. It has been seen not only that the dogma formerly held cannot be maintained in the face of critical and historical discoveries, but also that it does not, *as a dogma*, fit in harmoniously with the best dogmatic construction of Christian truths. And yet, besides whatever salutary opinions and impressions concerning the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture remain as results of the post-Reformation dogma, there are also still to be detected not a few of its sad mistakes and bitter prejudices. And, doubtless, it will require no little time and effort on the part of a candid and faithful scholarship to correct these mistakes, and remove these prejudices. But, as an indispensable preliminary to any such attempt, it should be noticed, that a certain way of regarding the Bible involves an altogether false

and exaggerated notion of the importance of some definite theory of its inspiration in its bearing on the acceptance of the truths, and the discipline of the life, of historical Christianity. The importance of the Bible itself in relation to these truths and this life can, indeed, scarcely be exaggerated. Any dogma as to its origin and nature must be content to take simply the place which fitly belongs to it as assigned by the Christian consciousness, developing under the guidance of the Spirit who gave the Bible to the Church. In other words, the fate of the post-Reformation dogma, or of any other theory, of the so-called inspiration of Sacred Scripture, can no longer claim to involve the fate of the entire system of Christian facts and truths.

All that has been said above, however, does not change the peculiar and in some respects peculiarly important relations which exist between this doctrine and the other Christian doctrines most closely allied. It is from the Bible alone that a true historical conception of the nature and growth of the religion of Israel, and of early Christianity, can be framed. It alone gives the means for forming an essentially accurate and fairly complete picture of the life of Jesus Christ. Considered from the lowest and most purely historical point of view, it is an unrivalled and exhaustless source of ethical and religious facts and ideas, which can, with a measure of success, be so arranged and articulated as to show how the most influential and lofty of the religions of earth passed through the successive stages of its development. For the consistent believer in its supernatural side, it is somewhat more: it is the record and storehouse of the history and ideas of the self-revelation of God in redemption. This history and these ideas can, of course, never be treated as though they were devoid of special importance. They are themselves of such a nature as to endow the writings which record and contain them with some of their own characteristics.

It follows, then, that the peculiar importance of the conception which is held concerning the origin and nature of the biblical writings stands related to the biblical religion chiefly through the two ideas of *history* and *revelation*. All the most important truths of this religion have their roots in certain alleged facts of history. The truths cannot be so idealized as to be independent of the reality of those concrete facts which embody and present them for the human mind. This history is preserved as contained in the biblical writings. Of a certain part of the

history contained in these writings we are forced, then, to say, that, unless it is genuine and substantially accurate history, the biblical religion cannot maintain the validity of some of its ruling ideas. It is at once evident that the question of primary importance for both the writings and the religion is this: Is the history given in these writings so far veritable history that it will sustain the weight of the religious ideas which are embodied in it? Faith either never raises this question, or else answers it with an assumption. But it is further evident that the answer to this question can be scientifically established only after the writings and their history have been subjected to the most thorough investigation. A favorable issue to this investigation, however, will forthwith lay in sure critical and historical foundations the beginnings of a doctrine of Sacred Scripture. For, to him who holds the religion most sacred, the records of its history must also be somewhat sacred. Moreover, such an one cannot fail to see that the spirit of the religion and of the records is one. In this way it will come about that the biblical history, although investigated with the utmost candor and thoroughness of research, will inevitably be consecrated in the mind that accepts the religion which has its roots in this history. And thus the peculiar importance of that relation which exists between the doctrine of Sacred Scripture and the other doctrines of biblical religion, through the biblical history, will be made to appear.

The other chief idea, through which the peculiar importance of this doctrine as related to all the others may be seen, is the idea of revelation. This idea is the one which brings the biblical religion into connection with true conceptions of nature, with conscience and self-consciousness, with human experience and human motives in the ethical and religious life. The same idea runs through all the various parts of the development of this religion, and binds them into one by a supernatural bond. For, if biblical religion is allied with all other religions in so far as they partake in the idea of divine self-revelation, it is specifically differenced from all the others in that it alone is the self-revelation of God in redemption. But this is the idea which must be followed in order to reach any satisfactory conclusion regarding the origin and nature of the Bible. It will be found upon reflection that all the separate phases of the subsequent discussion have been directed, and to a certain extent dominated, by this one comprehensive idea.

The special importance of the relation of this doctrine to the others must, then, be seen in the fact that the Bible is dependent for its existence and character upon revelation, and that revelation is dependent for its method and efficiency upon the existence and character of Sacred Scripture.

This one capital idea, however, involves several subordinate ideas, which may be referred to as enhancing our estimate of the importance of our theme. The revelation of redemption has its centre and culmination in the person of the Redeemer. It is the doctrine of this person which, in modern theology, has taken the place at various times usurped by the dogma of the order of the divine decrees, the dogma of inspiration, or the dogma of the Church. This person is the supreme self-revelation of God in redemption. It is, however, through the medium of Sacred Scripture that we are able, first of all, to apprehend him as such. To this objective standard of his personality, so to speak, the Church is perpetually obliged to refer the differing conceptions of men. This fact gives immense importance not simply to the question whether the alleged facts concerning Jesus, as given in the Bible, are trustworthy, but also to the question whether the apostolic conception of this personality is trustworthy. For we are dependent for our conception of Christ not only upon the facts of the Evangelists, but also upon the apostolic conception. Certain views of the nature and origin of certain portions of the biblical writings are, then, peculiarly important in their relations to the life of faith and obedience, as well as to the development of Christian doctrine. In close connection with, and yet in subordination to, the idea of revelation, stands also that of authority. Manifestly the chief interest and intent of the post-Reformation dogma of the inspiration of the Bible was to secure some authority which should bind the reason and conscience of men as did the infallible authority of the Church under the Roman-Catholic belief and practice. In this the dogma met with no permanent success, for both its method and its underlying purpose were mistaken. But the post-Reformation dogma is by no means to be confounded with the Protestant principle of the Bible as giving the only and sufficient *regula fidei* to all believers. The discussion of the whole question of the nature and extent of biblical authority belongs much farther on in the course of this treatise. It is enough at present to call attention to this thought: Only in the light of a true and complete idea

of revelation can we discover the sources and limits of the authority of Sacred Scripture.

The doctrine of the authority of the Bible is confessedly a very important factor in determining all Christian truth, and in directing the religious life. Protestantism has, indeed, never fully defined its view of this doctrine in respect to many of its differences from the view of the Roman Catholic Church, or from that of the Church Catholic; but it has uniformly in theory laid great emphasis upon this doctrine. That the emphasis has been, on the whole, too great for the sake of truth and the best progress of the Church, we are by no means inclined to affirm. That it has been for the most part intelligently placed, and properly distributed, we do not hesitate to deny. The fundamental principle of Protestantism, however, compels the doctrine of Sacred Scripture to sustain a peculiar, and a peculiarly important, relation to the other doctrines of biblical religion, by reason of that authority (whatever its nature and limits may be) which revelation has bestowed upon the Bible.

Among the ideas, subordinate to that of revelation, which confer dignity upon the examination of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, the idea of inspiration must also be placed. In the post-Reformation dogma this idea dominated that of revelation. But modern criticism and modern theology combine to assure us that the relation of these two ideas must be reversed. They undertake to demonstrate that the post-Reformation idea of inspiration, as applied throughout to the biblical writings, has no correlative anywhere in fact. It is an idea only, in the more unworthy sense of the word, — a fictitious object created by the imagination. We cannot, however, dispense with inspiration in rendering our account of the origin and nature of either the biblical religion or the biblical writings. For there is an idea of inspiration which corresponds with abundant facts of human experience, as well as with the nature of religion; and the influence of this idea and fact of inspiration over the origin and nature of the Bible is unmistakable. The importance of a true conception of inspiration with reference to our entire construction of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture is, then, certainly very great. Through that conception this particular doctrine enters into several influential relations with the religious ideas of God, the soul, and the communion of the two. From a combination of these ideas of revelation, inspiration, and authority,

issues the idea of the Word of God,—a phrase which, belonging in its highest application to a person, and being in its earliest biblical uses synonymous with some special communication of the divine thought and purpose to an individual mind, was made by the post-Reformation dogma to comprehend all the words of the accepted canonical writings, with a like meaning and force. It is not necessary, however, to point out other relations which might give a special theoretic value to the importance of re-examining the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. It is enough to say, that this doctrine has many vital, and certain peculiarly sensitive, connections with the most important of religious truths.

But why make even a brief theoretic plea for an essay which is so plainly and pressingly demanded by the call of history? Who that listens to the voices in the air, or attends to the expressions which abound upon the printed page, can for a moment doubt the demand for a re-examination of this doctrine? The demand is the result of one of the mighty reactions of the history of opinion in the Christian Church. It belongs to the historical portions of our work to trace in detail the proofs of this statement: a few words will set forth so much of the history as is needed for our present purpose. The only attempt which any large section of the Christian Church has ever made, rigidly to formulate the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, resulted in what we have called the post-Reformation dogma. This dogma was dominant in the Protestant, and especially in the Reformed churches, from about the year 1600 A.D. until the middle of the eighteenth century. It found its extreme symbolic statement in the *Formula Consensus Helvetica*. It early began, however, to encounter certain undoubted facts made known through critical and historical researches. The controversy which accompanied these researches at first occupied itself chiefly with the text of the Old and New Testaments. The dogma with a sure instinct seemed to feel that its life in the future depended upon its ability to defend successfully the diplomatic infallibility of Sacred Scripture. This successful defence it could not achieve. Beaten here, it retreated from one point to another farther in toward the inmost citadel of Christian truth. But its own essential nature forbids that it should find another defensible position after it has once been dislodged from the one it originally fortified. It is now beginning to be more clearly seen, that, in order to secure the

true and defensible positions for resisting attacks upon the principle of Protestantism, the former lines must be wholly abandoned. While the Bible has been gaining ground as an active and, as it were, personal force in the advance of historical Christianity, this human opinion concerning the Bible has lost almost every inch of territory which it once thought securely and forever its own. What opinion shall rule in the territory from which this has been dislodged by modern criticism and modern theology?

Negative views concerning the Bible, and fragments of ancient dogma, cannot continue to satisfy the demand of the present time; nor does it become the believer in a living religion to spend his strength and time in throwing stones at what is already expiring. Moreover, a certain something remains over from this past history which shows no signs of diminished strength. A particular development of view regarding a great Christian truth has entered all the more mightily into the life and faith of the Christian Church. The dogma as a dogma need no longer attract more than an unimpassioned historical interest. But that attitude of modern thought toward the Bible which has been in part both cause and effect of the dogma continues, in its most important characteristics, still unchanged. From this very attitude issues the loud and earnest call for a re-examination of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. In other words, it is because the mind of Christendom is still turned toward the Bible as the authentic source for the facts and truths of the Christian religion, that the demand for a reconstructed view of its nature and origin is so persistently made. The *disiecta membra* of the post-Reformation dogma are little likely again to be pieced together, and made to constitute a body of truth which can sustain the strain of investigation; but their presence may remind us that the truths which gave them whatever of real life they once had are still vital, and able to embody themselves in another, stronger, and more comely form.

As to the real prevalence and intensity of this demand for a re-examination of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, the historical explanation for which has just been hinted at, we content ourselves with simply making an appeal to the current literature. The general fact of such a demand will perhaps be questioned by none. Some will be found, however, who will doubt whether the time for attempts at a reconstruction of this

doctrine has yet fully come. Some, perhaps, will unqualifiedly deny that such an attempt would be timely. That an abundance of new material regarding the origin and nature of the Bible—exegetical, critical, historical, and even philosophical—presents itself for consideration, every student is well aware. But it may be claimed, that on this very account the question of Sacred Scripture should be allowed to rest longer. It is certain that much of this material is of at best doubtful value: some of it is, without doubt, much worse than valueless. It may be said truly, that many important critical and historical questions, the consideration and conclusion of which seem necessarily to enter into the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, remain as yet unsolved. Who, for instance, can consider as solved all the questions as to the origin of the Pentateuch and the contained Mosaic Torah; as to the authorship and first meaning of some of the Messianic Psalms; or even, perhaps, as to the unity of Isaiah or Zechariah? In what relation does Ezekiel stand to the so-called Mosaic ritual? More important still: How far did not the religion of Israel, especially its ritualistic and even its more highly developed doctrinal portions, originate about or after the time of the Exile? Moreover, what sufficient guaranty have we for the textual integrity of nearly all the earlier portions of the Old Testament? And—most important question of all!—how shall the evangelistic histories be so treated as to give us a satisfactory biography of our Lord with a consistent chronological arrangement, a plausible reconciliation of the principal discrepancies, and a clear stereoscopic picture of one character as seen through the two media of the Synoptists and John? Nor are these questions more than a few selected instances from the countless number of those still debated in modern historical and critical researches. Yet all of this countless number have their bearing, more or less important, upon the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. How, then, while they remain unsettled, shall it be successfully reconstructed?

The case might be made yet more discouraging by enumerating some of the many difficult philosophical and theological questions which are concerned with any inquiry into the origin and nature of the Bible. Among such questions are those as to the personality of the Holy Spirit, as to miracles, revelation, inspiration, and the authority of the Word of God. The proposed examination will doubtless lead over a path strewn thick with difficulties. But it is not likely that the detailed examina-

tion of any of the great doctrines of Christianity will ever cease to be attended by serious difficulties: certainly such difficulties are not in the present time confined to the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. Is not the statement of that doctrine of the supernatural and of miracles which is indispensable to a systematic treatment of the truths of the Christian religion made peculiarly difficult by many crude theories and unsettled problems from the natural and physical sciences? We do not argue, however, that all the important questions which enter into our general conception of the relations of nature and the supernatural must be adjusted by the physical and natural sciences, before our re-examination and formal re-statement of the Christian doctrine of the supernatural shall take place. We should probably wait long, if not till the end of human endeavor, if we waited for the settlement of all the critical questions involved, before making an essay toward a re-statement of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture.

Nor does it appear possible, that, after sufficient waiting, a new doctrine may be constructed by some one mind,—a well-spun theory which, like the elaborate pages of Quenstedt (*"De Sacra Scriptura"* in his ponderous *"Systema Theologicum"*) shall claim to settle all these questions for all inquirers to the end of time. Tenfold more light upon all the most obscure critical and historical inquiries of biblical introduction would never again make such a task possible for a single human mind. Any workman may well be content to bear some humble part near the beginnings of that reconstructed theory upon which many minds must continue to labor for a long time to come. Nor is it, properly speaking, a *new* doctrine which he can hope to announce. To attempt a new Christian doctrine, might seem sufficiently absurd and indicative of a disordered ambition. Nevertheless something more than merely a new theory after the old pattern, or a new statement of the old theory, is certainly demanded. A re-examination of the Bible itself, its claims, its phenomena, its history in the uses of the Christian Church, its meaning and intent in the light of Christian consciousness,—nothing less than this will make so much as a beginning toward satisfying the present demand. For doing so much, at least, as to make a beginning, there is reason to hope the issue will show the time to have fully come.

Moreover, it is by no means impossible to exaggerate the importance of the subordinate historical and critical questions

with respect to their bearing upon an essay toward a true and complete doctrine of Sacred Scripture. To the post-Reformation dogma, indeed, every jot and tittle of Scripture logically becomes a point, to fix which with precision is of vital importance. For the overthrow of this dogma, in its principle, one instance of fallibility, when proved, is as good as a thousand. The value of multiplying these instances is, then, of a negative and destructive kind. The distasteful task of seeming to point out flaws in the Bible, in a too eager and combative way, is forced upon the investigator who must show the untenable nature of the dogma, in order to render vacant the position which a true theory must fill. But we no longer feel the obligation to proceed in this negative and destructive way. When, once for all, our manner of regarding the Bible has in principle been changed, many of these questions become relatively unimportant, or even insignificant. Then, to multiply such instances becomes no longer necessary; or, if necessary for the sake of ampler illustration and proof of the true theory, it can no longer be regarded as either invidious or dangerous. It also becomes quite unnecessary that all these questions should be settled on their own critical and historical grounds. Enough such questions, upon which an opinion can be maintained with a good degree of confidence, can be selected for his purpose by the inquirer who has mastered the material at his command. And how rich is this material, through the labors of many scores of busy and earnest scholars during the last hundred years! The accumulation of credible results, in the domains of biblical exegesis, criticism, ethics, and theology, and in the history of the Canon and of the unfolding Christian consciousness as related to Sacred Scripture, if not all that could be wished, is surely (we think) all that is indispensable.

What, furthermore, are the scope and method of the proposed inquiry? It has already been said that a re-statement of the theory of the inspiration of the Bible, in any such meaning as the post-Reformation dogma attached to the term, although differing formally from this dogma, would not satisfy the present demand. To frame a theory, and to support it by appeal to proof-texts, and biblical phenomena, and cognate theological propositions, and facts of Christian experience, would be a comparatively easy task. But what if other proof-texts and phenomena and propositions and facts—as many, valid, and important—contravened the well-framed theory? No beauty

and compactness of framing could save it from the assaults of these detruded factors. Moreover, the careful student of biblical criticism and church history will discover that the customary term—the so-called inspiration of the Bible—does not properly cover the entire inquiry. We can no longer claim to have learned what the Bible is, when we have once adopted some theory of its inspiration. It is one of the misleading results of that particular theory to which reference has already been made, that it has led men to cling by a term which they can no longer define in the traditional manner, and which they can perhaps no longer define at all. The term “inspiration,” as applied to the biblical writings, carries with it what is put into it. And, not infrequently, more dangerous and untrue opinions are involved in its use, out of cautious deference to an impliedly defunct theological nomenclature, than would be involved in its open rejection. Yet those who would reject the term without attempt properly to define and limit it are, in their turn, little likely to understand the true nature and origin of Sacred Scripture. The complete inquiry must, then, involve an examination of all that is understood under the customary term; but it must be more comprehensive than can properly be indicated by this term. Were the inquiry stated as simply one into the inspiration of the Bible, in the proper technical meaning of those words, it would be embarrassed by its own narrowness, and by an accumulation of technicalities and prejudices.

It is proposed, then, to inquire into the origin and nature of the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as considered in the totality of their phenomena and in their complete history. In the largest sense of the words, *what is the Bible?* But this inquiry does not cover simply the ground which belongs to Biblical Introduction, although it must avail itself of all the material which can be gathered from this ground. This inquiry may be distinguished from that of Biblical Introduction in the two following respects: First, its point of view and purpose differ from those of the above-mentioned science. It receives and examines the phenomena disclosed by this science, with the ulterior purpose of discovering the inmost essence of the Bible, its origin from God and man, and its relations to the human consciousness and to the process of divine self-revelation in redemption. It maintains toward the phenomena the historical and critical points of view;

and yet from them it tries to discern the nature of that spirit, human and divine, which breathes through the phenomena. For, in the second place, this inquiry is much more comprehensive than that of Biblical Introduction. It always carries with it certain postulates derived from biblical religion and from religious philosophy: it finally raises itself to the dignity of a theological and philosophical inquiry. Its success, then, does not depend so completely on merely critical and historical researches; for, after these researches are duly taken into the account, the way is only indicated, guarded, and limited, which must lead on into other researches. We have, therefore, fitly denominated this inquiry as an inquiry into the entire doctrine of Sacred Scripture. But its scope will be further defined when the method it must pursue is more clearly indicated.

It is agreed on almost all sides, that a successful treatment of the inspiration of the Bible must now be reached by the inductive method. So loud and importunate, indeed, is the present outcry for an inductive examination of this subject, that one might suppose induction itself to be a discovery of the present century. Not a few new Bacons seem to have come to sit in judgment upon our ancient Scriptures. The general legitimacy of this demand, however, cannot for a moment be doubted. The reason why the demand is so loud and importunate is largely to be found in the almost utter neglect of patent facts, which was affected by the post-Reformation dogma. But the founders and advocates of that dogma, even if they had been most kindly disposed toward the inductive method, could scarcely have so used it as to satisfy the modern demand: for numerous important classes of facts were not then available for their consideration, and many of the alleged facts of which they might have made use were fabrications of tradition, and not facts.

The true method of inquiry must by all means be inductive: it must possess all the qualities of a faithful and trustworthy induction. The method of investigating the doctrine of Sacred Scripture must, then, differ somewhat from that which may be legitimately pursued in investigating certain other doctrines of Christianity. It will be found that neither revelation, nor the Christian consciousness in the form of a development of doctrine held by the Church Catholic, will avail to fix some of the more important phases of this doctrine. Precisely what the Bible is, revelation has not revealed, and the Church Catholic

has nowhere pronounced. But the Bible is certainly a fact: nay, it is a vast congeries of facts, some of which can be ascertained with certainty, others with more or less of probability, still others not at all. The biblical books, whatever else they may be or may not be, certainly have a concrete, visible, and tangible existence. They are ink and paper; and they arose at certain times, under certain definite conditions of history. It follows, that he who wishes to know the true story of the origin and nature of the Bible must first of all ascertain as many as possible of the facts: he must subsequently conclude nothing which contradicts these facts. Many of the more important questions which enter into the general inquiry are questions of fact, and one can ascertain the true answer to them only by means of historical and critical researches. While, then, one can say, "My system of faith convinces me beyond doubt that God created the heavens and the earth," one cannot thus settle the question of the authorship of the Pentateuch. One cannot fitly aver with the same breath the unity of God and the unity of Isaiah. The believer may lay his hand upon his heart, and pronounce the certainty of his consciousness that Jesus is his Redeemer; but he cannot thus reconcile a discrepancy between two of the Synoptists, or allay the annoyance of answering the doubts concerning the genuineness of John's Gospel.

The value of any given inquiry into the doctrine of Sacred Scripture from the modern point of view cannot, however, be concluded from the mere ready proposal to adopt the so-called inductive method. Some of the most notable failures have been made by those who have most boldly announced their adherence to this method. For in this, as in all other similar inquiries, the result of success can be reached only by a certain manner and degree of using the method. In other words, not only the method must have the general quality of being inductive, but also the induction must have the qualities which characterize a true and sufficient induction. Such an induction must, first of all, be founded upon and conducted according to the right postulates. Every induction in matters of critical and historical researches, as well as in those of physical science, involves the use of postulates. In the case of this induction, the postulates are certain truths of ethics and religion. But the question may at once fitly occur: Is it, then, intended first to frame a theory, and afterward, under the name of an induction, introduce the mention of only such facts as seem best to

consort with the theory? By no means: this would be to misuse and falsify yet once more the inductive method. But, we repeat, certain postulates must underlie this, as well as every other induction. And whether the induction be genuine and successful, or not, will largely depend upon the character and use of these postulates.

A successful induction must also be thorough and comprehensive. Regarded as comprehensive, it must omit the consideration of no important class of facts. To consider all the individual facts which, in reality, have a bearing upon the question, would require more than a score of lifetimes. But it would be as needless as to consider every individual case of the use of the Greek article in order to understand the function of the article in the Greek language. The induction will make itself sufficiently thorough only by the utmost pains-taking in the discovery of the facts, and by due skill in appreciating and classifying them, and in drawing the appropriate conclusions. Such an induction must always, of course, be candid: it must regard such facts as are adverse to its postulates, or to the inferences to which it seems itself to be conducting, with the more careful consideration. It must submit to only such obscurations and limitations of judgment as are unavoidable; but, on the other hand, it must be ready to form an opinion which is not more certain than accords with the evidence. It is the inevitable fate of him who follows the leadership of this method; that he must by turns go through all the stages of probability from the very lowest up to an historic certainty. And, finally, the inductive method must be furnished with all the appliances of the best modern scholarship. Whoever ranges through the fields of this scholarship will learn how wide and rich it is: he also will best know what growths are food, what flowers, and what noxious weeds. And by his experience he should have his powers of discrimination so sharpened as to acquire a kind of aptitude for what is noble, true, and good.

The true method of inquiry into the nature and origin of the Sacred Scriptures must, moreover, be historical. A comprehensive and thorough induction cannot, indeed, be attained without the use of the historical method. The facts from which the induction must be derived are historical facts. The Bible itself is an historical growth, which must be traced and understood, in large measure at least, as are other growths of history. The consideration of the Canon — a most important

consideration for a complete inductive doctrine of the Bible — is an historical inquiry. But more than even this is meant when it is affirmed that the true method of this inquiry must be historical. For the Bible has had, not simply a history which appertains to the origin of its separate books, and to the collection of these books into the so-called canons of the Old and New Testaments: it has also had a history which appertains to it as a totality subsequent to the times when these canons were respectively completed. The Church Catholic has, indeed, never yet so set forth the contents of her common faith with respect to the nature and origin of her Sacred Scriptures as to fix the definite limits of her own doctrine. But the Church has maintained a certain steadfast attitude toward the Bible, — an attitude which has given such shape and consistency to the development of her dogmas and of her life as could have been attained in no other way. Precisely what are the fundamental relations of the Church of God to the Word of God contained in the Old and New Testaments, and what have been the opinions of the various eras and places of Church history, as maintained in the writings of her leaders and in the scattered and fragmentary notices of her symbols, it will be our purpose carefully to inquire. But such inquiry cannot be undertaken without carrying into it one postulate which helps to fix the value and to define the bearing of the results secured. This postulate is that which underlies all the study of the history of Church doctrine: viz., The Eternal Spirit is the constant inspirer and guide of the Church in history. A study of the development of the Christian consciousness in the important historic relations which it has more or less intelligently assumed toward the Sacred Scriptures cannot fail, then, to confirm some truths inductively derived, and to suggest certain others, concerning the origin and nature of those Scriptures. In other words, the history of the thought and feeling of the Church touching the Bible must be consulted in order fully to understand what the Bible is. It would be arrogance, and even impiety, to assume that the Christian Church has known nothing essentially aright concerning the real nature of her sacred writings. Such an assumption would also contradict the truth of history. No doubt modern criticism has for the first time taught us certain important classes of facts regarding the biblical writings. It has thus made it imperative that we should acknowledge the falsity of many opinions held by the

learned and by the entire community of believers during all the past history of the Church. But these facts of criticism do not serve to reveal the entire nature, do not tell the complete story of the origin, of the Old and New Testaments. Facts and truths of another kind lie hidden in the consciousness of the community of believers. The history of the development of this consciousness with respect to its attitude toward the Bible must also be studied in order to tell us what the Bible really is. Its origin was in and through the consciousness of this community; its real nature is to be discerned only by an appreciative estimate of the fundamental relations which exist between it and this community. This estimate involves the work of tracing the history of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture as that doctrine has been essentially held (though never with common consent formally adopted) from the beginning of the Christian Church until now. In this sense of the word, then, the true method of investigating the doctrine of Sacred Scripture must be historical as well as purely inductive.

Furthermore, the method must include a scientific appeal to the contents of the Christian faith as expressed in those truths of religion which are most intimately concerned. Such truths are those of the personality of God the Redeemer, revelation, inspiration, God and man as spirits standing in personal relations, and, indeed, the entire system of such kindred truths. Without right views concerning these truths, the true and complete doctrine of Sacred Scripture can never be attained. This statement follows from the indissoluble connection which exists between the Bible as an historical product, a concrete reality, and the biblical religion. It was the biblical religion which produced the Bible. How, then, can one understand what the Bible is, as to its origin and nature, without understanding the elements contributed to it by the ethical and religious ideas of this religion? It is also indisputably true of the Bible, that it has been consecrated by certain uses which have respect to the development of the religious life in the individual and in the race. It is simple matter of fact, that it has been a storehouse for the contents of faith, and a means, or instrument, of grace. We cannot neglect to inquire how this is so, and what is the justification for these traditional uses of the Bible. And, although some parts of this inquiry can scarcely be put into scientific form, yet they are not for that reason devoid of real and great value. The heart of the Church and of the race

may be heard to beat, and its warm life recognized as present, where no exact anatomical description of the mechanism can be given.

We have, therefore, to anticipate the employment of a method of research which ranges all the way from the minutest trivialities of criticism to the highest of ethico-religious verities. The investigation of the origin and nature of the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments must begin with the inductive method. It must thus begin, because these Scriptures are concrete realities, concerning which we can get certain information only through the valid conclusions of criticism. This use of the inductive method must be carried as far as it can go, and no subsequent conclusions can be derived by other methods which can contravene its assured results. And yet this method can at best give us only very limited and for the most part negative conclusions. It is not by such analysis that we can reach the life of the Bible. By analysis, however, we do discover such elements as a subsequent use of the more synthetic method may construct into a living and organic unity. It might almost be said that the induction of criticism can tell us what the Bible is not, but can only obscurely suggest what the Bible is. That many difficulties are inseparably connected with the use of such a complex method, there can be no doubt. And yet neither the inductive, nor the historical, nor the dogmatic and experimental, form of the inquiry can safely be neglected. To neglect the most careful and comprehensive induction, would certainly vitiate any theory of Sacred Scripture by separating it from all the evidence of indisputable concrete facts. But to stop with this induction would leave us without any complete doctrine, because without the consideration of those truths of history and of ethics and religion in accordance with which the doctrine must be synthetically constructed. Moreover, it is these ethico-religious truths and ideas which form the postulates that underlie the induction. Further justification of this method must be left to the testing which the inquiry itself will supply.

It is scarcely necessary to make a complete enumeration of the postulates which will shape the present inquiry into the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. These postulates will be indicated with sufficient clearness during the first and inductive part of the work, while it will belong to its second part more definitely to present and to discuss them. They are, briefly

stated, those fundamental truths of biblical religion to which allusion has already been made. Of these postulates the following three are, however, so influential, and recur so frequently, as to require their definite announcement. The reality of a self-revelation of God in redemption is postulated. This is a postulate which touches every examination of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture at almost every point in its course. In it is involved the possibility and the actuality of miracles, and of inspiration as prophecy, — the subjective miracle. In what particular sense we must understand the alleged miraculous contents of the Bible, and what we must hold to be the true nature of prophecy, will, of course, be explained in the proper place. But our attitude toward the Bible is, from the beginning to the close of the investigation, that of believers in the reality of the supernatural, and in the historic fact of a supernatural process of redemption. The infallible authority of Jesus Christ upon matters included in the doctrine of salvation is also postulated. This postulate is not intended, nor will it be employed, so as to restrict the freest critical and historical researches; nor is it even to be understood as necessarily including in itself the claim to infallibility on the part of Christ with respect to merely critical and historical matters. But the postulate is to be as broadly understood and as cautiously applied as is possible in consistency with a loyal attitude toward the person of the Redeemer. The reality of those truths which underlie the persistent and universal thoughts and feelings of the Christian consciousness is also postulated. Certain verities in the life and development of the Christian Church it is impossible for merely inductive researches in criticism either to establish or to overthrow. To such verities an appeal may be made with entire confidence.

It would be useless to attempt to conceal the fact that the influence of these postulates will be thought by some to amount to an invincible prejudice. With these objectors it will doubtless give occasion to the revival of the time-worn charge of using the *circulus in arguendo*. To this charge, however, only a brief reply is necessary, in addition to that final reply which must be left to the result of the essay. Let it be at once frankly confessed, it is not proposed to inquire concerning the origin and nature of the Bible as though we were heathen, or even disbelievers in the fundamental verities of the Christian religion. This inquiry is one which can fitly and logically

follow only when those verities have themselves been established and accepted. The work of those who scientifically establish such verities is, therefore, the more fundamental. How, indeed, can an inquiry into the true doctrine of Sacred Scripture have any significance or value for those who do not accept such verities? It cannot be admitted, however, that the use of these assumptions of faith affords a superior barrier against the convictions of the brave and independent critic; much less, that it constitutes a real and degrading prejudice. The title of a fearless and candid investigator is not to be won by denouncing supernaturalism, and rejecting the authority of Christ; nor is it forfeited by announcing one's supernaturalism, and adherence to his authority. Furthermore, it is proposed to inquire, What is the *Bible*? not, What is the Christian religion? And, although the answer to the latter question undoubtedly influences the answer to the former, it does so only as some necessary postulates must always influence historical and critical inquiries. Postulates are not to be employed to pervert the facts, but to give them a rational explanation. So far as the facts of biblical criticism are concerned, it will be found that, when once accepted as facts, they, in general, admit of two explanations. Of these two, the one is given from the points of view furnished by the postulates of biblical religion, the other from the points of view furnished by conflicting or contradictory postulates. In the region of these postulates, — that is, in the fundamental inquiries of the philosophy of religion, — this conflict must be fought out. Meanwhile it may be permitted to make the attempt proposed, with the conviction that for the purposes of this attempt some things can be taken for granted. A certain legitimate use of the *circulus in arguendo* (if it please any objector so to characterize our method) will secure for the inquiry some of its most valuable results. These postulates may themselves receive fresh proof of their truthfulness when it is seen how well they serve the purpose both of builders and of foundations in all the process of construing the facts. This is the highest and final test of all such postulates, that they are constantly verified anew by all the facts. On the other hand, the induction itself will be not only more complete, but also more trustworthy, if its separate results arrange themselves into a rational whole, which has obvious and even organic relations with the great divine kingdom of redemption.

It remains only for the introduction to state, in few words,

what will be the course and order of the subsequent inquiry. The order of an inquiry into the origin and nature of the Bible as Sacred Scripture is fitly determined by the method of the inquiry. According to the method already announced, this inquiry must begin with a thorough and comprehensive induction. The inductive part of the work will include an investigation, first, into the claims of the Bible, and, second, into its different classes of phenomena. The propriety of inquiring, first of all, What does the Bible claim to be? will not be questioned by any who hold that general point of view which was indicated by the above-mentioned postulates. In this way certain misconceptions which have falsely been attributed to the Bible itself will be removed at an early stage in the inquiry. It should not be overlooked, however, that the infallibility of these claims made by the Bible for itself is nowhere advanced or assumed as one of our postulates. To do this would indeed be to be guilty of a vicious and misleading *circulus in arguendo*. The claims of the Bible must be critically examined as constituting one class of those facts which must all be taken into the account by a complete induction. The first part of the inquiry must consist, then, of an exegetical discussion of these claims. But these claims must then be tested, and, if possible, corrected and amplified, by an examination of all the various orders of phenomena which have entered into the concrete reality of the Bible. For this purpose a somewhat artificial classification of the different kinds of contents of the biblical writings will be found necessary; and the discussion of these classes of contents will be followed by chapters upon the authorship of the biblical books, their language and style, and upon the canon and text of the Bible. In all these discussions the final intent and principal point of view must be kept steadfastly in mind; viz., to lay in a thorough and comprehensive induction the foundations of a doctrine of Sacred Scripture. The second part will consist, then, of a critical examination of all the principal classes of phenomena which belong to the Bible as a concrete and historic product. These two parts will constitute the first volume, or entire inductive half, of the work.

But the right method of inquiry will not stop with the completion of the inductive process. The history and doctrine of the Christian Church have their right to be heard, and no synthetic theory of the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture is possible without receiving the testimony of this history and

doctrine. The entire second volume will therefore proceed with the inquiry as proposed before the tribunal of the ethical and religious consciousness. Here we shall have to ask ourselves, in the third part, What has the Church Catholic believed to be true concerning the Bible? and then, in the fourth part, What doctrine of Sacred Scripture accords with all the most closely allied Christian doctrines, and with the common experiences of men in the direction and growth of the religious life? And should it be found true that the essential claims of the Bible for itself are not negatived, but rather confirmed, by all the discoveries of modern historical and critical researches, so that a certain view of the biblical writings may be inductively established; and that this view is further expanded and confirmed by the ancient and permanent opinion of the Church Catholic, and may be still further expanded into a doctrine, and confirmed anew, by bringing it into its legitimate connections with other doctrines of the Christian religion, and may then be found to correspond to the experimental side of this religion, —should all this be found true, then, indeed, a good degree of confidence may be felt in the result, as setting forth the true doctrine of Sacred Scripture. Then, also, the legitimate demands of this essay will have been satisfied.

A shorter course than that sketched above for reaching the desired result would almost certainly leave on one side considerations of great or vital importance to the inquiry. That the course chosen is so long and intricate, does not depend upon individual responsibility. A reward, by the way, may perhaps be found in information and help upon not a few subordinate themes of biblical exegesis and criticism, of the history of the Church, or even of the philosophy of religion and systematic theology. This reward may be sufficient to persuade the reader not to grudge the amount of time required for compassing the whole course. And if he patiently follow this course, to the end of understanding more profoundly the inmost nature and heavenly origin of the divine Word, he may consent to believe, that, considering the importance and difficulty of the object, little or no time can be said to have been lost.

PART I.
EXEGETICAL.

THE CLAIMS OF THE BIBLE.

Ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τῶν Γραφῶν ῥήμασιν Ὁ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ.

ATHANASIUS: *Ad Marcellinum*, 33.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATURE OF OLD-TESTAMENT SCRIPTURE AS DETERMINED BY THE TEACHING OF CHRIST.

THE right dogmatic point of view for considering the doctrine of Sacred Scripture must be derived from the doctrine of the person of Christ. It is true, on the one hand, that a certain view of the nature and authority of that divine revelation which is scripturally fixed in the Bible determines, in large measure, the view which must be taken of the Redeemer's person and work. But it is also true, on the other hand, that every Christian doctrine of the Bible itself must assume, as its postulate, a certain view of his absolute authority and infallibility upon truths of religion. It is this postulate, indeed, which furnishes the rare interest and high importance that attach themselves to all researches into the nature of Sacred Scripture: without this postulate, an examination like the one which we purpose would sink to the level of ordinary historical and archæological researches. A certain *quasi*-ethical preparation is, therefore, an indispensable requirement for the safe conduct of this part of our work. We are about to inquire, What did Christ teach as to the nature of Old-Testament Scripture? The attitude of mind in which the inquirer finds himself, toward the Great Teacher of religious truth, will necessarily influence his attitude also toward those writings which, it is claimed, are in some sense a special testimony to him, and of the value of which he himself testifies. A certain definite attitude of mind is, then, secured for the examination of Sacred Scripture by accepting the view held by the Church as to the person of Christ. We begin our examination into the teachings of Christ with reference to the writings of the Old Testament, by affirming the conviction that these teachings, so far at least as they are involved in the doctrine of salvation which it was his mission to reveal, are themselves indisputably true.

This conviction is not to be regarded, however, as constituting a bias. For the postulate does not necessarily vitiate or annul the critical quality and perfect candor of such an examination as is proposed. The postulate itself will have, in determining all subordinate inquiries, the force of a demonstrated truth of Christianity. But, furthermore, the examination will itself add other proofs to the truth of the very postulate which underlies its entire course. And the ability to combine the firm tenure of this postulate with a thoroughly critical inspection of all the facts, whether confirmatory or apparently adverse, can be shown in no other way than by the examination itself.

Accepting, then, this postulate, the following subordinate inquiries at once present themselves: How far must we look upon the view of Jesus concerning the Old Testament as a critical one? and how far are we to be bound in critical questions by his implied view upon such questions? And, further, how far did Jesus teach his doctrine of Sacred Scripture by so-called accommodation?

Upon the subject of the first inquiry, Rothe declares:¹ "The Redeemer never claimed to be an infallible, or even a generally precise, interpreter of the Old Testament. Indeed, he could not have made this claim. For interpretation is essentially a scientific function, and one conditioned by the existence of scientific means; which, in relation to the Old Testament, were only imperfectly at the command of Jesus, as well as of his contemporaries." Nor does the highest kind of insight into truth, as Rothe goes on to declare, take the place of experience in the art of hermeneutics. And Meyer, in commenting upon Christ's use of Ps. cx., remarks:² "That Jesus did not doubt the correctness of the superscription of the Psalm, is neither to be used as a proof of its Davidic origin, nor groundlessly denied, since an historical and critical question of this kind could only enter into the sphere of his development as a man and belonging to a nation, which must in general bear the stamp of his own time." And even Tholuck asserts,³ after having recalled the fact that Christ came into the world not to disclose science, even the so-called theological, but to utter and exhibit religious truth to humanity: "If there

¹ Zur Dogmatik, Gotha 1863, p. 176 f.

² Kommentar über das Neue Testament, Matthäus, Göttingen 1864, p. 457.

³ Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament, Gotha 1877, p. 52.

be, in the discourses of Christ before us, no formal mistake of hermeneutics, we cannot assert, before examination, the impossibility of such a mistake, any more than of a grammatical fault or a chronological error."

We should, indeed, be slow to admit the possibility that Christ could be mistaken in critical questions concerning the Old Testament, provided that he should definitely attempt the answer to such questions. It is somewhat characteristic of Christ, however, that critical inquiries rarely appear to have entered the horizon of his teaching, or even, so far as we have any evidence, of his thought. His silence, or rather his reserve, for the most part prevents him from being caught in the snare of these inquiries. He evinces only rarely, if at all, the consciousness that his doctrine involves any judgment upon matters of criticism.

Certain cases are, however, found in the teaching of Jesus, where the truth which he proclaims upon matters of his religion involves, with more or less rigor of conclusion, an opinion, and perhaps even a doctrine, upon matters of criticism. So closely, indeed, are some critical questions themselves involved in the religious truths of the Old Testament, that such cases could scarcely fail to occur. Some so-called critical questions are also religious questions: some, not of themselves necessarily religious, seem involved by the discourses of Jesus in his doctrine of religion. It is, then, by no means all critical questions touching the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament which can be regarded as independent of the word of Christ; for, while he rarely or never evinces the consciousness of deciding a specifically critical inquiry, he does by inference so answer some such inquiries as to stamp them with the characteristics of religious truth taught authoritatively by himself. For the most part, however, there is manifest in the discourses of Jesus neither conscious attempt nor unconscious inference, such as will serve indissolubly to connect his religious teachings with the results of Old-Testament criticism.

But should the further question be asked, whether such mistakes of interpretation as seem not to affect his religious doctrine (the so-called "formal mistakes of hermeneutics," of which Tholuck speaks) were not perhaps admitted, through ignorance or unstudied disregard of critical truth, into the teachings of Jesus, we wish to waive the answer until these teachings shall have been examined; for, although the answer

to this question is not in our mind doubtful, the question itself is complicated with another. There are certainly many cases where an inference may be made which shall imply that an opinion upon critical questions is a part of the religious teaching of Jesus. And some investigators are by no means cautious enough in framing such an inference; while, to frame an inference as strong as possible, different investigators are influenced by exactly opposite motives. Some seek to damage his authority by committing it to untenable opinions on matters of criticism: others seek to save such opinions by confirming them by his authority. But, in each case of debate as to the possibility of Jesus being mistaken upon a matter of criticism, the prior question arises as to the cogency of the very inference by assuming which the debate is occasioned. Surely great care should always be given to the character of that *inference* which connects any doubtful critical question with the religious doctrine of Christ. The testing of such an inference causes us to raise the second of the inquiries mentioned above: How far did Jesus speak of the Old-Testament writings by so-called accommodation?

We can neither accept nor reject indiscriminately the principle of accommodation in its application to our subject. The general features of Christ's position toward the Hebrew Sacred Scriptures can be delineated with sufficient exactness. To suppose, then, that he exhibited these features through the years of his public ministry, in a form which was merely assumed and retained out of deference to those by whom he was surrounded, would render his doctrine and conduct not only historically inexplicable, but morally indefensible. Nor could the supposition properly cover those inferences as to critical questions which are so closely connected with his religious doctrine that they cannot be separated from it without doing it violence.

But, on the other hand, we cannot refuse to give the principle of accommodation a considerable applicability to the teachings of Christ. Such applicability is inseparably connected with his own human development, and with the character of the circumstances in the midst of which he taught. Jesus may speak *as though* he held a certain opinion upon a critical question of the Old Testament, and yet the inference may be by no means valid that he really held this opinion: just as all teachers of religious truth necessarily teach often-

times either in forms that seem to imply such an opinion upon critical and historical questions as they do not hold, or even without holding any opinion upon each question involved; just as, also, all men are compelled to express themselves by implied opinions in popular speech. The questions as to the authorship of Homer, for example, are critical and historical questions. Each critic, when speaking as a critic, may or may not have his opinion formed upon each question. But when speaking as a teacher of morals, or even in ordinary conversation, he may speak as though he held an opinion quite the reverse of that really held. Any one, moreover, when speaking of Homer, may express himself as though he were of a certain opinion, when indeed he has no intention of raising a critical question, nor even any knowledge of the existence of such a question.

It is not intended to suggest that the attitude of Jesus toward the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament corresponded to the attitude of the average mind toward Homer. It is insisted, however, that we are not to force the religious teaching of the Redeemer so as to make it cover every question of Hebrew history and archæology with which his discourses show points of contact. The attempt to do this degrades his teaching without settling the critical questions.

Moreover, the attempt shows a complete misunderstanding of the spirit and method of the teaching of Jesus. In his use of accommodation there is a marked correspondence between his method and the divine method of instruction and discipline in nature and in providence. We discover less effort to force the truth upon men than to stir their inquiry; little care to guard the careless against misapprehension, much care to rouse them to a true apprehension. His teaching is not a copy-lesson, but a spur to industry. He puts no premium upon sluggishness, love of ease, or unquestioning acceptance of traditional views and modes of expression. The inquirer, therefore, who is fond of arguing that Jesus could not have said this, or have done that, because he must have known himself liable to be misunderstood, needs to regain his lost insight by studying the Gospels anew. The fact that there is always more beyond, and often much which is contradictory to the popular, we might almost say the *natural*, first impression, is one of the choicest and most distinctive features of his teaching. To the close of his life his own disciples, even the most intimate

and familiar among them, did not cease to misapprehend him. And, indeed, how could they? He was setting forth world-wide and eternal truths, in parabolic and enigmatical form: they were often trying to test and measure him by their own crude common-sense, or by the over-refined subtleties and traditional literalism of rabbinical conceptions. He did not change his method: he waited for his hearers to change in the spirit of insight. He called his disciples slow of heart to believe, and fools, not because he could not have made his own teaching clearer, but because they did not penetrate the hull of this teaching by words, and reach the kernel of the revelation which the words contained.¹

We are not, then, prevented from a cautious use of the principle of accommodation, by the true doctrine of the person of Christ: we are rather compelled to this use by the general characteristics of his method in teaching. In most cases of so-called accommodation, we cannot make a direct inference as to the opinion of Jesus upon the critical questions which seem to be involved. We certainly find him making use of the Old Testament, in its history, ceremony, ethical law, types, and allegorico-didactic writing, as testimony to himself. The inference is direct, that he regarded the Old Testament as containing, at least in germinal and imperfect form, the divine truths which it was his mission to unfold and establish. But the further inference as to the critical views which seem to be involved in this use is usually much more indirect and doubtful. In making this further inference two kinds of inquiries must be made and answered. Inquiry must first be made into the interpretation and evidences of each passage of the Hebrew Scriptures to which Christ refers in his teaching, on its own grounds, and apart from that teaching. The verdict of fact from the Old Testament, upon its own questions of criticism, must be independently and fearlessly taken. Especial caution must be used in making the inference that the opinion of the

¹ Examples of what we may call carelessness of external misapprehension while using the divine method to stir his hearers to the apprehension of interior truth, are not rare in the teaching of Christ. See John i. 52, iv. 10, ff. 34. Sometimes one puzzle is explained by adding another: John vi. 61, f. Note also the very gradual and almost seemingly vacillating way in which Jesus taught his own Messiahship; of which fact the true explanation is that given, in refutation of the claim of Strauss, by Schmid (*Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 218-220). See also, especially, his declaration to his disciples, John xvi. 28. Nor are such examples confined to the Fourth Gospel, as we shall see farther on.

Hebrew Scriptures upon its own critical questions was undoubtedly also the opinion of Christ.

Another kind of inquiries, which are needed to limit our inferences, concerns the connection of an inferred critical opinion with the religious teaching expressly designed to be set forth. In such cases the following questions must be raised: How far is any historical narrative which Jesus uses to illustrate and enforce his religious teaching guaranteed, as to its historical accuracy, by this use? How far is the original intent of the author of the prophecy which he quotes in proof of his mission assumed in the fact that the prophecy is quoted as proof? How far is the ethical truth which he accepts from the Old-Testament law fully and formally accepted, or accepted substantially with an implied rejection of some of its formal elements? In fine, it cannot safely be inferred that the word of Christ authenticates any of the Old Testament without inquiring in detail precisely what that word authenticates. And, moreover, his significant silence may be almost as instructive as his speech.

We conclude, then, that our Christian estimate of the person of Christ both assists and limits our inquiry as to his doctrine of Old-Testament Scripture: it does both, however, only in part. His authority is indeed pledged to a certain view of the relation of the Old Testament to his person and work; it is pledged with respect to certain possible conclusions from so-called critical inquiries; but the nature and method of his teaching, for the most part, leaves these questions quite completely disconnected from his authority. The point of view which has thus far been taken secures a survey from an impregnable dogmatic position: it, however, opens before us a wide and free domain of critical inquiries. It requires, moreover, unceasing pains and trained skill in making distinctions. Let him, then, who wishes to escape the pain and peril of weighing difficulties, or of making adjustments between the results of criticism and the claims of Christian truth, not enter upon the subsequent examination. He will surely either pass through its entire course with the same unconquerable prejudice with which he begins, or else quickly turn back with weariness and disgust. There are no softly cushioned vehicles to bear him along the path. But if he will endure the hardship of the journey, he may hope for the pillar of cloud always by day, and sometimes for the pillar of fire by night. For him who

rejects the method and results of a minute examination, as instituted from the right point of view, there remain open only two courses: he may either, by refusing to credit the alleged contents of revelation and the divine authority of the Hebrew Scriptures, come to an inevitable break with the authority also of Christ; or, by rejecting all attempts at the discriminations of criticism, he may make the perilous venture of committing the honesty and competency of Christ to every detail of these contents.

The working principle adopted is, then, that of allegiance to the Redeemer as the Truth: it is proposed, however, to test this principle by applying it to all the details of his teaching upon the origin and nature of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The general attitude of Jesus toward the canonical Hebrew Scriptures is unmistakable. Rothe,¹ indeed, denies that we have any ground for believing Jesus to have held the view which attributes their origin to divine inspiration. Rothe claims that the only two passages (Matt. v. 18 and xxii. 43) which seem to indicate this view are not decisive. It must be admitted that there is, as to the view of Jesus, a great meagreness of direct and indubitable evidence. The indirect evidence is, however, in certain respects, sufficiently full and conclusive.

One form of such indirect evidence is the fact that Jesus uses the titles of Hebrew canonical writings which were in general use among the Jews of his day, and which imply the belief that these writings are Sacred Scripture. Among such titles are the following: ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί (John v. 39, x. 35; Matt. xxvi. 54); ὁ νόμος for the entire Old Testament (John x. 34), and the same term for the Pentateuch (Matt. xii. 5); ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται for the entire Old Testament (Luke xvi. 16; Matt. xxii. 40); αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν προφητῶν (Matt. xxvi. 56), and τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν (Luke xviii. 31). The use of these nouns implies a belief in the divine origin of those writings to which the titles are applied, and the use of the preposition διὰ implies the belief that the origin of the prophetic messages was by inspiration. Especially does the use of the title ἡ γραφή (John vii. 38, x. 35) to designate the entire Old Testament form at least the presumption that Jesus acknowledged the substantial unity and divine origin of its writings regarded as a whole. The Old Testament appears in his view as *Scriptura Sacra*,

¹ Zur Dogmatik, p. 178 f.

κατ' ἐξοχήν.¹ That the writings quoted by Jesus as *the Scripture* corresponded in extent, in a general way, with our canonical books of the Old Testament, we have indirect and presumptive proof, Luke xi. 51; where, in a review of the entire course of Jewish scriptural history, he includes as its termini, the first book, Genesis, and the last book, Second Chronicles, in which (xxiv. 20 ff.) the narrative of the martyrdom of Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, is found.

It is also significant that our Lord apparently never makes any reference to items of history or doctrine in Jewish books outside of the Canon. The alleged cases of such reference will not bear examination. That Christ does not quote from an apocryphal book (John vii. 38), is proved by the form of quotation, εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, and by the absence of any such passage from all known uncanonical books. Although the words here ascribed to Scripture are not found in the Old Testament, the basis for the citation, as one freely adapting the thought to a new form of expression, is laid in canonical writings like Ezek. xlvi. 1, 12, and Zech. xiv. 8. As to Luke xi. 49, the words ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ εἶπεν are not to be referred, as Meyer claims, to a former saying of Christ himself, but are rather to be regarded as citing an epitome and also an expansion of the truth contained in 2 Chron. xxiv. 18-22 (Alford, Olshausen, and Stier). In Luke xii. 18 f. the reflection upon the uncertain character of riches does, indeed, seem to involve a recognition of the remarkably similar thought in Sirach xi. 18, 19: even Stier supposes that we have here a reference of Christ to an apocryphal book. But the thought is one recurring in literature, and is to be found, besides the passage in Sirach, in Ps. xlix. 16, 17, as well as Tobias vii. 9, and even in Plautus (Mil. Glor. 3, 1, 83).

It should be noticed also, in this connection, how full the discourses of Jesus are of echoes, so to speak, from the Old Testament; of words and ideas not expressly quoted from it, but which, derived from it by familiarity with its contents, had become the furnishing of his mind.²

In what sense, however, did Jesus regard the Old Testament as pre-eminently Sacred Scripture? This question can be only indirectly answered by considering the attitude in which he

¹ See Grimm's Lexicon, γραφή.

² As illustrations of this truth, compare Matt. xi. 11, with Zech. xii. 8; Matt. xxiii. 39, with Ps. cxviii. 26; Matt. xxvii. 46, with Ps. xxii. 1; Luke xii. 19, with Ps. xlix. 17; Luke xii. 53, with Mic. vii. 6; Luke xxiii. 30, with Hos. x. 8; John v. 29, with Dan. xii. 2; John viii. 35, with Gen. xxi. 10.

places himself toward the legal and prophetic contents of this Scripture; for we have, as has already been said, little or no direct teaching of any specific doctrine of such Scripture, whether as to its nature and origin as a written record, or as to the inspired personality of its authors. The doctrine of Christ as to the Old Testament becomes dependent, then, upon the questions: In what sense did he consider himself to be fulfilling its law and its prophecy? and, further, in what sense did he teach that this law and these prophecies were of divine nature and authority?

The answer to the above-mentioned questions requires a full consideration of the teaching of Christ in his Sermon on the Mount, Matt. v. 17 ff. In this passage he defines his position with relation to certain contents of truth which he designates as "the law and the prophets" (*ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται*). The sphere covered by these words is, according to Grimm, the doctrine of morals delivered in the Old Testament, the ethical and ethico-religious teachings of Moses and the prophets. It must be admitted, as Grimm declares: "In the New Testament the law is not rarely mentioned in such manner as that the speaker or writer is looking at its ethical portion alone, as the portion which is primarily and perpetually valid among Christians also, while he is not concerned with things ritual and civil, as those which were written for Jews alone." Moreover, in this case, as Meyer admits: "the moral precepts of the law offered themselves most naturally to Christ for citation." Grimm's definition is, however, undoubtedly too restricted; for the distinction of the law into ethical, ritual, and civil, is entirely modern, and not in place in this connection. We are, therefore, to regard the phrase as a summary for the entire Old-Testament revelation.¹

With reference to these contents of truth, Christ defines his mission both negatively and positively. It is his purpose not to abrogate (*καταλῦσαι*) the Old-Testament Scriptures.² To use a figure of speech as old as Theophylact, Christ does not intend to rub out and destroy the sketch in shadow-lines before him, but with true and ideal art will fill it in to the completion of the picture.

It is his mission, as positively defined, to fulfil the law and

¹ For the true view, see Schmid, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, p. 222; and Cremer, *Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräcität*. Compare Luke xvi. 16.

² *Vi sua privare* (Grimm), and see the same use of the word in the "Memorabilia," iv. 4, 14, of abrogating the civil laws; in similar meaning, 2 Macc. ii. 22.

the prophets. According to Grimm, the promise to "fulfil the law" (πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον) means, "to render perfect the doctrine of morals handed down in the Mosaic law,—a thing which Jesus teaches by the examples brought forward in verses 21–48, that he will accomplish in such manner as to supply to the precepts of the Mosaic law, accommodated as they were to the nature of a ruder age, that meaning which is required by the idea of true virtue, and which is especially adapted to a more perfect order of affairs." In this case, again, the definition of Grimm is too restricted. It is true that all the examples chosen by Jesus to illustrate his own meaning are drawn from the moral precepts of the Mosaic law, while the *Plerosis* of the rest of the law and of the prophets in general is not here dwelt upon in detail. But this restriction of the illustrations is doubtless due to the immediate purpose of Jesus to instruct the hearers who then surrounded him. He wished to guard against false views and practices which might arise among his followers to give disturbance, and against the charges which his enemies were likely to bring forward. He wished also to place upon record his own view of his entire relation to the Old-Testament economy. The extent of the contents covered by the term ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται is covered also by the promise to fulfil. We know, furthermore, from his subsequent deeds and teachings, that he claimed to fulfil this economy in a much wider sense than is allowed to the words by this interpretation of Grimm. Not only the ethical ideal of the Mosaic law, but also the ethical and predictive contents of prophecy, were, according to his claim, *fulfilled* by Messiah. The ceremonies, types, and typical ideas, the principles and larger facts, as well as certain more minute historical events, the entire tendency and final purpose, of the Old-Testament Scriptures, were to be made full to completion by Christ. The πλήρωσις, or *fulfilling*, of the law and the prophets here spoken of is, then, rather as Meyer—in substantial accord with a long list of trustworthy commentators—asserts, "the fulfilling of the entire Old-Testament revelation . . . through the establishing of their *absolute* contents, so that nothing more is now lacking to that which they ought to be according to the divine *ideas* lying at the foundation of their commands. It is the complete development of their ideal reality out of the positive form in which they are historically confined and limited." (*In loco.*)

The perfecting of the Old Testament which Christ here

undertakes has reference, then, to its essential contents and final purpose, and is to be accomplished, not only in his teaching, but in his deeds as well. But the abrogating of such essential contents is not to be expected of him either by his teaching or by the influence of his life; although a certain cessation of the Old Testament as to its temporal form is elsewhere distinctly taught.

Christ proceeds (verse 18) to assert, with that solemn asseveration which distinguishes his estimate of his own authority from that of the other teachers of the New Testament, the permanent value and applicability of all the Old-Testament Scriptures *regarded in their ideal reality and absolute contents*. Thus regarded and applied, these Scriptures are never to pass away: not until the end of this dispensation, he expressly declares; and not after its close, for, although he does not thus expressly declare, his words imply that view of the perpetuity of the law which is elsewhere taught in the New Testament. The law regarded as love and righteousness continues in force in the world to come (1 Cor. xiii. 13; 1 Pet. i. 25; 2 Pet. iii. 13); and, as Delitzsch has said, "the righteousness of the new heaven and the new earth will be no other than that taught here." Of this ideal reality, and of these absolute contents, not even the most minute portion, though seemingly most insignificant, shall be abrogated or fail of fulfilment. The jot and the tittle are an inseparable part of an indelible page.

The Hebrew Scriptures are, then, asserted by Christ to have certain contents of perpetual obligation, — a perpetuity and an obligation which extend to the minute details of their contents. Nor can we doubt that their perpetuity and obligation were connected in his mind with a certain view of their origin and nature, and were therefore regarded as bestowing a divine quality upon the writings themselves. It is, however, the economy of the Old-Testament revelation, regarded as fixed and contained in the Old-Testament Scriptures, which he here primarily authenticates. The germinal doctrine of Sacred Scripture given us in these words is as far as possible from the rabbinical views of his own day. Nor does it afford a root for a growth into any theories of verbal or mechanical inspiration, or of the infallibility of the Old Testament in its historical narratives or details of doctrine, except so far as these details of history and doctrine are themselves authenticated elsewhere in the teaching of the Redeemer. How little he himself re-

garded the jot and tittle of either the law or the prophets, in their literal construction and changing form, is made apparent by various occasions of his instruction, and by his whole attitude of life. We find in this instruction and attitude the fullest exemplification of the principle, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

The basis and germ of a doctrine of Sacred Scripture which distinguishes between absolute contents of truth, and imperfect form relative to the pedagogic purposes of those contents, is given us in this primary teaching of Christ. For the illustrations which are used to enforce the validity and perpetuity of the ethical contents of the Mosaic law, themselves imply the fallibility and transitoriness of its form. The reasoning is of a kind which works in two directions. In making the argument which ascribes the qualities of the contents to the origin and nature of the writings that contain them, we are also compelled to ascribe the qualities of the form to the origin and nature of the same writings. Elements of ideal and absolute truth are, then, to be found in the ethical portions of the Old Testament, and as well elements of imperfect and fallible form: the one are to be attributed to the divine revelation, through chosen media; the other, to the human imperfections in those media. The Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament contain the infallible: but the form in which they contain the infallible is not necessarily infallible; at least, this teaching of Christ gives us no warrant for saying that it is so. It would rather decidedly discredit such a statement.

Moreover, it is plain that Jesus assumes his own authority to distinguish between what is absolute and enduring and what is relative and imperfect. But the difficult question with believers—the question which has driven large numbers into the most untenable forms of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture—is this one: How shall we, with safety, make in detail the same distinction? To this question the subsequent discussion must furnish at least a partial and approximate answer. At the present stage of the inquiry it will suffice to reply: To a certain large extent, the disciple can follow the guidance of his Master.

The attitude assumed by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount is maintained throughout his subsequent discourses. It is by this attitude that he teaches, for the most part inferentially, his doctrine of Sacred Scripture. We must inquire, then, more definitely: What is the doctrine of Jesus, first, so far as it is

embodied in his view of his own πλήρωσις of the law; and, secondly, so far as it is embodied in his view of his own πλήρωσις of the prophets?

Certain passages, however, occur which re-assert, although in different form, the general attitude of Christ toward the entire Old-Testament Scriptures. In the declaration of Matt. xi. 13 the law is looked upon rather on its prophetic side, just as in Matt. v. 17 the prophets are looked upon rather on their ethical and legal side; and accordingly the general designation of the Old Testament is reversed, and ὁ νόμος ἡ οἱ προφῆται becomes οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ νόμος. Moreover, in Matt. v. 17 the primary intention is to assert the endurance of the absolute contents of the Old Testament, while in Matt. xi. 13 it is to assert the cessation of their fallible form. The point of view, however, is not essentially different: only the aspect of the object presented has changed. In neither passage is anything said to depreciate confidence in the divine origin and unbroken perpetuity of the Hebrew Scriptures, so far as the truths revealed in their ethical enactments, legal ceremonies, typical rites, and prophetic utterances are concerned. It is at the same time taught that all these Scriptures are also in some sort of only limited and fading value. Generically above the order of the Old Testament stands the new order which Messiah comes to introduce; so much higher, indeed, that, on the logical maxim which Maldonatus has quoted in this connection, *minimum maximi majus est maximo minimi*. This declaration puts the disciple of Christ in a position to criticise the Old-Testament Scriptures with free use of the light which has come to him in Christ, while at the same time his faith is bound to the ideal moral and religious elements of the Old Testament by the declaration of Matt. v. 17.

The two declarations touching the fulfilment of the law and the prophets, by which we may orient ourselves with respect to the sacred Hebrew writings, are given in their moral and logical connection by Luke (xvi. 16, 17). In this passage verse 16 is to be regarded as subordinate to, and preparatory of, verse 17. How Luke came to place two declarations, which, superficially interpreted, seem contradictory, in such a firm logical connection, is a question for criticism to determine. But whatever the historical connection may have been, and whether Luke designs to place them in historical connection at all or not, it is certain that the truths of Matt. v. 17 and

xi. 13 admit of being ethically and logically connected in the relations given them by Luke. Although the law and the prophets, the entire economy which is scripturally fixed in the writings of the Old Testament, with respect to form and temporary relations, endure only until John Baptist; yet of their ethical and spiritual reality, of their absolute and ideal contents, not an item is to be lost.¹

So also in Luke xvi. 29-31, Jesus does not teach simply, as Meyer supposes, that the law and the prophets are the appointed means to penitence, but rather a much wider truth. He implies that the entire Old-Testament economy makes an appeal for the same moral and religious activities of penitence and faith for which he himself, by his resurrection, will make an appeal; and, further, that the attitude of heart which leads to the rejection of the former appeal will not be changed by the latter. Such hearts as will not hear the truth of Moses and the prophets will not be persuaded by one risen from the dead. The righteousness, the attitude of heart toward God and man, demanded by both forms of divine revelation, is essentially the same. Men are saved by repenting and being persuaded, whether through hearkening to the essential truth of law and prophecy or to its embodiment in the resurrection of Messiah.

With this general view of the economy of the Old Testament, the words of Christ to the Samaritan woman (John iv. 22) also correspond. Salvation is indeed "of the Jews" (*ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*), but the present form of it is about to cease (*ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστίν*).

We receive a further hint in Matt. vii. 12, as to the more specific sense in which Jesus regarded the Mosaic law as of divine origin and unbroken perpetuity, and as to the manner in which his own *πλήρωσις* of it was to come about. The same conception of the ethical elements of the Old Testament is manifest in the teaching of Matt. xxii. 34-40; Mark xii. 28-31; Luke x. 25-27: in these passages love is declared to be the conditioning principle of all the contents of both the law and the prophets regarded as concrete divine commands. The quotations of Deut. vi. 5 and Lev. xix. 18 place the conception of righteousness which Jesus held in accord with the consentient voice of the Hebrew prophets; though we are scarcely warranted in saying that he "attached himself directly to the

¹ See Meyer on Luke xvi. 16 f.

prophetic conception of the law in Deuteronomy.”¹ To the teachers of both the Old Testament and the New, only one law is known; and no consciousness of any distinction between a Jehovistic and an Elohistie Torah, or a priestly and a prophetic law, anywhere emerges. Nor is such a distinction even obscurely referred to in any of the passages cited above: the distinction is, however, clearly made between the fundamental moral principles in which the special enactments dependently inhere (*κρέμαται*) and the special enactments themselves. The latter are relatively depreciated. In the same manner (Matt. xxiii. 23) are the purely moral injunctions of Mic. vi. 8 and Hos. xii. 6 exalted by Christ, and the punctilious keeping of the law of tithes (Lev. xxvii. 30) is relatively depreciated.

The distinction between the absolute and the relative applies to the entire Mosaic law, to its distinctively ethical as well as its confessedly ceremonial parts. Especially does the attitude in which Christ places himself to one of the ten divine words of the Decalogue instruct us upon this point. His teaching and conduct with respect to the Mosaic law of the sabbath were a chief point of controversy between the Redeemer and the rabbis. Although he might have based his reply to their complaints on the ground that their own tradition for the observance of the sabbath was not plainly warranted by the Mosaic law, and so simply have taught the inapplicability of the rabbinical tradition to himself and his disciples, he chooses to occupy much higher ground. The ground which he chooses to occupy covers the whole question of his attitude toward the Mosaic law. The act of his disciples in plucking and rubbing out the corn (Matt. xii. 1-8; Mark ii. 23-28; Luke vi. 1-5) could only be placed in apparent contradiction with the law of Exod. xvi. 22 f. or Lev. xxiii. 14; while it was, according to Lightfoot and others, undoubtedly contrary to rabbinical tradition. Christ does not, however, lay emphasis upon this fact. In placing himself, by the challenge of high and unequivocal language, above the sacred place and the ethico-ceremonial enactment of the Mosaic law concerning the sacred feast, he confirms his former teaching as to his attitude toward the Old-Testament Scriptures. He recognizes the truth, that, in fulfilling every jot and tittle of their law, he must allow to pass from obligation, as a part of that law, many of its special enactments, observances, and established points of view. Our chief

¹ Article Bible, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition.

interest, let it not be forgotten, is to observe the attitude which Christ assumed toward the whole question involved. His attitude is not that of the inquirer into the applicability of the ethical enactments in an ancient law: it is rather that of a teacher introducing and applying a new norm or moral code for the observance of the moral and religious truths contained in the law. The same attitude toward the sabbatic provisions of the Mosaic law is uniformly maintained by Christ (Matt. xii. 9-14; Mark iii. 1-6; Luke vi. 6-11, xiii. 10-17, xiv. 1-6; John v. 17 ff.). The absolute contents are distinguished as embodied in their changing form; and "doing well" is, as says Meyer, declared to be "the moral norm for the rest and labor of the sabbath."

In his argument with the Jews concerning circumcision and the sabbath (John vii. 19 ff.), Jesus seems to assume, in part, the historical and critical point of view, and to base the validity of his argument upon that point of view. He seems to imply that the institution of circumcision is not Mosaic but patriarchal, and therefore has priority of claim over the institution of the sabbath; and that the Jews themselves recognize this truth whenever they — in accordance with the law of Moses, which has, on account of this very priority and prior sanctity of circumcision, adopted it — administer the rite of circumcision on the sabbath day.¹ *Amplificatur dignitas circumcisionis respectu sabbati, quo illa sit antiquior adeoque potior* (Bengel). We observe, then, that, in ascribing circumcision and the whole Mosaic law to Moses, Jesus neither implies any distrust as to its divine origin, nor directly pronounces upon the authorship of the Pentateuch. As to the elements of its authorship, however, two important conclusions concerning his opinion may be gathered from this teaching. It is implied that certain ethico-ceremonial requirements were incorporated into the Mosaic law on the ground of their previous observance. Somewhat which is "of the fathers" (*ἐκ τῶν πατέρων*) has become incorporated into the law popularly said to be given by Moses; and such is

¹ We connect (somewhat doubtfully) *διὰ τοῦτο* forward with *οὐχ ἔτι* as Bengel, Luthardt, Meyer, and Alford have done. In case, however, a period is placed after *διὰ τοῦτο* connecting it with *θαυμάζετε*, or if, the punctuation remaining the same as that adopted here (so Tischendorf), we accept the interpretation of Winer (*διὰ τοῦτο*, *be it known to you* Moses gave, etc. — Grammar, 7th ed., § 7, sect. 3); the clause *οὐχ ἔτι . . . πατέρων* becomes parenthetical, and the force of our argument is somewhat weakened. It is not, however, by any means destroyed. Jesus then parenthetically, and not as a basis for his argument, makes this quasi-critical statement.

also the conclusion of critical inquiry. It is also implied that the ethico-ceremonial rite of circumcision had superior sanctity to the legal enactment of the sabbath, and that this sanctity has its ground in historical priority. This view, if it does not involve a decision as to the dependence of the narrative of Gen. ii. 2, 3, upon the sabbatic law in the time of Moses, certainly seems to suggest the critical view upon the question of dependence. And, further, the whole argument is so plainly *ad hominem*, and in the direction of an effort to correct the insanity of rabbinical traditionalism in its observance of the Mosaic law, through what we may call a critical and rational view of the origin and nature of that law, that the entire incident is quite unique in the history of Jesus.

The same distinction between absolute contents of ethical truth, diplomatically fixed in the writings of the Old Testament, and the relative and imperfect form in which those contents are manifested, underlies another teaching of Christ (Matt. xix. 3-12, and Mark x. 2-12). He is asked to define himself with respect to a question in dispute between the two chief rabbinical schools of Hillel and Shammai, and, as the form of the question would indicate, with the expectation that he would declare himself for the school of Shammai. But his reply places his doctrine above that of the schools, and also above the provisions of the Mosaic law itself. The ethical principle of marriage, as it is found expressed in the very structure of male and female, is maintained to be of divine origin; the form of its contract and dissolution as provided for in the Mosaic law is abrogated. We observe, also, that the ethical principle is detected and called forth from its envelopment in the obscurest regions of history; while the form of the precept is abrogated, although plainly laid down in the written law. The fact of the original divine creation of male and female as narrated Gen. i. 27, and the declaration of the original divine law of marriage as given Gen. ii. 24, which is probably to be regarded as a reflective remark of the author (יִשְׂרָאֵל being a customary phrase to introduce such remarks), are spoken of as indicating the divine will and doctrine; while to the regulation of divorce as provided in Deut. xxiv. 1, only the force of a temporary and permissive decree of Moses is given. And, further, the act of joining man and woman in marriage is ascribed to God; while the act of separating those thus joined, although referred to its source in the express provision of the Mosaic law, is contrasted

with this divine act, and is regarded as the faulty work of man. Thus does Christ again show his recognition of certain faulty and fleeting elements in even the ethical provisions of Mosaism, — a recognition formerly made in the case of the Mosaic law of retaliation (Matt. v. 38 f.).

We cannot, to be sure, charge upon Moses, in the name of Christ, a faultiness of moral judgment which would prevent us from considering him as the inspired medium of a divine revelation in the form of legal enactments. The word used by Christ with reference to the act of Moses (*ἐνέτελεν*) seems rather to place the human lawgiver in some sort at that divine point of view from which such concessions are regarded as a necessary part of the divine historic discipline. But we certainly must recognize the fact that the doctrine of the pedagogic and concessive nature of the Old-Testament economy is here taught. The principle of an historic growth from the inferior to the superior, of a passage through a region of moral obscurity and intellectual darkness into one of comparative light, must be largely drawn upon in the attempt to understand the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament. This principle is here distinctly avowed; and having once admitted it, in accord with the doctrine of Christ, we are at liberty to use it as far as need be without contravening his other teachings. Christ did not regard the Old-Testament economy of law as free from even moral imperfections and blemishes. We cannot say, before examination, that any of its entire economy is freer than the so-called law of Moses. The ethical contents of the Old Testament may possibly all be regarded as pedagogically accommodated to the low moral condition of the people.

In his controversy with the Sadducees (Matt. xxii. 23-33; Mark xii. 18-27; Luke xx. 27-39), Christ, although not pronouncing clearly upon the morality of the Levirate law of marriage, seems to regard it from the point of view already indicated. He regards it as being, even in the concessive form given to this ancient Oriental requirement by the Mosaic law, a temporary expedient of imperfect morality. In this case again does the Great Teacher slightly pass over the express provisions of the Old-Testament Scriptures, in order that he may make clear some hidden and only implied, but absolute and abiding, truth which they contained. In this case again we see the same pains-taking to break the shell of form, and reveal the kernel of reality.

The same distinction between contents of absolute truth, and imperfect formal elements which encompass and hold these contents, is found in the attitude of Jesus toward the ceremonial parts of the Mosaic law. The distinction between the ceremonial and the ethical parts, as such, is, indeed, nowhere found in his teaching, and is decidedly contrary to the spirit of the legal writings. The ceremonial itself is symbolically ethical: it has contents of absolute and eternal religious truth. But, like the more distinctively ethical portions of the law, it has these contents not unmixed with formal elements of imperfect and temporary characteristics. It is on the ground of this distinction that the Mosaic law in general is (Matt. xv. 1-20; Mark vii. 1-16) at the same time contrasted with the tradition of the elders, and also itself indirectly accused of being, in respect to the subject of tradition, upon the same unstable ground. The quotation by Christ of two passages from Exod. xx. 12, and xxi. 16, which are here (Matt. xv. 3 and Mark vii. 10) thrown together into one sentence, is introduced by Matthew with the words *ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἐνετείλατο λέγων*, and by Mark with the words *Μωϋσῆς γὰρ εἶπεν*. Christ may have introduced his quotation with words uniting both these forms. In any case, the divine origin of the law seems assumed in his form of introducing these quotations from the Old Testament; for even in Mark the *γάρ* of verse 10 refers to the words *τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ* of the preceding verse, and in both Matthew and Mark the special command of the law securing honor to parents is declared to be a divine word of enduring obligation (*ἡ ἐντολὴ τοῦ θεοῦ*, Matt. xv. 3; and *ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ*, Mark vii. 13). As such a divine word of enduring obligation, the moral precept of the Mosaic law is opposed to the rabbinical tradition, which, planting itself upon a ceremonial law touching the washing of the person and garments (Lev. xv.), was held to be of special importance (Lightfoot), and which, perhaps on the ground of injunctions like those contained in Deut. iv. 14 and xvii. 10, had become more important with the Pharisees than even a command of the Decalogue. While assuming the divine origin of the Mosaic law, Jesus here shows that he is ready to place certain of its precepts, as ceremonial enactments, on a level with the tradition of the elders. And, although the regulations of the Mosaic canon concerning food are not expressly spoken against (Matt. xv. 10, 11), the application of Christ's teaching to them is unmistakable (Meyer). The contrast, then, between a moral

command or precept, an ἐντολή or λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, which is of divine origin and abiding obligation, and a ceremonial observance of temporary force, is applied by Christ to the contents of the Old Testament; and this contrast does not depend upon the distinction between the moral and the ceremonial portions in themselves, but rather upon the distinction between elements of one kind and elements of another kind which are found in both moral and ceremonial portions.

Christ, indeed, bids the cleansed leper (Matt. viii. 4; Mark i. 44; Luke v. 14) comply, either wholly or in part, with the specifications of the Mosaic law as found Lev. xiv. 2 f. As to his motive in issuing this command, some doubt exists owing to the doubtful reference of αὐτοῖς. The apparent motive is to furnish a proof to the people that the leper is really healed. The opinion of Chrysostom, that Christ designs to furnish a witness of his adherence to the Mosaic law, is obviously wrong.¹ He rather suffers the observance of the ceremony, and commands the act, not on its own account, but for the sake of its bearing on his own ministry.

On the contrary, Christ seems to take a hostile position toward the ceremonial law of fasting (Matt. ix. 14-17; Mark ii. 18-22; Luke v. 33-39). But the ideal reality and absolute contents of even this part of the Mosaic law are not left unfulfilled. The religious thought and feeling which appropriately express themselves in the ceremonial observance are recognized and provided for in the permissive attitude of Christ toward the Mosaic law of fasting. His illustrations (Matt. ix. 16, 17) not only place the ceremony of fasting where the Apostolic Church, following him, placed it; but they also teach plainly the broader principle that in general the ancient forms of the Mosaic law are — as being imperfect and faulty, and as having accomplished their pedagogic uses — to be abrogated. Like a single flash of lightning do we see the words of Mark vii. 19 — which the author of the Gospel understands Jesus to speak, “purging all meats,” — illumine the whole field of the ceremonial law.

Nor is the point of view changed when Christ instructs the people (Matt. xxiii. 23) to follow all the institutions of the Pharisees in so far as they were the successors of Moses in the expounding of his law. This instruction was designed for only very brief application; since the seat of Moses, on which the

¹ So Fritzsche: “Hæc autem dixit ut turbæ testaretur se magni facere Moses instituta.”

Pharisees had officially placed themselves, was soon to be taken down. In the name of the eternal moral law he charges the same people not to be guilty of the crime of the Pharisees,—a crime essentially the same in all ages, and whose essence is self-righteous hypocrisy.

By repeated quotation of Hos. vi. 6 (Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7), that view of the law is espoused which is frequently expressed in the Old Testament itself (Isa. i. 11-17; Ps. xl. 6-8, l. 8-23; Mic. vi. 6-8), and which teaches the worthlessness of all observances of concrete enactments as compared with the principles of righteous conduct.

We conclude, then, from a complete survey of his doctrine, that Christ taught the existence in the Mosaic law of two sets of elements, which possess contrasted, and in some respects mutually exclusive, characteristics. This law has contents of absolute truth, real and abiding words of God; but it has also contents of imperfect and faulty concrete enactments. And, moreover, we must distinguish between the contents of truth, and those formal and relative elements which serve to hold, and even to conceal, these contents. As to the nature of the writings in which both these sets of elements appertaining to Mosaism are fixed, we are left almost wholly to make our own inferences. The writings are indeed called Sacred Scripture. The plainest inference is, that the writings are sacred because they contain sacred contents of revealed moral and religious truth. But if the qualities of divine origin and authority are to be inferred for the writings in which these contents of truth are fixed, the qualities of human imperfection and faultiness must also be inferred for the same writings. In other words, we have on the authority of Christ no warrant for declaring the writings of Mosaism to be sacred in any sense or to any degree which does not follow from the sacredness of the law they contain. And the sacredness of this law is, on the same authority, not such as to secure it from the charge of imperfection and faultiness when compared with an absolute standard.

And, further, although Moses is obviously regarded as the chosen medium for revealing the divine words fixed in certain sacred writings of the Hebrews, no doctrine of his inspiration as a writer of Scripture is taught. God is indeed said to speak in the divine words which issue as legal institutions or enactments from Moses. Yet how little ground can here be

found for any detailed doctrine of the inspiration of the writings of Mosaism, the most conspicuous example offers a convincing proof. (See Matt. xxii. 23-33, and parallel passages.) The quotation of the words recorded as spoken by Jehovah to Moses at the bush is differently introduced by each of the three Synoptists. The declaration which Matthew makes Christ give as "the thing spoken by God saying," Luke prefaces with the words, "but that the dead are raised, even Moses indicated at the bush, when he saith;" while Mark, in this passage, as not infrequently, seems somewhat to harmonize the two others by standing between them. "Did ye not read in the book of Moses, at the bush how God spake to him saying," are the words which introduce the quotation in Mark. That the citation contains only "Rabbinical dialectic," as Strauss and others have maintained, and that we can argue nothing from it as to the doctrine of Jesus touching the Word of God in the Hebrew Scriptures, is manifestly false. The falsehood of this view is proved by the fact that the records of the Synoptists, when harmonized, clearly show that Jesus, in some form of quotation, attributed the word of Exod. iii. 6 to Jehovah. It is significant, however, that one of the Synoptists, and that one Luke, should say of the doctrine of the words quoted, "Moses indicated [*ἐμύνησεν*] it;" especially since the argument in Luke seems to turn, as the particle *καί* (verse 37) informs us, upon the view that *Moses was* the teacher of the doctrine. (So also Mark, while Matthew lets this point entirely slip.) Nor can this identifying of the medium of divine truth with the source of that truth in God, receive here its customary explanation. (For example, compare Matt. xv. 4 with Mark vii. 10.) For, from the point of view of the Old-Testament narrative, the words of Exod. iii. 6 cannot be said to have been spoken, or indicated through teaching, by Moses, in the same sense in which, in general, the inspired speaker or writer may be said to speak the words, or indicate the teaching, of God. The Old-Testament point of view seems to have been that Jehovah addressed these words to Moses with an audible voice, and during an actual and open vision of a bush on fire. The form of quotation employed in Luke is not, then, a simple identifying of the writer of revealed truth with the source of the revelation, but a *lowering of the point of view*. Moses can be said to be the author of these words only, "*narrando sc. quod dixerat Deus*" (Grotius). We have here

only the statement that a divine word of truth concerning the resurrection had come by Moses, and been recorded in the book bearing his name; for the popular and uncritical use which is here made of the words "in the book of Moses" (*ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ Μωϋσέως*) will not permit us to press them in favor of any particular theory of the authorship of the Pentateuch. The highest form of revelation and inspiration known to the rabbinical view of Hebrew Sacred Scriptures, the form in which Jehovah is said to speak directly to Moses the words recorded as Jehovah's own, does not, so far as any thing is here taught by Christ, escape the conditions which belong to revelation and inspiration in general.

We are left, then, to infer even the inspiration of the medium of revelation as an effect of, and a preparation for, the revelation received by him. As to the fact and qualities of inspiration, when transferred by a figure of speech from the medium of revelation to the record of the revelations made, we have, besides the bare titles applied to Sacred Scripture, no information from Christ applicable to the legal contents of the Mosaic law.

We have, however, to notice further that the Mosaic law contains prophetic as well as legal contents. Indeed, its ceremonial portions are in general regarded as symbolic and prophetic; its more distinctively ethical portions are given in shadow-lines anticipatory of the artist who is to fill them in with the completed picture. What it was in the Mosaic law, regarded upon its prophetic side, which Christ undertook especially to authenticate, we learn from his charge against the unbelieving Jews (John v. 45). The very Moses upon whom they had set their hopes of Messianic salvation through zealous obedience to his law, was their accuser; for he had written concerning Christ, not only in the seemingly prophetic-Messianic words of Deut. xviii. 15, but in all the Messianic types and promises of the Pentateuch, that is, in the Messianic contents of the books which bear his name. But in this declaration the prophetic inspiration of the medium of such divine Messianic promises and predictions is clearly implied; the corresponding quality is also ascribed by inference to the writings thus composed. It is not taught, however, that these sacred Messianic portions of the Pentateuch were composed by one having a self-conscious intuition of the meaning of his work. Moreover, by the terms of his charge

against the Jews (for *ἐπαινᾶτε*, verse 39, is to be considered as indicative rather than imperative), Jesus implies the same distinction with which we are now familiar. They were caught and entangled in the form; the contents of truth which they should reach, but did not, were the real testimony to himself. Christ does not find fault with them for diligent study of their Sacred Scriptures: he does accuse them of folly and sin in idolizing the written word while neglecting its ideal contents of truth.

From the same point of view must we interpret the argument of John x. 34 ff. The design of Christ is not, as is generally supposed, to clear himself of the charge of blasphemy: it is rather to convict his opponents of captiousness, inexcusable and even unconsciously blasphemous, in making the charge. Jesus had spoken of God as his Father in such way that the Jews correctly understood him as implying that he was in some special sense *ὁὓς τοῦ θεοῦ*, and were about to stone him. But he reminds them of certain premises which they would accept: viz., that their law represented (Ps. lxxxii. 6) the theocratic judges, whom the divine word had constituted such with an official call, as receiving from Jehovah the title "gods," and that, as all admitted, the Scripture in this case, as generally, could not be deprived of its authority. What a captious falsehood was, then, their charge of blasphemy against him, who, although consecrated and sent into the world for a far loftier divine mission, had only by inference called himself the Son of God! This argument is thus far designedly concessive: it involves, however, by concession, a certain view of the nature of the Old-Testament economy and Scriptures. The argument concedes that the dignitaries spoken of as gods (Ps. lxxxii. 6, Exod. xxi. 6, xxii. 28) were constituted such by divine authority (*ὁ λόγος ἐγένετο τοῦ θεοῦ*): this would be true whether we refer the title to Gentile rulers (De Wette and Ewald) or to the judges of Israel. In either case the term *Elohim* is not, as Ewald supposes, ironical. The argument further concedes that this scripture — Christ here coinciding with the point of view held by the Jews — cannot be abrogated (*ἀνθῆναι*) or rendered of no authority and effect. To what this concession refers, we learn by consulting Matt. v. 19. But below this argument, which we may call designedly superficial and an *argumentum ad hominem*, lies yet another. They had stickled for the letter of their law, and had been confuted by an argument based on that very letter of

which they would make use to convict him. They had, however, no real sympathy with the higher contents of truth in that scripture which they made haste to defend. Its "normative and judicial authority" was to be preserved by believing in Messiah. To these Messianic contents of the law, then, did the divine indestructible authority especially apply.

The doctrine of Christ as to the origin and nature of the *distinctively prophetic contents* of the Old-Testament Scriptures may be inferred from his own discourses with considerable distinctness and completeness. In what sense we are to understand that *fulfilling of the prophets* (πλήρωσις τῶν προφητῶν), to which he refers (Matt. v. 17), we are not left in doubt, although the illustrations given in Matthew refer only to the contents of the law. Christ believed in the inspiration of the Hebrew prophets, and in the reality of their predictions; but he adopted the typical view of their prophecy, and placed the emphasis of his teaching upon those Messianic ideas, utterances, and even events of history, which left their truth only in shadow-lines to be filled in by himself. It is, therefore, as received through inspired servants of God, and as in part diplomatically fixed by them, that the written contents of the prophetic portions of the Old Testament are, on the authority of Christ, to be called Sacred Scripture. The illustration and proof of the different elements of this statement must be blended in our examination, but they need not be confused.

The words of Christ, when he drove out the profaners of the temple, show his accord with the moral feeling expressed in Isa. lvi. 7 and Jer. vii. 11. But his own death, considered as prophetically anticipated, he regards from the first of his ministry as the final purpose of it all (see Matt. ix. 15 and Meyer's note, John i. 29, ii. 19, iii. 14).

Toward the close of his life his teaching upon the truth that his own death was prophetically anticipated in the Old Testament becomes more clear and unmistakable (Luke xviii. 31-34, xxii. 37, xxiv. 27, 44-47). The sufferings and death of Messiah were, as Jesus believed, not only implicitly taught and plainly foreshadowed in the Old Testament; but these were even the more important and central truths predicted of himself, with the fulfilment of which the prophecy of the former dispensation should come to its complete realization in both idea and history. All the things written by the prophets with reference to the Son of man will be perfected by his sufferings, death, and

resurrection (xviii. 31). These culminating events, looked upon as comprehending his entire mission, comprehend also all which was written in Sacred Scripture concerning that mission. Furthermore, the ideal and historic connections between himself and Hebrew prophecy cannot be a matter of mere coincidence or similarity of picturesque representation. What has been written *must be* fulfilled (see the *δαί πληρωθῆναι* of Luke xxiv. 44, and the *δαί τελεσθῆναι* of Luke xxii. 37, and comp. Matt. xxvi. 54). It is the indestructible divine purpose, that the things written in prophetic Hebrew Scriptures shall be brought completely to pass in himself. This declaration is obviously dependent upon the belief that the predictive contents of Scripture were the work of the same Eternal Spirit whose mind was also made manifest in his own correlative words and deeds.

Jesus seems to have had especially before his mind that greatest of all the Messianic prophecies, where the figure of the suffering servant of Jehovah is introduced by the greatest of all the prophets of Israel; viz., Isa. lli. 13–liii. 12. This is clear from the fact, that, while dwelling upon the last verse of this prophecy, his vision sweeps in one glance so broad a field that he can announce in general terms: *The things concerning me* have reached their fulfilment (Luke xxii. 37). It was doubtless upon this prediction of the fate of the servant of Jehovah that he dwelt much in thought, when after his resurrection he opened the mind of his disciples to comprehend the Scriptures (xxiv. 44 f.). Of the reality of prophetic inspiration, and of the existence of predictive contents in the Hebrew prophetic writings, we cannot presume that Jesus had any doubt.

How far, however, his doctrine of prophecy involves the belief that any, even of the most distinctively Messianic utterances, have their primal and historic reference solely to himself, we are not directly informed. We have abundant indirect proof, however, that Christ held in most instances the typical view of inspired prophecy. We have little proof that in more than one or two instances at most he claimed for the prophecy of the Hebrew Scriptures as applied to himself any other than this secondary fulfilment. In the case of Christ and prophecy, the ideal is the truest, most substantially real.

Considered as throwing light upon this question, the interpretation of Luke xxii. 37 becomes one of the most significant pieces of minute grammatical exegesis in all the extent of the Synoptic Gospels. With reference to Isa. liii. 12, the declara-

tion is made, *τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοί*; and the ground (*γάρ*) of this specific declaration is then given in the further general declaration: *καὶ γὰρ τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ τέλος ἔχα*. The question at once arises, What is the contrast here suggested? Is it between those Scriptures which have reference to Christ and other Scriptures not having this reference; or is it between that fulfilment of these Messianic prophecies which he is to accomplish (which, therefore, makes them to be concerning himself) and that other fulfilment of the same prophecies which makes them concern the ones to whom they had only primary and historic reference? To this question we answer with Meyer, although against Luther, Calvin, Bengel, Olshausen, De Wette, Bleek, and others: The latter contrast is the one suggested and made. This answer, although opposed to the weight of authority, is made with considerable confidence, on the following grounds: (1) The fact that the *τὸ γεγραμμένον* of the first sentence has no personal limitation, while *τελεσθῆναι* is limited by *ἐν ἐμοί*, suggests the view: Jesus believed that a prophecy *not primarily written of himself* might still, in the highest and completest manner, be *fulfilled in himself*. (2) The specific form of *τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ* seems to set the indefiniteness of the unlimited *τὸ γεγραμμένον* into yet stronger contrast. (3) And finally, the connective, *καὶ γὰρ* — the force of which, as Meyer truly says most commentators have neglected — shows that Jesus was thinking of the “subject of the historic meaning of the passage as being another than himself, and one of whom he himself is the antitype.”

But, if this exegesis be correct, Christ implicitly accepts and teaches the typical view of prophecy with reference to Isa. lii. 13–liii. 12, — a passage which is generally admitted to be one of the most clearly Messianic. In his view, this Messianic passage was not necessarily such because he was himself alone the one who gave it its historic and primary fulfilment. He teaches that the prophets have predicted the sufferings, death, and final triumph of the servant of Jehovah; and not simply in single passages of their books, but all these things have been written in the law of Moses and in the Psalms, as well as in the Prophets (Luke xxiv. 44). These all are also concerning himself: they are so because he gives to them their highest, final, and comprehensive fulfilment. In Christ, his sufferings and death and resurrection, they are all, in their absolute meaning and ideal contents, to the last jot and tittle fulfilled. Who

this servant of Jehovah was in the historic significance, — the suffering, dying, and yet triumphing One of the awfully sweet and majestic utterance of the ancient inspired writer, — Christ does not give an opinion. The question, as says Meyer, is indeterminate (*beruht auf sich*): it may safely thus be left. Criticism, both ancient and modern, has been much disturbed and thrown into confusion over it; but by answering the question according to his light the critic does not disturb the teaching of Christ. There are, indeed, difficulties which accompany any answer to this question of criticism; but no other answer has greater difficulties than the one which makes the passage in Isaiah directly and solely Messianic. The view of Delitzsch, "who thinks that Messiah stands objectively before the mind of the writer," is no freer from either critical or dogmatic difficulties than the view of Ewald,¹ who derives this conception of the suffering servant of Jehovah from the condition of the pious Jewish people in the reign of Manasseh, as specifically applied and illustrated in the case of some martyr prophet whose person we cannot to-day accurately distinguish. Had some questioner of the time of Jesus asked of him as did the eunuch of Philip, "I pray thee, concerning whom speaketh the prophet this? concerning himself or concerning some other one?" Jesus would, it is likely, have answered as did Philip (Acts viii. 34 f.).

We are not left, however, to a confessedly difficult choice in the exegesis of one passage, for our information respecting the view of Christ upon the nature of Hebrew prophecy and its fulfilment in himself. With one or two possible exceptions, all his references to the prophetic contents of the Old-Testament Scriptures appear to be made from the same point of view.

The title "he that cometh," *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, taken probably from Ps. xl. 6, 8 (perhaps also from Ps. cxviii. 26 with reference to the words of Deut. xviii. 15), and appropriated by Christ (Matt. xi. 2 ff. and Luke vii. 18-23), must be understood as a typical fulfilment of prophecy. So also the fulfilment which Christ as *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* gives to certain prophetic passages of the Old Testament; for example, Isa. xxxv. 5 f. and lxi. 1. The title of the rejected stone, which was made the head of the corner (Ps. cxviii. 22 f.), he espouses in the same manner (Matt. xxi. 42; Luke xx. 17), while quoting Sacred Scripture with the introductory phrase, *Οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς*.

¹ Die Propheten, etc., III. pp. 27 f. and 89 f.

Ps. cxviii. was, however, first sung either at the first celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles after the return of the Jews (Ewald), or at the dedication of the completed temple (Delitzsch). The rejected stone refers, therefore, in its primary and historic meaning, to the small remnant of the Jewish people, who were to become, nevertheless, the foundation of the reconstructed theocratic kingdom. It is only in its secondary and typical meaning that Christ can intend to refer it to himself, who, though rejected by the Jews, should become the chief and abiding corner of the kingdom of heaven. In Matt. xxiv. 15 he speaks of Daniel as the prophet, and sees, in the term which that writer applies to the desolation of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, a pregnancy of meaning which makes it applicable to the other and later fulfilment of which he himself warns his disciples.

In the same light are we to regard the authority which Christ gives by his conduct to the claim of the Evangelists; viz., that his entry into Jerusalem was in fulfilment of Zech. ix. 9 (see Matt. xxi. 4; John xii. 14, 15). The fulfilment of the prophecy does not consist, however, so much in the remarkable external correspondence of demeanor as in the real correspondence of character thus externally symbolized.

Another instance of the view of Jesus touching Old-Testament prophecy is found in his application of Mal. iii. 1 and iv. 5 to the case of John Baptist (see Matt. xvii. 10-13; Mark ix. 11-13). This instance illustrates with especial clearness the difference between the rabbinical interpretation of prophecy and that of our Lord. As to the passage from Malachi, it was originally written, according to Ewald,¹ by an author of unknown name, whose "flying leaf" its redactor ingeniously inscribed with its present title (Angelicus), and whose period of writing is to be placed about a half-century after Haggai and Zechariah. The last one of his three main divisions of prophecy sets forth the coming of Jehovah to the judgment of the people for their sins. Again, and for the last time within the Canon of the Old Testament, the terrible day of the appearing of Jehovah is announced. But before that day, and to prepare the way for his coming to judgment, Jehovah will send his messenger, the messenger of his ancient covenant, — none other than the mighty Elijah. The expectation of such a prophet to precede the coming of Messiah was held by the

¹ Die Propheten, etc., III. p. 214 ff.

rabbis at the Christian era, as the question of the disciples implies. This expectation was doubtless originally founded upon the promise of "a Prophet" as given in Deut. xviii. 15, 18, and had probably taken shape in the selection of Elijah to return as the promised prophet, previous even to the prophecy of Malachi. To this selection the lofty character of Elijah, who in deeds of might and in prophetic activity surpassed all the other prophets, and who talked with God at Horeb (1 Kings xix. 9 ff.), led the mind of the Jews. It was also largely aided, if we may trust the very probable view of Hitzig,¹ by the belief in the translation of that prophet: he was thus regarded as alive with God, and therefore deemed peculiarly suitable to send again to earth by an age in which the doctrine was not yet developed that *all* the pious after their death live in the blessed divine presence. Ewald, with his usual freedom and suggestiveness in conjecture, supposes that a prophetic book, now lost, was in existence in the time of Malachi, which had much to say of Elijah as the messenger of the covenant; but of this we have no proof.

Christ denies that the prophecy of Malachi was to be fulfilled in the manner in which the Jews of that prophet's time, the rabbis and people of his own time, and probably the prophet himself, understood the words; but he asserts the ideal truth taught in the tradition of the scribes. According to the text of Mark, he asserts with the theoretic form of the indefinite present (Bengel and Meyer), according to the text of Matthew, with the prophetic future, that John Baptist is the forerunner here prophesied. In its typical meaning the prophecy of Malachi is already fulfilled.² But the coming of John Baptist is the preparation for the fulfilment of those prophecies which set forth his own sufferings and rejection. Those prophecies, then,—such is the conclusion which is with exquisite delicacy and tenderness of feeling left only indicated (Meyer),—will soon likewise be fulfilled. In this interpretation of the words of Malachi, Christ places himself and his principles of the interpretation of prophecy much above not only the scribes and disciples of his own day, but also, it would appear, above the self-conscious intent of the prophet himself.

The same view of Hebrew prophecy is indicated in the use

¹ Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten, Leipzig, 1863, p. 413.

² Luke shows (l. 17) his recognition of the validity of this typical fulfilment, as well as the results of later reflection, when he introduces the explanatory words, *ὁ προφητὴς καὶ ὑμῶν Ἰλίου*.

made by Jesus of Zech. xiii. 7 (Matt. xxvi. 31). That this prophecy contains real Messianic contents of typical and predictive truth is assumed in the phrase (γέγραπται γάρ) with which it is introduced. Of the passages of Zechariah from which quotation is here made, Ewald¹ truly declares: "The Messianic hopes and symbols are in the case of this prophet quite as elaborate and well formed, quite as forceful and predominant, as in the case of his fellow-countryman and contemporary Isaiah." The question of interest in the case of Zech. xiii. 7 is, whether the shepherd against whom the sword is bidden to arise is the prophet himself, here regarded by Jesus as a type of Messiah, or the evil shepherd, regarded by Zechariah either as a representative of the false prophets in general, or as identified with some evil Jewish (or other) ruler,—it may be Judas Maccabaeus, Jehoiakim, or Pekah. The first inspection of Zechariah xiii. 7 would incline us to refer the prophet's words to the worthless shepherd of xi. 17, who is here personified in the Jewish ruler of that time. Christ, however, seems to quote the words as though their meaning required much more than what we may call a proverbial application of them to himself. Of any shepherd, evil or good, it is true that when he is smitten the sheep are scattered abroad. But the connection, and the departure from the imperative mood of the LXX.,² decidedly require the view that Jesus believed this prophecy in its original application to be strictly typical of his own case. Nor when we turn again to the consideration of the Hebrew do we find his belief without grounds there. The smitten shepherd of Zech. xiii. 7 may well enough be the "pierced" one spoken of, xii. 10, and he who is both smitten and pierced, the same as the shepherd scornfully appraised at the value of thirty pieces of silver by those who rejected him, xi. 10–13. As the pierced one is identified with Jehovah in xii. 10, being his messenger and representative, so the smitten shepherd is called the man of Jehovah's union, xiii. 7. While, then, we cannot conclude with Stier and Alford that the words in Zechariah are "prophetic-Messianic," and refer to no other than Messiah designated as the good shepherd

¹ See *Die Propheten*, etc., I. p. 248 f.

² Παράγει and ἐκπαύει; although at least two manuscripts, of which the Alexandrine is one, are said to read πάρεθρον. The Alexandrine manuscript has also διασκοπισθήσονται. The imperative is not inconsistent with the meaning of the Hebrew words, in which the necessary consequence of the want of a shepherd appears as a command (Hitzig).

smitten, we are warranted in interpreting the passage so as to make it accord with the deeper significance given it by Christ. "Jesus sees himself typically represented in the shepherd; . . . and therefore the passage Zech. xiii. 7 cannot be referred to the evil shepherd of xi. 15 ff., but only to the shepherd ordained of God, whose antitype he is" (Meyer on Matt. xxvi. 31).

In accordance with the same view, Jesus beholds the fulfilment of prophecy in the constant work of Messianic grace which accompanied all his public ministry (Luke iv. 16-30). In Isa. lxi. 1 the prophet is speaking of his own divine mission to the suffering and captive Jews; here, as Ewald has pointed out, the speaker sums up what has been said before in a long section, and thus comes forth before the reader as a prophet, with a bolder step and a clearer utterance of his convictions touching his mission. The passage is Messianic only in its secondary meaning: it is so appropriated by Christ with the declaration, "To-day this Scripture hath been fulfilled in your ears." The prophetic work for which Jesus was anointed by God was one of wider sphere and higher cogency than that of the Old-Testament prophets: his own work was, nevertheless, so like their work, that in doing it he elevates and fulfils their conceptions of their own prophetic mission.

Two passages remain in which Christ seems to take different ground from that thus far discovered, in respect to the nature of prophetic inspiration and of the inspired prophetic consciousness.

The teaching of John viii. 56 ff. respecting the prophetic and paradisiacal vision of Abraham may afford us further information upon the points under discussion: this information is, however, meagre and somewhat doubtfully obtained. The so-called Socinian interpretation of this passage — viz., that Abraham "would have enjoyed if he had seen" the day of Messiah — may be without hesitation rejected: Meyer rightfully pronounces it a "monstrous perversion." Meyer is, however, himself wrong in claiming for *iva* its full telic force: the particle is here used with that modified meaning which accompanied the decline of Greek from the old classical to the modern form. We should, then, translate with Winer (Grammar, § 44, c.): "Abraham rejoiced that he should see my day, and he did see it, and was glad." The day of Christ is the day of his Messianic appearing through birth (compare Job

iii. 1), and Abraham is represented as still living in connections of interest and hope with the people which sprang from his loins.¹ He may, therefore, be spoken of as finding joy in the realization, by Christ's coming, of the Messianic promises made to himself as the ancestor of Messiah and of the nation.

What, however, was the nature of that prophetic intuition to the faith of which the promise was originally and historically made? In what sense did Jesus mean to teach that Abraham rejoiced that he should see Messiah's day of appearing in flesh upon the earth? Was the vision of his faith directly "prophetic-Messianic,"—a vision in which, as Bengel and Olshausen claim, he had a self-conscious prophetic view of the glory of Messiah? The words of Christ in John viii. 56 ff. do not enable us with confidence to ascribe to him either an affirmative or a negative answer to this question. But the analogies applicable in the case incline us rather to suppose that Abraham could have had no such intuition of Messiah. The prophetic-Messianic hope, in the form of an intuition in which the prophet beholds the Messiah as a person of royal, prophetic, or priestly qualities and dignity, with any clear self-consciousness of the essential contents of this hope, is certainly a matter of far later development than the time of Abraham. Only one such intuition at most—viz., that of Deut. xviii. 15—can be ascribed, on the authority of Scripture, to Moses; only one at most—viz., that of Ps. cx.—to David. Even in these later cases the form of the intuition is by no means clear, or applicable throughout to the personality of Messiah. Without, then, denying the objective possibility that Abraham may have enjoyed some of the later forms of the more distinctively prophetic-Messianic hope, we do not find ourselves able to assert, upon the authority of Christ, that he did have such an intuition. The patriarch held the hope in form suited to his circumstances: this form was the expectation that he should be the ancestor of a multitudinous nation, blessing all other nations, and honored by them (Gen. xii., xv., xvii., xviii., xxii.). The vision was one of essential truth, without self-conscious recognition of the true form to be afterward assumed by the truth. The promise was one of essential blessing, conveyed in a form to arouse hope in Abraham, and yet in a form which only served as a temporary shell for its kernel of ideal and abiding truth.

¹ For this thought, see Luke xvi. 25 ff. It is also found in the apocryphal Testament of Levi.

In one instance only does Jesus seem to involve a question of criticism in his teaching with respect to the prophetic contents of the Old Testament; in one and the same instance only does he seem to claim a more direct intuition of Messiah for any author of these contents. (See Matt. xxii. 41-46, and parallel passages.) It is also noteworthy, that concerning this prophecy alone have we the fact of inspiration stated in express terms. We appear, in this case, to be compelled to assert with Delitzsch, that the inference which Christ wished the Pharisees to draw rests upon two premises taken for granted,—first, that Ps. cx. is Davidic; and, second, that it is “prophetico-Messianic.” In most cases of quotation from the Hebrew Scriptures, which occur in the discourses of Jesus, the validity of the Hebrew titles does not enter into the substance of the truth taught; in the other cases in the New Testament where this very psalm is quoted as Messianic (as, e.g., in Acts ii. 34, 1 Cor. xv. 25, and in Hebrews), the stricter view of its prophetic quality is not implied.

In this case, however, we can scarcely regard the use made of the Davidic title of the psalm as a mere accommodation or *argumentum ad hominem*; and as to the proof of its Davidic authorship, we remark as follows: It was without doubt the general opinion of Christ’s time, that Ps. cx. was written by David. Some modern critics, who do not assign the authorship of the psalm directly to the Jewish king, ascribe it to his time as a hymn addressed like an oracle to that king.¹ There is, indeed, considerable in the psalm, in its form of address (דָּוִד), and its local and temporal coloring,—which even Delitzsch admits,—to favor the opinion that it was addressed to David rather than *by* him to Messiah. On the other hand, the form of address is far from decisive; while the use of the word “oracle” (נְבִיאָה), as applied to the contents of the psalm, is regarded by Delitzsch, apparently with weighty reasons, as decisive against the view of Ewald. In this equipoise of critical considerations—and as to the fact of this equipoise the frequent shifting of view by Von Hofmann, for instance, may testify—the weight of dogmatic considerations is sure to be conclusive.

In close connection with the question of the Davidic authorship of this psalm is the question as to its Messianic character. It is, says Delitzsch,² “prophetico-Messianic;” i.e., in it “the

¹ Ewald, *Die Psalmen und die Klaglieder*. Göttingen, 1866.

² *Commentary on the Psalms* (Ps. cx.).

future Messiah stands objectively before the mind of David." This view, although not without great difficulties, seems on the whole justifiable. The rabbinical interpretation of the time of Christ accepted it; while the later rabbis attempted, with ill success, to escape the conclusions from this view by introducing other and forced interpretations. The address of the first verse, though "without any perfectly analogous example" in its use of the word *נָא*, which is placed generally at the close, and more rarely at the beginning, of a sentence, is nevertheless after the manner of the prophets.¹ The general description of the psalm corresponds in many particulars to the opinion that the writer is contemplating the one to whom the oracle of Jehovah is spoken, as an ideal priest-king of the future. We have, however, to admit with Delitzsch, that "there is no other psalm in which David distinguishes between himself and Messiah;" and that "the other Messianic psalms of David are reflected images of his own typical history." And, to a certain large extent, this latter remark is true of Ps. cx. The form, then, lay in the mind of David, even when prophesying *ἐν πνεύματι*, as temporary, faulty, and limited by the conceptions of his own kingly rule. He had brought the ark after bloody victories to Zion; he had ended the contest with the Ammonites and their allies by the conquest of Rabbah. A greater king than he, though after the pattern of a conquering hero like David himself, should come in the future; a greater priest than he had been in the partial and fitful exercise of the sacerdotal functions should appear in the one who should be a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek.

For the questions of Christ's doctrine as to the prophetic contents and prophetic inspiration of the Old Testament, the foregoing conclusions are important; but they are not confirmatory of the view often based upon them. Christ here asserts, at most, that David (*αὐτὸς Δαυὶδ*, Mark xii. 37) was prophetically inspired (*ἐν πνεύματι*, Matt. xxii. 43; *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ*, Mark xii. 36), with a certain consciousness of his prophetic intent (*τῷ κυρίῳ μου*), to set forth in the psalm the superhuman as well as the human side of the Messiahship to which Christ himself laid claim. But beyond the authenticating, by the opinion of Christ, of the title of Ps. cx., and the declaration of its special character as "prophetic-Messianic," the strictest interpretation of this passage can contribute to the

¹ See Gesenius, *Lexicon*.

doctrine of Sacred Scripture nothing in addition to the information already received. We cannot conclude that all the Hebrew titles are authentic; or that all passages of the Old Testament, quoted in the New as Messianic, are "prophetic-Messianic;" or that, because the Davidic origin of Ps. cx. is involved in the fairness of the argument in which its citation stands, therefore the origin of all the Scriptures cited is according to the title by which they are cited; or that, on the authority of Christ, the kind of inspiration attributed to David in this case always belonged to his writing; or that David's inspiration, or the inspiration of any other prophetic medium of revelation, is a guaranty against such faulty, but nevertheless grand, uplifting, and typically true, views of Messiah as we actually see to have been held by the writer of this psalm. Moreover, the firmness with which the teaching of Jesus upholds a few central truths regarding the nature of Old-Testament prophetic writings, while giving over to the researches of criticism the entire domain lying outside of these truths, is especially evinced in this most decisive utterance.

We notice a certain advance in the claims made by Christ for the distinctively prophetic, and especially the Messianic and "prophetic-Messianic," contents of the Old Testament, as compared with its more distinctively legal contents. The latter are indeed regarded as concrete divine enactments or institutions which came to the people through a divinely chosen medium; but through a medium concerning whose inspiration in utterance we have no information. The contents of the law, when regarded as containing legal words of Jehovah, are brought into prominence: the inspired personality of the medium is kept out of view. Prophetic contents are not, however, wanting in the law; and Moses is a prophet as well as a lawgiver. The writings of the law are, then, to be regarded as Sacred Scripture in that they hold, scripturally fixed, certain divine contents. But in the case of the distinctively prophetic contents of the Old Testament, the inspired personality of the medium is brought more prominently into view. The predictive word of Sacred Scripture is regarded as corresponding to the phrase *τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος*. (See Matt. i. 22, ii. 15.) The divine source of the word, its objective verity, and the inspired consciousness of the messenger, are all thus brought before our minds. The prophetic writings, then, are more distinctly presented to us as laying claim to the honor of

the title Sacred Scripture: this claim they lay not only in the nature of their contents, which are regarded as words of the Lord, but also in the manner of their utterance, which comes by selected and inspired media. Yet it is as testifying of Messiah, and as fulfilled by him, that the writings of the prophets have their chief claim to be considered as of divine origin, as inspired and sacred. This very testimony is, moreover, given for the most part in symbols and typical forms. The consciousness of the prophet, even when most elevated, as in the case of David in Ps. cx. (even, that is, when it becomes a "prophetic-Messianic" consciousness), is not cleared of all obscurity, or faultiness and error in its conceptions. On the other hand, the loftiest and most undoubtedly Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament—as, e.g., that of Isa. lii. 13–liii. 12—may be regarded as having only their secondary and typical fulfilment in Christ. Indeed, the typical view of Old-Testament prophecy is as indispensable to any reasonable view of Sacred Scripture as it is plainly indicated by the teaching of the Redeemer.¹ But most emphatically must we insist upon the very wide and impassable chasm between the rabbinical view of inspiration and that of our Lord. In his utterances there is no trace of what has been fitly described as "typological concupiscence." The dictum of the rabbis, and of many Christian writers who follow Jewish rabbis rather than Christ, has been, "*Omnes prophetae in universum non prophetarunt nisi de diebus Messiae.*" The teaching of Christ, while unfolding the *latentes rerum Messiae figuras* of Old-Testament Sacred Scripture, is content simply to avow, *τούτω πάντες οἱ προφῆται μαρτυροῦσιν*.

We consider, in the next place, certain passages which have to do more especially with the historical narratives of the Hebrew Scriptures. In this consideration also our conclusions must be reached, for the most part, by indirect and somewhat doubtful inference. The point of view which Jesus takes toward the history of the Old Testament is uncritical: the use which he makes of this history is neither designed, nor for the most part adapted, to authenticate it, but rather to enforce and illustrate his own ethical and religious teachings.

¹ Jesus declares (John xiii. 18) that the choice of Judas as a disciple was made in order that the Scripture of Ps. xii. 9 might be fulfilled. In this case, again, the supposition that the unknown sufferer of this psalm was regarded as constituting an experience, not only similar to, but also typical of, Messiah's, will alone reconcile the results of criticism with the declaration of Christ. So also in the case of John xv. 25, quoted from Ps. xxxv. 19.

It cannot be denied, however, that the general impression made by his teachings is this: Jesus regarded the history of the Old Testament as containing supernatural elements, as being the narrative of self-revelations of Jehovah to his people, and as being typical, in its single events and entire course, of the Messianic history which he was himself to inaugurate. We inquire more specifically, How far do certain references which Jesus makes to alleged facts of Old-Testament history, as though they were facts, constitute a proof of his acceptance of the details of the history in which the narrative of these alleged facts is set?

An example of the above-mentioned kind of inquiry which has been much debated, although perhaps least worthy of debate, is given us by the words of Matt. xii. 39-41. In the first place, it must be noticed that Luke (xi. 29 f., compare Matt. xvi. 4) by omitting the explanation given by Jesus for the sign of the prophet Jonah, although thus apparently missing what Matthew regards as the effective point in the comparison, nevertheless escapes, so far as his own text is concerned, the difficulties of the inquiry: we do not have to ask in Luke's case whether Jesus is to be understood as expressing a belief in the historical reality of the Old-Testament narrative. Some excellent critics have gone so far as to hold that the allusion to the three days in the grave did not originate with Jesus, but arose from a misunderstanding of the disciples. (So Ewald, Neander, and Bleek.) In the view of De Wette, Neander, Bleek, and many others, the application of this comparison of Christ the sign, with Jonah the sign, must be limited to the preaching and ministry in general of Jesus. The application of the comparison to his resurrection in the passage from Matthew is as definite, and perhaps as well calculated to impress itself upon the memory, as any application well could be.

With respect to the particular points of the comparison between Christ and Jonah, as given in the First Gospel, we have to note the following two: first, the similarity of position between the prophet in the belly of the sea-monster (*ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους*) and our Lord in the heart of the earth (*ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς*); and, second, the identity of time, which was in each case three days and three nights (*τρεις ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας*). Yet the very points which are insisted upon in the comparison compel us to interpret the correspondence between Jonah the sign, and Christ the sign, in very loose as well as typical fashion. The

second point of the comparison is, indeed, assumed to be justified by the popular computation of time, which counts fragments of days as whole days; but in justifying the first point of the comparison we are met by the somewhat difficult question, whether Jesus referred to his lying in the grave between death and resurrection, or to his descent into Hades. The phrase *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς* (see LXX., Jon. ii. 4) cannot be held, on account of its reference to some great depth, necessarily to imply his descent into Hades. The view that this point of the comparison refers to Jesus lying in the grave, as held by most commentators, is probably the correct one. If, however, we press this point of the comparison, we are involved in difficulty, whichever meaning for the phrase *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς* be adopted. For, if we interpret it of the grave, we have to suppose that the Son of man was there during the time between his death and resurrection; and if we interpret it of the descent into Hades, we must take the words figuratively, or else concede that Jesus adopted the ancient superstition which places the dwelling of the departed actually and locally in the bowels of the earth. Moreover, the design of this entire sign was in the type and the antitype very unlike; its design in the case of Jonah being to chasten and reform the prophet, and in the case of Christ to bear witness to him as Son of God and conquering Redeemer. Even if, then, we accept the interpretation given to the words of Jesus by Matthew, we cannot plead these words in favor of the historical accuracy of the account in Jonah.

And, indeed, the entirely uncritical manner in which Jesus institutes this comparison, or the entire disregard which he shows as to minute points of an historical kind, may induce us to hesitate before we rashly commit his authority to any critical view of the Book of Jonah. And to a doubtful critical view of this book his authority is committed, if we insist upon maintaining that his words authenticate as actual history the story of the prophet and the sea-monster.

On grounds independent of the use which Christ makes of the narrative of Jonah, the following conclusions are apparently to be accepted. The historical character of the prophet Jonah is well established, although we cannot admit that the designation given him by Jesus (*τοῦ προφήτου*) is intended to be decisive upon this point. It is established by the reference to Jonah in 2 Kings xiv. 25, from which arose doubtless the mention of him in the apocryphal Book of Tobit (xiv. 4, 8), and by

Josephus (Ant. IX. 10, 2). According to Ewald,¹ his name appears to have occurred frequently in Northern Palestine: according to the same authority,² he was of great account in the reign of Jeroboam II. A critical examination of the Book of Jonah seems to show that it is a composition designed by its author as allegorical and didactic upon a certain basis of historic facts. A poetical invention of incidents is attached for didactic purposes to a basis of history, and to a name derived from ancient and trustworthy tradition. Especially does that part of the book to which Jesus refers bear the marks of designed allegorical and poetic invention. The hymn of the prophet *ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους* — where, however, he conceives of himself as surrounded with water, his head bound with seaweed, and himself drifting with marine currents, or sinking into marine caverns — is surely a peculiar style of historical composition.

When, moreover, we consider more minutely the language of Jesus (even as reported by Matthew), with respect to this Old-Testament writing, we find in it no objection to the above-mentioned critical view. We may regard him as making use of a riddle of Hebrew Scripture to teach obscurely a truth, which afterward lay as a riddle upon the minds of his own disciples, without even implying an opinion upon the critical questions involved. If Jesus spoke of Jonah as a *σημεῖον*,³ this did not represent his being *ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους* as a fact. "The sign of Jonah" could not have meant "the type of my resurrection furnished in the actual and miraculous existence of the prophet for three days and three nights in the monster:" it must have meant rather "that actual and miraculous sign which is my resurrection, and of which the narrative of Jonah (so well known) furnishes the type, in that the prophet was, according to that narrative, in position similar to that in which I shall be, and for a time equal to that of my stay in the grave." It is perhaps worth noticing, that the part of the narrative of Jonah which may belong to the historic basis of his book is assumed in categorical statement (see Luke xi. 29-32); while a certain part which plainly belongs to the allegorical and poetic attachments of the book is given by Matthew as alluded to merely in a figure of comparison.

We conclude, then, that the reference of Jesus to Jonah does

¹ Die Propheten, etc., III. p. 250.

² History of Israel. (London.) Vol. IV. pp. 123, 128.

³ Compare the use of the word in the phrase *τὰ σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν*, Matt. xvi. 3.

not cover the question whether the prophet's alleged sojourn in the sea-monster is an historical verity ; and that it is no less uncritical than invidious to make the holding of any particular theory of the Book of Jonah a test of allegiance to the teaching of the Master. Shall it be claimed that Jesus could not quote from an allegorical book of the Old Testament, provided it be proved by criticism that such a book exists? Or that, if he knew it to be allegorical, he must distinctly aver it to be so, when speaking amidst a people whose daily speech dealt in allegory? Or that, if not for the sake of hearers of his own time, at any rate for the sake of readers in this Occidental and unfigurative age, he must have given full notice of his opinion as to the Book of Jonah? We prefer to believe that Jesus spoke in perfect freedom from these ties of mere criticism, and also in large indifference whether his enemies or his disciples were guarded from the possibility of misunderstanding him. His teaching in this instance is not to be made responsible for this or that critic's view respecting the nature of Hebrew allegorical writing in general, and in particular as illustrated by the Book of Jonah. The commentator may not help out his dulness by the support of Christ's infallible authority.

The same uncritical use of the Old-Testament narrative — a use which places all the emphasis upon the ethical and religious truths involved in each narrative — characterizes all of the discourses of Jesus.

In answer, for example, to the question, How far does our Lord authenticate the accounts of Gen. vi. 5 ff. and xviii. 20 ff. by the use which he makes of them, Luke xvii. 22-35, — only a cautious avoidance of the extremes of both destructive and apologetic criticism can prove satisfactory. We can scarcely suppose that Jesus could have made such use of the narratives of the Flood and of the destruction of Sodom, if he had considered them as wholly mythical. That he should use an alleged historical narrative, without raising the question of its historical nature and trustworthiness, is, indeed, not in itself impossible. That Gen. vi. 5 ff. and xviii. 20 ff. are designed by the original author to be understood as history, there is, unlike the case of Jonah, little ground in the Scripture itself for doubt. But more important is the apparent fact, that the fairness and substantial truth of the argument of Jesus seem to involve his opinion upon the historical verity of these narratives, at least so far

as the points of similarity emphasized in the argument are concerned. This case is, then, thus far different from that of Matt. xii. 39-41. Jesus believed that in the days of Noah and Lot certain sinners who were given over to pleasure-seeking were met with sudden and annihilating divine retribution, — in the days of Noah by flood, and in the days of Lot by fire. Yet even in this case he seems to be following a tradition of the Flood which differed in some particulars from that of the Hebrew Scriptures.¹ How little stress, then, does he lay upon the details of the account which he employs!

The import of the teaching of Jesus, John vi. 31 ff., in so far as it may be supposed to authenticate the miracle recorded Exod. xvi. 4, must be understood in like manner. This miracle of the manna was accounted by the Jews the greatest miracle of Moses: its fruit is extolled by Josephus as *θεῖον καὶ παράδοτον βρῶμα*. It even appears that Messiah was expected to make the manna descend for the Jews of his own time after the example of Moses.² Jesus assumes that the manna, like the true bread from heaven, of which it is in this and other regards the type, was a divine gift. With this assumption, which authenticates so much of the narrative as is involved in the assumption, and no more, he, according to his custom, applies the ethical truth to himself as the universal antitype.³

Thus also do the references of Jesus (Luke iv. 25-27) to the well-known occurrences of Old-Testament history recorded in 1 Kings xvii. 9 ff. and 2 Kings v. 14 ff. afford ground for acceptance of these narratives as in his opinion substantially true. Yet in the use of the former narrative he seems to incorporate that divergent Jewish tradition which extended the duration of the drought to three years and a half, and which James also accepts, and employs the popular hyperbole, which spoke of the drought as extending over the whole earth.⁴ He thus manifests his entirely uncritical attitude toward the details of the narrative. In John iii. 14 he is represented as making reference to the narrative of Num. xxi. 8, 9, so far as to use the serpent erected by Moses as an historical figure and type

¹ Notice the features added (Matt. xxiv. 37 f., and Luke xvii. 27) to the narrative of Genesis; especially the word *τίβοτες* in apparent contradiction of the narrative of Gen. ix. 20.

² Schoettgen, Hor. II. p. 475.

³ In both cases of its occurrence the phrase *ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* is probably to be connected with the verb (*διδάσκειν* and *διδάσκω*), after the analogy of the Hebrew of Exod. xvi. 4, rather than of Ps. lxxviii. 24. (See Meyer.)

⁴ Comp. 1 Kings xviii. 1 with Dan. xii. 7 and Jas. v. 17.

of himself. His thought implies these points of similarity between the historical type and its antitype; the being raised, Jesus on the cross and the serpent on the pole, and the final purpose of the raising as a divine rescue. Thus far only, then, does he obviously authenticate this historical narrative.

We conclude, from the attitude which Jesus assumes toward the historical contents of the Old Testament, that although he obviously accepts the supernatural elements in these contents, and regards them as divinely ordered by their symbolic import so as to bear testimony to Messiah, he does not commit his opinion to their entire historical accuracy, or, even, always prefer the tradition which the Old Testament embodies above other and sometimes conflicting traditions.

Jesus furthermore bears witness to his regard for the writings of the Old Testament, by the ethical uses which he makes of them to express his own religious ideas and emotions. He guards himself in temptation by recognition of their authority (see Matt. iv. 4 ff.). He holds himself bound to that same patient acceptance of severe discipline, that same subordination of the temporal and earthly to the spiritual and eternal, to which the ancient Jews were exhorted (Deut. viii. 3). He relies upon the same willingness of God, on appropriate occasion, to sustain life in an extraordinary and supernatural way, of which his nation had proof when they were sustained in the wilderness by manna. He recognizes these Sacred Scriptures as a source of moral maxims by quotations from them of such precepts as are given in Deut. vi. 13, 16. At the close of his ministry, as at its beginning, he consecrates the Old Testament by using it for the expression of his own spiritual life: the suffering saint of all saints cries out with his last breath in the words of a suffering saint of the Hebrew Scriptures.

We now notice, more particularly, how little stress Jesus lays upon that exactness which is required of the modern criticism, with its minute attention to the *ipsissima verba* and to all the details of history and archæology. We cannot, indeed, speak of verbal mistakes, properly so called, in his discourses. The mistake of Matt. xxiii. 35 is due, as is indicated by the omission of the words *υἱοῦ Βασιλίου* from Luke xi. 51, to the writer of the Gospel. The introduction into the quotation of the LXX. for Isa. lxi. 1, of the words *ἀποστρέλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφύσσει* from Isa. lviii. 6, is by the Evangelist (see Luke iv. 19), and not by our Lord, who was reading from a manuscript-roll

of the prophet. But there is no proof that in quoting Hebrew prophecy Jesus thought it necessary to confine himself to the exact words, or exclusively to either the Hebrew text or that of the LXX.: sometimes he departs from all known texts, with no assignable reason for his departure. In no case, however, can we be sure how much of the exact wording belongs to Jesus, how much to his biographer. The quotation from Isa. xxix. 13 is, for example, made (Matt. xv. 8 f.) with slight variations from the LXX.; but it follows them in introducing the important word *μάρτυρ*, which has no correlative in the Hebrew text. This is done apparently to justify his application of the prophecy as *περὶ ὑμῶν*, and upon the principle which Grotius defines as follows: "One and the same prophecy can be more than once fulfilled, so as to be appropriate to both this time and that, not only by the event, but also by divine guidance of the words." The design to increase the strenuousness of the application to himself will perhaps account also for his departure from the wording of both the LXX. and the Hebrew text (Matt. xxvi. 31). An instructive instance of the great freedom with which Jesus apprehended by unerring insight the real contents of truth in the Old-Testament prophecy, and nevertheless adjusted the form in which the truth was given to the needs of his doctrine, is found in John vii. 38. Several examples of the same free adjustment of the historical traditions of the Old Testament have been preserved in other connections. In general, the teaching of Jesus devotes little attention to the letter and the details, as such, of the history, law, prophetic imagery, and entire characteristic modality, of the Old Testament: at the same time it expressly and minutely discriminates and appropriates all the ideal contents of truth.

This detailed discussion of the doctrine of Jesus as to the nature of Old-Testament Scripture may be summarily concluded by the following statement of particulars:—

1. The doctrine of Jesus is almost entirely to be discerned by indirect inference from his discourses and deeds. and, except so far as can be inferred from his use of the customary formulæ of citation, we must draw our conclusions wholly from the attitude in which he places himself to the entire Old-Testament economy.

2. The position assumed by Jesus toward the Hebrew Scriptures is for the most part uncritical. Only in two instances, at most (*viz.*, the authorship of Ps. cx., and the historical priority

of circumcision to the sabbatic law), does he even appear to pronounce upon any of the minuter questions of biblical criticism.

8. The great reserve of Jesus respecting the debated questions of biblical criticism cannot be held to be wholly due to ignorance. It is significant: it favors the conclusion, that his view of the Hebrew Scriptures differed from all those forms of the rabbinical view, which, whether held by Jewish or Christian authorities, are constantly coming into plain conflict with the spirit and the results of criticism. As one result of the preceding exegetical inquiry, we may agree with Tholuck¹ in affirming: The Redeemer cannot be convicted of either rabbinical artificiality or of hermeneutical error.

4. This attitude of Jesus, so manifestly uncritical and yet so guarded by reserve, toward the conclusions of critical inquiry, is distinctly unfavorable to all rabbinical theories of Sacred Scripture. Such theories have no right to commit his authority to points regarding which he gives no information. Indeed, his reserve upon matters touched by criticism, when taken in connection with his positive teaching upon ethical and religious matters, indicates that his view of the Hebrew Scriptures, if more fully expressed, might have definitely contradicted those theories.

5. Jesus believed the Old Testament to contain, scripturally fixed, certain important and divinely revealed truths. Such contents may be designated as of two classes, the ethical and the prophetic: the law, however, contains elements predictive of Messiah, and prophecy is, of course, ethical in its own great predictive elements. Moreover, the historical narrative of the Old Testament is to be regarded as containing both classes of contents.

6. Jesus teaches that the writings of Mosaism are Sacred Scriptures, because they contain these divinely revealed contents of truth, both ethical and prophetic. But except so far as the writings were produced by prophetic impulse, — and of this there is no proof in the discourses of Jesus, — no inference can be made as to the inspiration of their authors. So far, however, as the writings were by the hand of Moses, — and the extent of this origin is a question for criticism to decide, — they have an additional claim to their title of Sacred Scripture, in that their contents came through a recognized inspired medium of divine self-revelations.

¹ *Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament*, pp. 29 and 51.

7. The writings of Prophetism record contents of predictive truth revealed from God through his servants; and, as the chosen and prepared media of such truth, the prophets speak in the Holy Spirit, — a fact which is expressly affirmed of David's prophetic message in Ps. cx.

8. These prophetic words which are recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures were not given with a full consciousness of their meaning on the part of the prophets themselves: they are also, for the most part, to be regarded as having only their secondary and typical fulfilment in Messiah. Even the few prophecies which must be regarded as "prophetico-Messianic" contain elements of obscurity and imperfection.

9. These contents of truth in the Old Testament were given in a form relative to their time of revelation: the law is pedagogically adapted to the progressive history of ancient Israel; the prophets differ in the degree of certainty and clearness with which they seize and convey their great truths.

10. Elements of imperfection and fallibility co-exist with these contents of absolute truth, and are likewise scripturally fixed in the Hebrew canonical writings. This truth is definitely taught regarding the Mosaic law, and is implied regarding Hebrew prophecy. Jesus held the revelation of the Old Testament to be "imperfect, temporary, pedagogically accommodated to the people to whom it was given," and not free from human weaknesses.¹

11. Jesus taught that two cognate but apparently contradictory elements everywhere appear in his relations to the Old-Testament economy; viz., the perfecting of the Old Testament according to its essential contents, and, on the other hand, its cessation according to its temporal form.²

12. The contents which give the Old Testament its claim to be regarded as Sacred Scripture are pre-eminently its Messianic contents: its great final purpose has reference to the preparation and fulfilment of these Messianic contents. Jesus regards the Old Testament as divinely inspired, because, as a whole, it prepares the way for that perfect revelation of which it is the mediator as well as forerunner. He, however, distinctly espouses that view which sees, in respect even to its Messianic contents, the truths of the new growing in the old, and therefore sees the old as containing the truths of the new. The

¹ Compare Joh. Delitzsch. *De Inspiratione Scripturæ Sacrae*, etc., p. 25.

² See Schmid, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 218 ff.

Old Testament contains the truth of Christ in that same germinal and typical but expanding form in which the higher developments of every organism are, so to speak, contained in the lower stages.

13. And, finally, the advocate of a more strictly rabbinical view of the inspiration of the Old Testament must find his sources of proof elsewhere than in the teachings of Christ. For the verbal inspiration of the Hebrew Scriptures; for their accuracy and infallibility in all respects, or even in respect to any one of their formal elements; for the equality of value of all parts, or for the equal derivation by inspiration of all the parts; for the view that all portions of them were written by inspired men, or were given by the Holy Spirit in any other than the general providential sense,—the inquirer must search the discourses of other masters than Christ. And the fact that these views are *not expressed* in those discourses is a fact which he must above all take into account. He must so do this, however, as not himself to contravene, but rather gladly accept, on the authority of Christ, the sacredness and authority of these same Scriptures.

CHAPTER II.

THE NATURE OF NEW-TESTAMENT SCRIPTURE AS DETERMINED BY THE PROMISES OF CHRIST.

THE central light of revelation from the teachings of Christ sheds itself in two directions upon the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. It illumines the past by the interpretations which Jesus gave to the contents of the Old Testament; it illumines also the future by the promises which he made to his disciples. By means of this light we secure a position to discern the nature of the earlier divine revelation, and of those writings in which this revelation remains forever scripturally fixed; and by the same means also we look forward to a further revelation, which shall take form in sacred writings that possess such qualities as are promised to the authors of those writings. And as, in our researches into the Old Testament, when we approach it with the help of the authority of Christ, we expect to find true whatever has the witness of this authority; so may we prepare ourselves for a critical study of the New Testament by inquiring, What witness concerning it is given by this same authority? The witness of Jesus to the New Testament consists in his promises; it is a prevenient witness. But this prevenient witness must be received as both a pledge of truth and a guard against error.

In the case of the New Testament, however, as in the case of the Old, we do not hold ourselves absolved from obligations to the most candid and thorough criticism. The very promises which form a basis for the doctrine of its Sacred Scriptures must be made the subjects of critical inquiry; only when thus treated will they teach us exactly what Jesus intended.

In Matt. x. 14 ff., the severest penalties are threatened against those who will not receive the words of the Twelve on their trial journey. We have here an intimation in answer to the question, To what in his apostles did Christ attach the authority which he delegated to them? This intimation enables us to

affirm that the authority was attached to the words they spoke (τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν), i.e., in preaching Messiah, and especially to the message which announced his kingdom (ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, verse 7). Divine inspiration also is here promised to the apostles (verse 19), in making their defence before the tribunals to which they should be brought (compare Isa. l. 4; Luke xxi. 15, Eph. vi. 19). In the declaration of the following verse (20), "the theopneustic relation by means of which his disciples shall become πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες (1 Cor. ii. 13) is construed by Jesus decisively and in no half-way fashion" (Meyer).

Similar promises are found in other connections in the discourses of Jesus (Mark xiii. 11, and Luke xii. 11, 12). From no other declarations of the Bible can the claims of its authors to even verbal and infallible inspiration be inferred with more of apparent fairness and cogency than from such as these: "For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you;" "The Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour what ye ought to say" (οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐστέ οἱ λαλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ὑμῖν, τὸ γὰρ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διδάξει ὑμᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἃ δεῖ εἰπεῖν). And yet we have to consider at least three important limitations of these claims: (1) as to precise occasion; (2) as to limited purpose; (3) as to limited time. All these promises, though given in unconditional form, are in fact and application conditional, limited, and liable to imperfect realization. The form of the promises points forward to the perfection of that which the fact only imperfectly represents. We cannot lay a satisfactory basis for the general doctrine of the inspiration of New-Testament Scriptures in those promises of Jesus which were made to his disciples when summoned before the tribunals of their own time.

Of much wider application is the promise of Matt. xxviii. 20, in which the intimation of Matt. x. 7, 14, is explained and expanded. The gift of the Spirit here involves his divine guidance in the apostolic work of discipling the nations, and instructing them in the commandments of Christ; it involves also the imparting of divine spiritual force in this work. In case the disciples should commit to writing these commandments, whether as embodied in words or in deeds, and whether for the purpose of discipling the nations or of instructing their converts, the promise of Christ would surely not be withdrawn. The promise applies especially to that work of evangelizing

which the apostles were to undertake as commissioners of Jesus in the gospel. It is primarily made to them as preachers and teachers orally of his truth; it cannot, therefore, be made to serve as a guaranty for any inspiration peculiar to the work of writing. But, whether writing or speaking, the apostles can claim the spiritual presence of Christ as a guaranty for the moral and spiritual truths of his gospel, and — as we may infer — for the main historic facts in which these truths are embodied, and on which they are founded.

In connection with these promises must we interpret the declarations made by Jesus concerning the authority delegated to his apostles (Matt. xvi. 13-20; compare Mark viii. 27-30; Luke xi. 18-21). To Peter personally, and yet to him regarded as embodying the great primal verity of the kingdom of God, and as being its first pronounced confessor, the Redeemer declares: "Flesh and blood did not reveal it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven." Upon Peter, as embodying this verity and as its first confessor, he promises perpetually to build his Church. To Peter he also promises — a promise which he afterwards (Matt. xviii. 18) repeats, and extends to all the apostles — the power of the keys which open and close the gates of the kingdom of heaven. This apostolic power *prohibitum aut licitum declarare* necessarily involves the promise of the absolute and infallible guidance of the Holy Spirit, but only in the matters pertaining to such power. In the case of the apostles, whether regarded as founders and leaders of churches or as probable authors of sacred writings, the promise of infallible inspiration cannot be extended beyond the sphere of this promised power. What was the extent of this sphere we have already been informed: this sphere covered the apostolic announcement of redemption, its central doctrines, facts, and conditions.

The doctrine of the New Testament as Sacred Scripture, so far as that doctrine can be taught upon the authority of Jesus Christ, comes to its culminating expression in the fourteenth and following chapters of John. These chapters furnish a transition from the doctrine of the inspiration of the Old Testament to that of the New. Their most important contents are not to be extracted by mere grammatical and lexical exegesis: they contain, however, nothing in contravention of any truth established or even lawfully indicated by critical studies of the New Testament. From this *locus classicus* we derive the

following view of the inspiration of the apostles, so far as their inspired work lies at the foundation of Sacred Scripture.

1. The source of the inspiration promised to the apostles is the Divine Spirit, who is the Spirit of Christ himself.¹ While, then, the gift of revelation and inspiration to the apostles has its primary source in the eternal Divine Spirit, from whom came also the revelations and inspiration given to the writers of the Old Testament; the former surpass the latter in that *Christ's* Spirit, in the new dispensation, is to be the source of their life and work. This Spirit, which is represented both as Christ's own visitation, self-disclosure, or indwelling, and as the fruit of his sending, is as much fuller in the dispensation of spiritual gifts as the revelation of God in Christ is fuller than his revelation in the Old-Testament economy. We may not place the writings of the Old Testament, as respects their inspiration, upon a level with those of the New.

2. The Divine Spirit, who is the source of the revelations and inspiration given to the apostles, is also called Paraclete and the Spirit of the truth. It will be the work of the Spirit as Paraclete (*auxiliator*; *adjutor*), to make them know the truth of the gospel, more deeply and intimately, and to strengthen them for sustaining the toils and trials which would come upon them in propagating the knowledge of Christ. This Spirit is the Spirit of the truth, because he is the divine principle of truth: he is the power through whose work the truth of God revealed in Jesus Christ is brought to the knowledge and acceptance of men, and so comes to exercise its divine energy as truth.

3. The truth which is thus to be revealed is the truth *κατ' ἐξοχήν*; viz., the truth which Christ came to bring, and which he, in his historical appearing, really and fully is, — comprehended and clothed, as it were, in personal form (xiv. 6). This truth it is, and no other, which the Spirit of the truth shall teach to them with more fulness and completeness than Jesus had himself attained in his teaching (xvi. 13). Whatever, then, belongs to the essentials of this truth (*κατ' ἐξοχήν*), it is promised that the Spirit shall reveal to them. He will be their guide into this truth in its totality (*πᾶσαν*). As a species comprised under its genus, so the knowledge of the future (*τὰ*

¹ See chapter xiv. verses 18 (*ἐρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς*); 19, in which their life in the Spirit is made dependent upon his own being as the source of all spiritual life; 21, in which the impartation of the Spirit is represented as a self-disclosure: and compare Matt. xxviii. 20; Rom. viii. 9 f.; Gal. iv. 6.

ἐρχόμενα), in a certain way and to a certain extent, shall be a part of their induction into the total truth of Christ. The similarity and the superiority of the apostolic as compared with the prophetic inspiration are thus brought to mind.

4. This teaching by the Spirit necessarily involves the inspiration of those taught, of the apostles as the bearers of the truth of Jesus to the world. The teaching could not in this case be real teaching without an inward divine work. Their memories should be quickened and guided to recall whatever of the truth Jesus had spoken to them (xiv. 26); while, at the same time, their faculties of insight should be enabled, as never during the life of Jesus, to take in the full meaning of this truth (compare xvi. 13).

5. These promises apply, primarily, to the personal work of the apostles in founding the Church of Christ; but they have a secondary and subordinate application to the construction of the New Testament. The matter of immediate and primary importance was this: that they should remember, comprehend in its interior meaning, and faithfully communicate by word of mouth, the truth of Christ. But in case they should resort to writing, with the same great ends in view, the promises cannot be restrained from application to their work in writing. The promises belong to them as persons in personal relations with the Redeemer, and yet as persons chosen and fitted for the distinctive and official work of promulgating the truth of redemption. The promises are applicable to all the activity of the apostles in giving coherence and concrete form to the truth of Christ, the truth κατ' ἐξοχήν. But to give these promises primary and superior cogency of application to the apostles as authors, rather than as preachers, is to reverse the right order of reasoning, the undoubted course of history, and the place of emphasis in their commission from our Lord.

6. The realization of these promises is made dependent upon certain subjective conditions. Prominent among these are the inclusive and determining conditions of obedience and love.¹ The subjective conditions of the promised inspiration are, then, moral and religious. And, as we have already seen, the work for which they were to be inspired was the apprehending and imparting of that truth which is primarily moral and religious

¹ See especially xiv. 21, 23, and note how the connective καί makes the promise to ask the Father, and to have the Paraclete sent, dependent upon their affection toward Christ, and upon their keeping his commandments.

truth, although embodied in historical forms. The nature of the inspiration is to prepare their moral and religious faculties for this distinctively moral and religious work. In other words, love and obedience are indispensable forms of moral and religious receptiveness, — in apostles as well as in all other men.

Whatever, then, may be thought as to the inspiration of unbelieving men, who, like Caiaphas for example, are conceived of as employed to declare divine truth without moral fitness or sympathy, the thought cannot enter into the doctrine of the New-Testament Scriptures. The promises upon which the Christian doctrine of New-Testament Scripture founds itself have their own realization conditioned upon the moral and religious life of those who receive them. The inspiration promised must come *through* the spirit receptive of such life *into* a greater fulness of life. These promises cannot be urged in support of the sacred character of any products, oral or written, which do not bear the marks of genuine ethical quality, of obedience and love in their authors, or which have arisen by resort to immoral means, such as conscious fraud on the part of the author, or the introduction of material known to be false and morally unworthy. The pledge of these promises is, then, limited by the possibility that those to whom it is made may not always fulfil the conditions of its realization. The apostles were, like other men, subject to imperfections of obedience and love. But that they should be kept in substantial completeness of purpose to love and obey, these very promises imply (xiv. 17-19; so also the prayer of Jesus, xvii. 11, 12). The possibility of occasional and temporary departure from the subjective conditions necessary to realize these promises still remains. Whether or not this antecedent possibility became an actuality in such manner as to affect New-Testament Scripture, we are at liberty to inquire by researches into history and into the contents of the New Testament itself.

For example, Paul was in the full enjoyment of these promises of the Spirit when he made his defence before Ananias (Acts xxiii.); he could also claim the special promise of Jesus to his disciples when brought before earthly tribunals (Matt. x. 19.) Yet he acknowledges that he had unwittingly spoken against the high priest in a manner which was contrary to the Mosaic law (Exod. xxii. 27); as he must also have remembered, it was unlike the example of Jesus. Peter, at least in the judgment of Paul (Gal. ii. 11 ff.), even when in the direct exercise of his

apostolic office at Antioch, took a course not morally faultless; and yet his very conduct must be considered in this instance as a form of propagating error regarding the nature of the gospel. Indeed, this instance introduces us to the facts which Baur and his school have so greatly exaggerated, but which must be taken into the account in estimating the nature of apostolic inspiration. This inspiration did not always prevent considerable and sharp differences of doctrine, even respecting truths quite closely connected, in their minds and in reality, with the central doctrine of Christianity. From these limitations to the complete realization of Christ's promises in the case of the oral instruction of the apostles, we cannot exempt, previous to examination, their written instruction; at least, we cannot do this on the ground of any thing stated or implied in the promises themselves. But by our conclusions thus far derived, we are led to give due weight to the following consideration.

7. The realization of these promises of Christ was one of progressive approaches in the history of the apostles. The outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost did not lead them at once into all the promised truth; nor, indeed, did any subsequent gift of that Spirit. These promises do not exclude the apostles from development in the knowledge of the truth, or in the knowledge used to promulgate this truth by oral and written instruction. The Spirit is promised to be with them throughout their historical development, not in them so as to exclude them from having any real historical development. More and more were *these* promises to be realized, just as all the divine promises are ever left still imperfectly realized. The present tenses *γινώσκετε* and *μένει* (xiv. 17) "designate the *characteristic* relation of the disciples to the Spirit, without respect to a definite time" (Meyer), and *οδηγήσει* (xvi. 13) is to be interpreted: "He will be when he comes, and ever after, your leader into all the truth." Beginning under the leadership of the Spirit, with a new and fuller apprehension of the truth, they were to be progressively conducted, step by step and stage beyond stage, into the fullest apprehension of the same truth, for their Teacher and Guide should be always with them (xiv. 16).

This growing apprehension of the truth of Christ must, then, be manifest in their promulgation of it by preaching. And if by preaching, why not also by writing, in case they should resort to this means?

Indeed, this view of an abiding and progressive guidance into

the truth by the divine Spirit is only a corollary from the entire scriptural view of history. The Sacred Scriptures everywhere recognize the perpetual indwelling of the Spirit in human history. The history of the nation Israel and the inspiration of the Old Testament are inseparably linked together. To a certain large extent, the history is penetrated and filled with the Spirit; the inspiration of the canonical writers, to a certain large extent, is historic inspiration. It is inspiration which conforms to the laws of the movement of the Holy Ghost in history, by successive stages of discipline and by successive degrees of potency in the inbreathing of moral and spiritual life. The facts and laws of historical development are not abrogated, but more highly manifested, in the new epoch of the Spirit in apostolic days. Pre-eminently did the promised Paraclete come to the apostles, in fulfilment of these declarations of Jesus, soon after the resurrection. In a certain sense, he then assumed his leadership of them into all the truth of Christ; but he ever after led them still more and more into the same truth. And the latter fact could not be without effect both upon their preaching and upon their writings.

It might seem an indisputable inference from the foregoing statement, that the later preaching and writing of the apostles, on account of its obvious connection with the fuller revelation of the truth, must be worthy of superior regard. And, to a certain extent, the inference is true; it would be also important for our purpose if it could be made clearly applicable to the questions touching Sacred Scripture which are to come before us. We are providentially kept, however, from making any use of this inference which shall be destructive of the essential integrity and trustworthiness of the apostolic teaching as found in the books of the New Testament. In order fully to show what is the nature of this safeguard, a detailed study of these books in their unity, and of that process by which they became accepted as New-Testament Scripture, is indispensable. But the following considerations are in place at this point.

There is, indeed, a progress of doctrine to be traced in the New Testament. This progress of doctrine is, however, for the most part *indicated*; the points of divergence in the later from the earlier doctrine, and the differences of view amongst different apostolic teachers, are rather delineated as historically true than enforced as binding the judgment and conscience of the Church. The work of their divine Leader into the whole

truth is seen not so much in the authority of all the details of their belief and impression as in the consentient and final conclusions which are reached and expressed through these details.¹ Historical indications of those erroneous impressions which intermingled with the apostolic progress in knowing the whole truth under the guidance of the Spirit neither authenticate the impressions nor discredit the truths with which the impressions are intermingled.

It is, moreover, a sign of the providential safeguard which was given to the writings of the New Testament in the promises of Jesus, that these writings so largely arose at the right time to receive the fullest fruition of the promises. They arose so late as to bear the stamp of the most mature apostolic teaching, and so early as not to be essentially corrupted through remoteness from this teaching. The written gospel, the treasure-house of manuscripts, contains, thus divinely secured within it, the coins most clearly marked with the image and superscription of our Lord himself. The New Testament thus presents a unity amid variety of doctrine which it could scarcely otherwise have enjoyed. It is, perhaps, a boon to the Church, that the chronological relations existing amongst the books of the New Testament, and, in the case of the Synoptic Gospels, amongst the various parts of the same book, are so difficult of accurate adjustment. In the form of express teaching, we can have comparatively little to say about the earlier and later doctrine of the New-Testament books. To us the truth is given as essentially one.

8. It is only by critical researches that we can connect these promises of Christ to his apostles with any existing New-Testament writings. For it is only by such researches that we can infer the authorship, direct or indirect, of an apostle. That these promises apply as cogently to the written as to the oral teaching of the apostles, may be received as an indisputable inference. Indeed, as we have already seen, the written products of their teaching may be held, in some particulars, to enjoy the fuller fruition of these promises. The unity and maturity of the apostolic teachings in the New Testament are doubtless greater than they could have been if it contained a more complete and chronologically continuous record of their

¹ For example, we see (Acts ii. 39) the germ of that ferment which was made by the subsequent revelation of x. 35 to work a change in the view of Peter; we learn of a yet subsequent decline from this view (Gal. ii. 11 ff.), only to find it still later regained (1 Pet. ii. 10 f.).

oral work. But in applying these promises to any writings which may have come down to us, two important questions have to be asked and answered: viz., Are these writings apostolic, or not? and, Have they been preserved for us in essential integrity, or not? Questions of the canon and diplomatics of the New Testament intervene between the promises of Jesus and the books which have reached us. And these questions limit the application of the promises to the books. To agree with the writer who says that the doubt whether the original revelation is transmitted to us in its primitive purity by the Holy Scriptures "at once disappears if we firmly establish the inspiration of the writers, and show how such inspiration is reflected by and preserved in the pages of Scripture,"¹ involves an amazing reversal of the conditions of our problem. It will concern us, at the right point, to discuss more at length the relation of critical questions of the New-Testament canon and text to the general question of inspiration. We note now the simple fact of this relation.

Upon asking the first of the above questions, we can claim direct apostolic authorship for only a portion of the New Testament; and to this portion only do the promises of inspiration made to the apostles primarily apply. Anticipating, however, the conclusions, without anticipating the arguments, of a fair and cautious criticism, we have grounds for applying (either directly or indirectly) the warrant of these promises to far the greater part of the New Testament. To the Gospel of John, regarded as of apostolic origin, these promises most emphatically apply. They apply also to the main contents of the Gospel of Matthew; because these contents, although in their present form not from an apostolic hand, are essentially of apostolic origin. They have a secondary though valid application to Mark and Luke, if regarded as composed under direct or indirect apostolic influence. To all the Synoptic Gospels they have a further undoubted application, because these Gospels are so largely composed of the fragments of that oral teaching which was given by the apostles in the enjoyment of the spiritual guidance and assistance promised by Christ. Accepting the apostolic calling and authority of their author, these promises apply to the Pauline epistles; and their application to all other epistles which have an apostolic origin — as, e.g., we will assume, to the First of Peter, and the First and Second of John

¹ Lee: *The Inspiration of Holy Scripture*. New York, 1866, p. 32.

—is immediate and indisputable. And, finally, these promises may be claimed to have a secondary application to whatever other books of the New Testament bear the stamp of having been written by men of apostolic spirit under more indirect apostolic influence.

In answering the second of the above-mentioned questions, — viz., whether the writings of the New Testament have been preserved in their essential integrity, — we must have recourse to the science of biblical diplomatics. The answer, as we shall subsequently prove, is unequivocal: They have been so preserved.

The foregoing view of the promises of John xiv. ff., in their application to the doctrine of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, is confirmed by the partial fulfilment of these promises made in person by Christ after his resurrection (John xx. 22 f.). His breathing upon the disciples is not merely symbolical of the future, but accompanied by a real and immediate imparting of the Holy Ghost. (The mood, tense, and connection of *λάβετε* require this interpretation.) In preparation for the mission upon which he sends them, the Risen One imparts the Spirit to them as a kind of *Arrha-Pentecostes* (Bengel). This Spirit is the same one who was sent in fuller manifestation at Pentecost.¹ The power here delegated by Christ is an extension of the declaration previously made (Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18); for, as Meyer has pointed out, the power of the keys in the strictest meaning is immediately included in this passage, while in Matt. xvi. 19 it is only included by inference. We note, then, these particulars of inference from this passage: (1) The Spirit is given to the disciples in order to enter their personality, is given to them as persons; and yet to them as persons with an official commission for an official work. The men are inspired apostles, and only in a secondary and figurative sense can their work in oral teaching or writing be said to be inspired. (2) They are inspired, however, as a preparation for their mission; they are inspired as *apostles*. The gift of the Holy Ghost is upon them for the executing of their commission. It is in view of having said, "I send you," that the Risen One breathes on them, and says further, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." (3) The effect of this inspiration is a special

¹ That the absence of the article with *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* proves nothing against this view, see John i. 33 and vii. 39; moreover, as Meyer has said, the New Testament knows nothing of a Holy Spirit which is not the Holy Spirit.

and supernatural fitness for their work of receiving men, and training them in the Church of Christ.

Once more do we behold Christ setting forth the nature and certainty of his promise of the Paraclete (Luke xxiv. 48 ff.). It is to the disciples as witnesses of his own death and resurrection which have been accomplished in fulfilment of Old-Testament Scriptures, and as heralds of repentance and of the remission of sins, that Jesus declares he will send the good promised (*ἐπαγγελία*) by those same Scriptures.

We conclude, then, that the Scriptures of the New Testament (like those of the Old) have a certain firm and indestructible, though limited, basis for their claims, which is laid in the word of the Redeemer himself. This word consists of certain promises of divine enlightening and assistance from the Spirit of Christ, which were made to certain selected believers. These believers were to have the main facts of the history of Jesus accurately recalled and set in their true significance by this Spirit; and, having been personally instructed by the Redeemer, they were to have the full meaning of these instructions, and, indeed, of all his truth, revealed by the same Spirit.

CHAPTER III.

THE CLAIMS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GENERAL, AND OF MOSAISM IN PARTICULAR.

THE mere proposal to examine the claims of the Old Testament as to its own origin and nature involves the intention, either unconditionally to accept or to reject those claims, or else to make them the subjects of a thorough criticism. In these days few critics are found willing to avow the intention of either an unconditional acceptance, or an unconditional rejection; but the work of not a few critics is vitiated by the concealment of just such an intention. To decide before examination touching the value of the Old-Testament views of the Hebrew writings involves a most glaring form of the *petitio principii*. But the general instruction of Christ regarding the Old-Testament religion should have disposed us to regard these views favorably.

We have already shown, however, that an appeal cannot be taken to the authority of Jesus which shall bind the investigator to accept precisely that form of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture which was held by the Hebrew teachers and writers. Jesus, indeed, unequivocally taught that the ancient Hebrew writings are sacred, and that certain of their contents are of divine origin. But in what sense these contents are divine, and by what processes they came to be divine, he has largely left us to determine by historical and critical researches. Moreover, his own method of instruction forces upon us such questions as the following: May we not have to distinguish between imperfect form and absolute contents in the case of the Old-Testament doctrine of Sacred Scripture, in the same way in which we have to make the same distinction when examining other doctrines? If we are left free to criticise the other teachings of the Old Testament, by the light of Christian truth, why not its teaching with respect to its own origin and nature?

Numerous difficulties and great risks may accompany the

passage from the undeveloped Jewish to the developed Christian point of view for regarding revelation, inspiration, and Sacred Scripture. But the early Christian Church, under the immediate teaching of the apostles, was not withheld from making many such a difficult and dangerous passage. Surely we cannot *a priori* assume that we are excused from the same kind of difficulties and risks. A critical examination of the Christian doctrine of Sacred Scripture cannot, therefore, begin its inquiry into the claims of the Old Testament by insisting upon unconditional acceptance of those claims. To do this might be more than illogical: it might be re-actionary from the advanced point of view held by Christ and the apostles.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the authority of Jesus does not permit us to thrust aside any claims found in the Old Testament, with either levity or indifference. It rather pre-disposes us seriously and favorably to consider them all. The Hebrew canonical writings—as being Sacred Scripture, as having contents of divine truth, and as having their supreme value in the preparatory work and testimony they rendered to his mission—may be expected to contain, at least in germinal and imperfect form, the true view of their own origin and nature. Moreover, the claims of the Old Testament as to its own origin and nature have often been rejected with as crude and uncritical presumption as any which has characterized their unconditional acceptance.

Those claims found in the sacred Hebrew writings which directly apply to the inspiration of any part of them are exceedingly meagre; nor, indeed, are the indirect claims made for the writings, as distinguished from the writers, much more numerous. This fact arises, in part, from the very nature of Sacred Scripture. It arises also from the characteristics of that historical process by which a Canon of the Old Testament was established. In both the Old Testament and the New, tokens of the consciousness of writing under inspiration are comparatively rare. Instances of divine commission to commit to writing the contents of revelations formerly received by inspiration are somewhat more numerous; they constitute the most direct claim made by the authors themselves to the title of Sacred Scripture for their writings. Both these above-mentioned claims cover only a relatively small portion of the contents of the Old Testament. This fact accords with the truth that all inspiration primarily belongs to the authors and

writers as persons, and that the term "inspired scripture" can only be used by a figure of speech which transfers the condition of the workman to the nature of his product.

Of writings by men claiming to be inspired, and which, as writings, profess upon their face to record faithfully the revelations received through inspiration by their authors, we have a considerably larger class. To this class belong the authentic works of the prophets. These works lay claim to inspiration, and to a place in Sacred Scripture, because they are written by men who claimed to have the word of the Lord, and to transmit that word in fidelity to their contemporaries. In these cases the inference from the claims of the writer to the claims of his record is as direct as any inference in the case can well be; and yet it is an inference from a claim, rather than a direct claim. After admitting this inference, we can succeed in covering by it only a portion of the ground occupied by the Old-Testament writings.

A further inference, looking toward the establishment of their place in Sacred Scripture, may be drawn from the indubitable claims set up in the *contents* of certain writings. These contents, as contents in themselves, and by whomsoever written, implicitly claim to be the faithful record of divine revelations. These contents implicitly claim, then, to have been given to men through the inspiration of those whose commission it was to receive and communicate the revelations. This kind of inference brings the record of the Mosaic law, on its own claim, within the pale of Sacred Scripture. So far as it can be proved to have been written by Moses, or to have been composed and enlarged and redacted by inspired men, it has an inferred claim to inspiration, on the ground of the nature of its authorship. But beyond this it has another, stronger, and more pervasive claim. The record of the law, by whomsoever made, manifestly and upon its own face sets forth the claim to be a faithful presentation of divinely revealed contents. The contents of the Mosaic law everywhere claim for themselves divine origin and authority: the record, then, which holds these contents, makes, by an immediate and binding inference, a claim to peculiar sanctity as being impliedly a faithful record of alleged divine contents. To claim to record the word of the Lord to Israel, the moral and ceremonial precepts embodying the will of Jehovah to his people, is, by inference, to lay claim to a position in Sacred Scripture. And this claim is as much higher in the

case of the Hebrew Scriptures than in the case of any other national records of alleged divine revelations, as the revelation of God in Israel is a higher form of revelation than these other forms.

By an inference essentially the same, the theocratic history of the Old Testament asserts its claim to a place in Sacred Scripture. It is avowedly the history of successive revelations of Jehovah to Israel, of his covenant relations and dealings with Israel. We find much of the Mosaic law, and many of the prophetic utterances, in this kind of historic setting, — a setting which is often fitted to receive the precious stones committed to it, by being so polished as to reflect the same light which flashes forth from them. The history of the Old Testament is in general avowedly pragmatic and theocratic: it is by the avowal of this claim that it institutes its own claim to be Sacred Scripture. And in the case of those more subjective writings where the relations of the individual soul to Jehovah, rather than those of the nation, occupy the writer's attention, it is largely in the avowed contents of the writings that the inferred claim of the writer consists. The claim is thus only involved in what he writes. This is the case with many of the psalms, especially with those which deal most with the subjective experiences of their author. This is also the case with certain parts of the so-called Hokhmah. It is the theocratic consciousness, taking a more intensely subjective and individual form of expression, in which is laid the basis of the claim made by even these writings.

In the later Hebrew writings we find, moreover, certain notices of earlier writings which show the fruits of reflection to be already matured or maturing. We meet with occasional, though fleeting and unsatisfying, historical notices of the regard in which these earlier writings came to be held by the people of Israel; and finally there appear certain ascriptions of praise to these writings for their divine origin and characteristics. These notices and ascriptions indicate the nature of the claim which came to be set up in later Hebrew writings for the earlier ones. They are confirmatory of whatever claims we find those earlier writings making for themselves. They apply for the most part to the Pentateuch, or rather to the written Torah, which, even in its broadest interpretation, can include only a part of the Pentateuch. Numerous rather indirect recognitions of the word of the Lord, which had come to the earlier prophets, are

also found in the later prophetic writings. These indications point the way, however, to that silent claim which all the books of the Old-Testament Canon make by virtue of the fact that they are in and of the Canon. This claim does not lie developed within the Scriptures of the Old Testament, but can only be seen there in germinal and formative condition.

It is obvious that none of these claims singly, either direct or inferred, nor all of them combined, can be applied to certain portions of the canonical Hebrew writings. And, indeed, certain portions of these writings do not present any claim, *found within the Old Testament itself*, to be considered as Sacred Scripture. The bare fact that they are found in the Canon of the Old Testament constitutes chronologically their first claim of this character. The Song of Songs, considerable portions of Proverbs and of Ecclesiastes, and the Book of Esther — unless we emphasize an alleged but spurious theocratic element in its narrative — are instances of this kind. Nor do any entire books present a uniform self-conscious claim for all their contents; if we except perhaps those prophetic books about the unity of which in respect to quality, motive, and authorship, there is no reasonable doubt. In some portions of the same book, the internal claims may be direct, in others indirect; and, of the indirect claims, some are to be placed upon one basis, others upon a different basis. A comparison of different books, and of both larger and smaller portions of the Hebrew sacred writings, will alone enable us to make an induction as to the extent and cogency of these internal claims. We cannot, on the authority of their authors and teachers, construct one rigid theory of Sacred Scripture which shall apply to all these sacred writings as such, and to all with like cogency and in like degree.

And yet a firm and rational basis for an estimate of the nature of its Sacred Scriptures may be constructed out of the scattered fragments of claims set up within the Old Testament itself. To the attempt at constructing this basis we now apply ourselves, — considering the Hebrew Scriptures as they now appear before us, and postponing, as far as possible, all consideration of the effect of disputed critical questions touching the authorship and composition of the separate books. And for the purposes of the attempt we adopt the common threefold division of the Old Testament: we examine, then, the claims of the writings of Mosaism, the claims of the writings of Prophetism, and the claims of the Hokhmah. These three

main divisions of the Old Testament lay the bases of their respective claims in ways which are to a large extent unlike. The claims of the writings of Mosaism are laid, for the most part, in the nature of its historical contents and of those separate acts of divine revelation of which these writings are the alleged record. The writings of Prophetism, however, besides the implied claim which comes from the theocratic nature of their contents, put forth the additional claim that they are records of such prophetic utterances and actions as are of themselves results of divine inspiration. The claim of Hebrew prophecy to inspiration is direct, consistent, and unmistakable; it is transferred by a natural inference to such writings as can be shown to be results of this prophetic inspiration. As to the writings of the Hokhmah, they stand, so far as their own claims are concerned, upon an entirely different basis. Indeed, little can be said of any claims to be found in the Old Testament which are applicable to these writings.

These three divisions, however, are not altogether exclusive of one another. Elements of prophecy are found in the Torah; while the Torah, to a considerable extent, penetrates and underlies the writings of Prophetism. Both the Torah and Prophetism contribute elements of their distinctive claims to the writings of the Hokhmah.

There are, moreover, certain claims which are general and pervasive of the Old-Testament writings, and which furnish by inference a basis for a certain doctrine of the sacredness and inspiration of all the Hebrew Scriptures. All such claims also apply with varying cogency of inference, when they apply at all, to different portions of these Scriptures. To three of those claims which are thus more generally applicable, we now direct attention.

And first of all, as prevailing the canonical Hebrew writings, we notice their intense and frequently outspoken theocratic consciousness. The conviction seems to penetrate all these writings, that God is in Israel, her history, her laws, her ceremonial, her dominant national ideas. History, laws, ceremonial, and ideas are all represented by the writers not only as having a divine origin, but also as embodying a constant presence of Jehovah with the nation. It is true, as has been declared, that "for a long time supernaturalism did comparatively little for Old-Testament theology." It is, however, also true, that no consistent theological view of the Old Testament can be constructed which does not acknowledge its persistent supernat-

uralism. At the root of the Old-Testament conceptions of the law and of prophecy, there lies the great theological tenet that Jehovah is the living God of the nation. Its conceptions of inspiration and of Sacred Scripture are derived from doctrines concerning the relation of God to the world, concerning the nature of the divine self-disclosure, and the special theocratic and revealed relationship between Jehovah and Israel. In brief, the Old-Testament idea of inspiration and of sacred writings is rooted in the Mosaic and prophetic idea of God.

The above-mentioned truth may be verified without entering in detail upon the philological disputes which accompany the investigation of the meaning of each Hebrew form for the divine name. The metaphysical attribute of the divine will (power) seems to be embodied in the oldest Semitic name for deity (אל). The later name, אלהים (probably etymologically distinct from אל), represents that feeling of fear which the natural man has before Deity; and the plural אלהים, which is peculiar to the Old Testament, advances the former idea by setting forth the fulness of might which lies in the divine nature. This latter name reveals the connecting link between the Hebrew conception and the conceptions of surrounding nations; at the same time it shows the point of departure from these conceptions toward a higher development of itself. The first step in this development appears in the introduction of the name אל שׁדַי, which as a title of Deity belongs especially to the patriarchal stage of Judaism ("I appeared unto Abraham as God Almighty," Exod. vi. 3, translated by the LXX. παντοκράτωρ in most passages of Job). By this title God is known as the One who reveals himself in great might by making Abraham the father of many nations (Gen. xxviii. 3), and who enters into a covenant with him for his protection and blessing (Gen. xvii. 1, 2). But that title of Deity which is distinctive with the revelation of the Old Testament is given in the tetragrammaton יהוה, the name characterized by the Jews — in the consciousness of its important relations to the whole doctrine of revelation — as *nomen unicum*. The passage in Exod. iii. 13–15 (which is decisive for the grammatical explanation of this title) speaks of the divine Being, not as eternally existing in himself, but as absolutely persistent in his purpose to manifest himself historically to the children of Israel.¹ This divine purpose of self-disclosure

¹ See Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament*, I. p. 139; and Keil and Delitzsch, *Commentary on Gen. ii. 4 f. and Exod. iii. 13–15*.

through the medium of a chosen servant is the basis of all the inspired contents of both Mosaism and Prophetism. It forms, therefore, the doctrinal ground for all the claims of inspired speech and inspired writing. By this title the fidelity of God is in various passages of the Old Testament so expressed as to awaken confidence, — as, for example, Hos. xii. 5, 6; Isa. xxvi. 4, xli. 4, xliv. 6; Mal. iii. 6.

Another appellation, added to the *nomen unicum*, marks more particularly the second stage of the development as it was reached by Prophetism. By adding יהוה to Elohim or Jehovah, there arises a threefold title for Deity: this title is most frequently given as *Jehovah Zebaoth*; or, in some passages of the Psalms, *Elohim Zebaoth*; or, in the full expression of the name, *Jehovah Elohim Zebaoth*. This name belongs distinctively to Prophetism as a development of that idea of God in his relation to the world which is contained in Mosaism. The word Zebaoth, as used in this title, probably includes both the heavenly bodies regarded as the host of heaven, and the angels regarded as the host of heavenly spirits. God is, then, probably called Jehovah Zebaoth in opposition to the ancient Sabianism by which the Israelites were surrounded. But Hebrew Prophetism particularly uses the title Jehovah Zebaoth to represent God as at the head of a great number of heavenly spirits, who adore him in his heavenly sanctuary, execute his will in mercy and judgment upon earth, and act as attendant witnesses and instruments of his royal and judicial glory.¹ Thus by the title Jehovah Zebaoth the conception of God is advanced to that of the omnipotent and holy Ruler of the universe (see Isa. vi. 3 and li. 15; Amos ix. 5). According to Jer. x., the customs of the heathen who tremble before the signs of heaven are vanity, but Jehovah is the true God, the Creator of all things, whose inheritance is Israel: Jehovah Zebaoth is his name (verse 10).

Those ideas of God and of revelation which permeate the Old Testament, which give character to its contents, and furnish the basis for its claims to be regarded as Sacred Scripture, are rooted in the very words of Israel for the divine name. And what is true of the titles of Deity is also true of the attributes and activities ascribed to him. God as the eternal living One and as the Lord of the Universe is, according to the Hebrew

¹ This name of Deity is variously treated by the LXX.: sometimes as a proper name, and transposed in the Greek word *σαβαώθ*; sometimes replaced by *παντοκράτωρ* or *κύριος* or by the phrase *θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων*. That it cannot mean simply the Lord as Israel's God of battles, compare 1 Sam. xvii. 45, and Ps. xxiv. 8, 10.

Scriptures, manifested in all that they contain of history, laws, and prophecy. The writings of the Old Testament in the two divisions of Mosaism and Prophetism are pervaded with the consciousness of the living God as manifested in the contents which they set forth.

We examine in the second place another general but subordinate claim of the Hebrew writings. The same intense and pervasive theocratic consciousness shows itself in the following more specific form. A claim pervades many of the writings of the Old Testament to the effect that they contain the history of a compact — in its making, breaking, renewal, and historic progress toward final fulfilment — a compact of Jehovah with his people Israel. By this fact these writings seem to constitute themselves, in some sense, into a body of Sacred Scripture as the record of a divine covenant. This claim also applies to the two divisions of Mosaism and Prophetism as it does not to the writings of the Hokhmah. In setting forth this claim we waive for the present all discussion of the date of the separate writings.

The narrative of the creation contains "in simple childlike form" the idea of a divine promise which guarantees the final triumph of man, although at first sorely wounded in his conflict with the principle of evil. The germ of a Messianic covenant appears in Gen. iii. 15; and Lamech is made to give expression to his presentiment of future redemption in the son whom he names Noah (Gen. v. 29). The tradition of the Flood ushers in the second age of the world, now purified by water, with a covenant which not only pledges its preservation (Gen. viii. 21 f.), but also becomes the type of divine fidelity in the work of salvation (see Isa. liv. 9). The father of the Hebrew people is made the medium of revealing a more express divine covenant with them; and he receives, as he supposes, the divine promise of innumerable posterity who shall hold the land of Canaan in perpetual possession (Gen. xxii. 18, xii. 2 f., xv.). In this covenant with Abraham the distinctive attitude in which God will stand toward the nation Israel is substantially expressed. Given to the patriarch Jacob in the theophany of Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 10 ff.), and confirmed on his return to the same place (Gen. xxxv. 9 ff.), the promise of the covenant is embodied in the new name Israel. This conception of a covenant, with its promises and obligations, is afterwards represented as wrought into the fundamental law of the nation,

formally accepted by them, ratified by the covenant offering, and preserved in an official record (Exod. xix.-xxiv.).

Thus it comes about, that henceforward all the affairs of Israel are interpreted by its teachers and writers as having to do with an original compact between the nation and Jehovah. The national conduct of Israel is not considered as having only an ordinary political significance, but is interpreted as either a keeping or a breaking of the covenant with Jehovah. The same conception is further seen illustrated in the designation of God as the Holy One (קדוש), — a predicate which is also given to the nation when received into covenant with him (Exod. xix. 6). For the regulations of the covenant the fundamental ethical principle is: "I am holy, and ye must also be holy" (Lev. xi. 44).¹ This ethical principle, through the divine effort and historic course necessary to its remote realization in the perfected kingdom of God, lays the basis of the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament. The sins of the people, regarded as a breach of the covenant, lead to a self-disclosure of God as merciful, gracious, long-suffering (Exod. xxxiv. 6). The ground of the election of Israel to be the people of the covenant is the love of Jehovah graciously bestowed upon them (Deut. vii. 6-8); and the ground of all legislation for the nation, the source of executive power, the explanation of the cultus, is this gracious divine choice to make the people subjects of the covenant. The national rite of circumcision is called *אוֹת בְּרִית*, as the symbol of the obligations of this covenant. The chest in which the tables of law were thought to be preserved is called the ark of the covenant; and the territory promised to the people by this covenant is called the covenant-land (Exod. xxx. 5).

The claim to be a record of the contents of a holy covenant underlies the Scriptures of Mosaism. The prophets also continually exhibit the same underlying conception by representing the sins of the people as a virtual breaking of their covenant with Jehovah. But all the noblest promises of the prophets convey also the thought, that the divine grace will not permit the failure of redemption; this grace will make a new covenant with the redeemed nation (Jer. xxxi. 32), and cause its sure and abiding symbol to be the new heart (Exod. xxxvi. 25-27) which even Mosaism had promised to them (Deut. xxx. 6).

¹ See Müller, *Lehre von der Sünde*, Breslau, 1867, I. p. 321, and note.

Such sacred contents, at least in the thought of the Hebrew writers, sanctify the vessel which contains them. The writings of Mosaism and Prophetism thus become, in a certain sense, what the official record of the covenant-words of Jehovah was designated, viz., books of the covenant.

Yet once more may we speak of an inferred claim which is applicable to considerable portions of the Old Testament. This third claim is founded in another form of that general manifestation which we have called the pervading theocratic consciousness of the Hebrew writings. The authors of the books of Mosaism and Prophetism plainly suppose themselves to be giving the record of successive divine self-disclosures, which were made to Israel through selected persons who act as the media of revelation. The manner of revelation may change in its details, and may be conceived of with many indeterminate and even erroneous elements; but the idea of a divine self-disclosure, as the special privilege and birthright of the nation in its communion with God, remains constant throughout the writings of Mosaism and Prophetism.

Thus do large portions of the Old Testament claim, either directly or indirectly, the right to be considered as books of revelation, because they are writings whose authors claim to give the record of actual revelations. The central figure of Mosaism, Moses himself, is regarded as pre-eminently the organ of revelation; and as such he is classed among the prophets (Deut. xviii. 18 and Hos. xii. 13). His pre-eminence as such an organ is placed upon the ground of a higher form of divine self-disclosure, which was vouchsafed to him, and which constituted a more immediate intercourse with Deity, and is called speaking mouth to mouth with Jehovah, or beholding the form of Jehovah (Num. xii. 6-8; Exod. xxxiii. 11). How the thought that the Torah is an expression of the revealed will of Jehovah penetrates most of the writings of Mosaism, needs no argument, or citation of passages, to show. How all Hebrew prophecy is founded in the conception of divine revelation to the nation through selected media of revelation, the detailed study of Prophetism will evince. But surely the claim to record revelations of Jehovah is a claim transferable in some sort to the nature of the records themselves. The alleged nature of the contents in this case also sanctifies, in the mind which thus regards these contents, the very vessel which holds them.

There is, then, no other basis so firm and comprehensive, upon which to place the claims made by the writers and teachers of the Old Testament for the title of Sacred Scripture, as that laid in the nature of its contents. To one who does not admit the three general claims just examined, there can be presented no special and direct claim of these writings in proof of their own divine origin or authority. Sacred to the men who received them by revelation, and who expressed them in oral and scriptural forms, the contents of the religion of Israel certainly were. And sacred they may justly be called by all men to the end of time. It is, indeed, the work of criticism to test the claims of the ancient Hebrew writings, and to consider upon what valid grounds this estimate of the religion of Israel by its own writers and teachers rested; but, the divine origin of the chief elements of the religion being accepted, it is only a fair and logical inference by which we pass from direct claims for the contents to inferred claims for the records of the contents.

There is given, to be sure, in the presentation of these general claims, only the germ of a definite doctrine of Sacred Scripture. But the impression is placed upon a critical basis, that the writers of the Scriptures regarded the sanctity and authority of the contents of truth which they recorded as imparting some distinctive sanctity and authority to the records themselves. Further inquiries are needed, however, in order to determine more precisely in what sense these Scriptures were considered sacred by the biblical authors and teachers. The claims thus far examined lead us only to infer: the Scriptures of the Old Testament are deemed sacred because they hold, scripturally fixed, certain contents of law, cultus, history, and prophecy, which were given to the nation by divine revelation on the basis of a divine covenant.

We now inquire into the more particular claims of divine origin and authority which are set up within the Old Testament itself. And, first, we consider those writings which have been grouped together under the general name of Mosaism.

The truth has already been indicated, that Mosaism and Prophetism differ in some points, and agree in others, with regard to the basis which they lay in their own claims for the doctrine of their respective scriptures. Both exhibit instances of an alleged divine command to record certain contents of the revelations committed to them. Both receive, from sources in the Old Testament lying outside of themselves, a measure of

express recognition for the divine nature and authority of their contents, and for the inspiration of the men through whom the contents came. This recognition is most abundant for the Torah; since it is considered as the older form of revelation, as itself laying the basis for prophecy, and, therefore, as receiving a certain recognition of its claims from the later form of revelation. The direct and self-contained claims of Mosaism are, however, almost entirely built upon the basis of the alleged nature of its contents. "The proclamation of the divine word does not appear as an essential part of the divine cultus" (Oehler). Mosaism regards itself as a system of laws and ordinances which are revealed to the theocratic nation on the basis of the divine covenant with them. But the whole soul of Prophetism is in the proclamation — by speech primarily, and subsequently by writing — of the divine word which has fallen upon the messenger of Jehovah. Prophetism regards itself, then, as a series of messages, enjoining, promising, or threatening, what Jehovah has to say to the theocratic nation concerning their treatment of his law and of his covenant with them.

The law appears to provide in a measure for its own perpetuation and interpretation by constituting the priest as its teacher and interpreter (Lev. x. 11; Deut. xxxiii. 10); an office, however, which was for centuries very imperfectly discharged by the priesthood, and yet was especially recognized in an age as late as Ezekiel (xliv. 23), Haggai (ii. 11 ff.), and Malachi, — the latter of whom (ii. 7) calls the priest for this reason a messenger of Jehovah. These later recognitions belong to the period when the priestly fervor of devotion, and strength of prestige, were peculiarly great. It is also provided (Deut. xxxi. 11) that this Torah shall be read to the people at the end of every seven years, at the Feast of Tabernacles.

The most direct possible claim to divine origin as Sacred Scripture is given, of course, in the form of an alleged divine commission to commit the sacred contents of revelation to writing. Of claims to such a commission, Mosaism presents us with a number of instances. In Exod. xvii. 14, Moses is said to have been divinely instructed to write an account of the battle of Rephidim for a memento in a book, and to tell it to Joshua; presumably that he might remember to execute the threat against the Amalekites, which elsewhere (Deut. xxv. 19) takes the form of a command to exterminate them. This instance is significant, chiefly as showing the disposition of the

entire Old Testament to regard the history of Israel from the theocratic point of view; at the same time, the ethical and other difficulties prevent us from laying stress upon the claim involved. Another similar commission to record a portion of the history of Israel is found, Num. xxxiii. 2, where Moses is said to have made a list of the stations in the desert by order of Jehovah. This list is probably deemed of such importance because it was considered as a memorial of the grace and fidelity with which Jehovah had led the people. Its historical difficulties remain unsolved, while the ethical value (for us) of its details seems quite gone. Indeed, the indirect claims from the contents of these two historical notices may be said to be in the inverse order of their direct claims to inspired origin.

Quite otherwise is the case, however, with the record described as the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxiv. 7). This is declared to be the fundamental theocratic law of the nation. It contains the words spoken by Jehovah to Moses (xx. 22 ff.), rehearsed to the people, and accepted by them as the basis of the covenant (xxiv. 3), and afterwards recorded by Moses in writing, and read in the hearing of the people at the celebration of the covenant offering (xxiv. 7). This Book of the Covenant comprises the Decalogue with its ten covenant words, and the covenant constitution (xx. 22-xxiii. 33) with its ordinances relating to divine worship, to the rights and duties of Israel in their civil and theocratic relations, and to the attitude of Jehovah toward them.¹ Concerning the covenant constitution, we are told (xx. 22) that the Lord said unto Moses, "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel." Subsequently (Exod. xxxiv. 10-26) the promise and injunction of xxiii. 22 ff., and the instructions as to worship, are greatly expanded; and Moses receives the divine command to record these words as the basis of the covenant of Jehovah with himself and with Israel. Concerning the Decalogue in particular, we are, however, told, with that interchange of points of view as to human and divine authorship which is not infrequent in the Old Testament, that Jehovah wrote it (Deut. x. 1-4), or that it was written with the finger of God (Exod. xxxi. 18, xxxii. 15 f.; Deut. ix. 10): at its first delivery, on tables of stone furnished by Jehovah himself; at its second, on two stones hewed out by

¹ As to the disputed question, whether the Decalogue was comprised in the Book of the Covenant, see, in proof of the affirmative, Exod. xxxiv. 28, Deut. iv. 13.

Moses. Exod. xxxiv. 28 appears, moreover, to state that the second tables of the Decalogue were written by Moses at dictation of Jehovah.

Now, no claim could be more distinct and unequivocal than this; not only as to divine origin and authority in general for the writings covered by the claim, but also as to their exactest verbal dictation to the human organ of revelation, and their absolutely infallible transmission at first hand. In one of the above instances, we have given an imperishable record of such words as are declared to have been written by the finger of God himself: in the other we have the declaration, at divine command, of words said to have been spoken by God to the very one, who, being an undoubtedly inspired servant and medium for the communications of Jehovah, records the words as he heard them. Yet any rising confidence in the opinion, that we possess in the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament (at least in this instance) a perfectly infallible record of divine words, is at once overthrown by a critical examination of the very writings whose claims call for the confidence. We do not now speak of objections which may lie outside of these documents themselves, but, supposing them to have their origin in substantially their present form as early as Moses, they themselves, in the form in which we have received them, quite negative any attempt to found a doctrine of Sacred Scripture upon *such* claims. Even the Decalogue, as we have it, cannot be regarded as the exact transcript of words once divinely graven upon tables of stone. For we have two editions of the Decalogue in Sacred Scripture, and these two editions, although not disproving the substantial unity of their originals, exhibit, besides a number of slight variations, noteworthy differences as to the reason for the sabbath law, and as to the command against coveting. And, should criticism assign the honor of priority to the text of Exodus, it could not do this on the ground of any lowering of those claims to verbal and infallible inspiration which are actually preferred by the record in Deuteronomy; for this record particularly insists upon the doctrine that the version of the Decalogue which it alone knows and gives was written by the very finger of God himself. If the Decalogue originated as the claims of Sacred Scripture assert, it could have had, of course, only one original form: when reported in two variant and somewhat conflicting forms, it could not constitute a basis for its own record, according to the theory

which looks upon that record as verbally dictated and absolutely infallible in all details. Here, then, we have to raise the questions: Which of these two written editions lies nearest to the original form? and, Does either of them exactly represent this original? We may, indeed, then fall back upon the substantial agreement of the two forms, and upon the verdict of criticism as to the original form. But, in making this retreat, we fall back to stand upon two concessions. One of these concessions is this: An appeal must be taken to criticism, even when we are regarding the claims of Sacred Scripture as to its own origin; and these claims may be modified or corrected in the course of this appeal. The other concession is this: The most lofty and definite assertions which are contained in the Old-Testament Scriptures do not serve to lay such a basis for any portion of them as necessarily excludes discrepancies in details.

And, furthermore, even in examining the validity of such very special claims as the foregoing, we have to open the gates to all the inquiries of biblical criticism. Questions innumerable — e.g., as to the origin and nature of the Book of Deuteronomy; as to the development of the Mosaic law; as to numerous alleged additions, emendations, corrections, showing an historic process in the formation of its Scripture; as to the meaning in the Hebrew mind of such phrases as “the Lord spake unto Moses,” “God spake all these words,” “Jehovah wrote” it, and it was “graven with the finger of God;” indeed, as to all the real facts which underlie the marvellous statements of the Hebrew canonical writings — come pouring in upon the investigator for an answer. And according to his answer to these and to other similar inquiries, must be the interpretation which he will put upon such biblical claims.

As to that other portion of the Book of the Covenant, which contains the covenant constitution apart from the Decalogue, viz., Exod. xx. 22–xxiii. 33, we find ourselves not without difficulties in attempting to accept its claims. The words of this portion of the book, Moses is represented as recording in the form in which they were dictated to him by Jehovah. Their origin is assigned, by their own record, to the command of the Lord to Moses that he should speak these words to the children of Israel, — a command which is afterwards made to cover the writing of an expanded account of a portion of them (Exod. xxxiv. 27). But, upon examining them critically and histori-

cally, we seem to discover that these divine judgments include certain customs and laws previously established among the Israelites, and certain others established subsequently to Moses. Upon examining them ethically, we find certain comparatively trivial arrangements, such as belong to the habits of a pastoral people (xxi. 33-36), incorporated with the most important and fundamental religious requirements (xxiii. 25), concessive enactments which show the low social and moral condition of the people, and operate rather to hold them in the same condition (xxi. 24, 25), combined with others designed to elevate them (xxiii. 8). And yet the entire contents of this Book of the Covenant, although of such various historical origin and divergent ethical value, are said to have been recorded by Moses at divine dictation, as the words of Jehovah. We are able fairly to assert that laws and customs of ordinary historical genesis might be incorporated, either by the first or by a later hand, into the revealed law of the theocratic nation, and that, in our ethical estimate, we are to take into account the process of pedagogic discipline to which it was the divine intent to subject the nation. But the making of even the above assertions involves a lowering of the special claims of this ancient writing as seen from its own point of view. It is, however, essentially the same modification of view which is made by Christ himself when (Luke xx. 37) he ascribes to Moses the words of Jehovah at the bush; that is to say, the writer records what he supposes Jehovah to have said, and makes God speak in his record "*scilicet narrando*."

We conclude, then, that the highest form of asserting its own immediate divine origin and infallible accuracy would not secure the Old-Testament Scripture from a verdict unfavorable to the precise form in which the assertion is made. We cannot infer, in general, that the claims of the Old Testament secure it from any of the elements of human imperfection which criticism discovers therein. We cannot lay in any special claims a basis for the doctrine of the verbal dictation and infallible accuracy of even those portions of such Scripture which are alleged to be the most divine.

The noble ode of Deut. xxxii. 1-43, which contains an epitome of the history of Israel, with the application to this history of the threats and promises of Jehovah's covenant, is said to have been written by Moses at divine command (xxxi. 19), in order to serve as a witness to the people; and then taught to

them verbally by both Moses and Joshua (xxxii. 44). The custom of teaching religious truth by embodying it in songs is indeed very ancient, and corresponds to the efforts said to have been made by David for commemorating important events (see 2 Sam. i. 18 and Ps. lx. title). The question of the origin of this Song of Moses is one which must necessarily be largely merged in the general question of the origin of the Book of Deuteronomy. Internal considerations of language are not sufficient to decide either for or against its Mosaic authorship; for, while it is said by one critic that not a single word in the entire ode can be adduced in proof of a later composition, all the circumstances assumed in it are declared by other critics to determine for it a date much later than Moses. If, on the one hand, the figure of the eagle (xxxii. 11) points back to Exod. xix. 4, the expression "to move to jealousy" (verses 16 and 21) recalls the "jealous God" of Exod. xx. 5; and the epithet *יְהוָה* (verse 3) for the divine greatness is confined to the Pentateuch: on the other hand, the use of the word *אֵל* in the moral sense (verse 5) is elsewhere unknown to the Pentateuch; the term "thy Father" (verse 6) recalls Isa. lxiii. 16, liv. 8, and Mal. ii. 10; the rams of Bashan, and the figure of speech comparing the people to an ox, fat and intractable, have an appearance of decidedly later times (see Isa. x. 27 and Hos. iv. 16); while the strange gods of verses 16-18 — called lords (*אֱלֹהִים*), a word signifying demons in Syriac, and suggesting Ps. cvi. 37 — point unmistakably to a period much in advance of the Mosaic era. So, also, if the title "Rock," as applied to Jehovah, suggests the surnames Pedahzur, Elizur, Zuriel, and Zurishaddai, which perhaps belong to Mosaic times, it also and equally suggests the same use made of itself in Ps. xviii. 2, 31, xix. 14, xxxi. 2, 3, and lxxi. 3. In brief, critical considerations must decide the manner in which these special claims to a divine origin shall be understood.

Claims to be a record of the contents of divine revelation, made at first hand and by the medium of such revelation, without, however, the express claim to a divine commission for writing these contents, cover nearly the entire Book of Deuteronomy. In this book, that silence as to its own authorship, which is maintained for the most part throughout the other portions of the Pentateuch, is definitely broken. The notice of i. 5 does not claim Mosaic authorship for the book, but simply avers that Moses expounded (*בִּאֵר*) this Torah: this

statement might, then, be made, although another than Moses were reporting his words. But the main contents of Deuteronomy — corresponding to the title given it iv. 44 f., with its testimonies, statutes, and rights, and designated further by a subscription (xxix. 1) as the words of the covenant which Jehovah commanded Moses — are not only within its own limits referred to as written (xxviii. 58, 61), but are also (xxxi. 9, 24) definitely asserted to have been written by Moses. We are also told (xxvii. 1-8) that the people were to inscribe this law upon plastered stones, as was the custom in Egypt, to serve as a public acknowledgment of the basis upon which their national covenant with Jehovah rested. The law thus to be inscribed is the same as that here (xxxi. 9) alleged to have been written by Moses: viz., the testimonies, statutes, and rights of these chapters in Deuteronomy. The claims of Deuteronomy, that all the words of this Torah were written by Moses in a book include, then, at least, the law as it is given in chapters iv. 45-xxvi. 15: they are, therefore, involved in the questions of criticism as to the origin and nature of that book.

Although, then, certain express claims to divine authority for undertaking their composition, and for the written form which they assumed at first hand, are not wanting in the writings of Mosaism, those claims do not *of themselves* serve to define the general claims previously considered as to the nature of the Old Testament. For, in the first place, the express claims, even when admitted without critical examination, do not apply to more than a small portion of the writings: the direct claim to write under divine commission applying only to the historical notices of the battle of Rephidim and of the camping-places in the wilderness, to the Book of the Covenant with its contents of the Decalogue and the ancient covenant constitution, and to the prophetic Song of Moses; and the indirect claims, made by asserting a Mosaic authorship, applying also to some twenty-two chapters of Deuteronomy. In the second place, when we test the express claims critically, we do not find that the portions of Sacred Scripture covered by them have any peculiar freedom from the imperfections which belong to all the other writings of the Old Testament.

The express claims do, however, re-enforce those general claims of Mosaism, to a divine origin and a divine authority, which are derived from its contents of revelation. That the

Mosaic law was divinely given to the theocratic nation, and that the history of the nation, in which the law has its setting, is itself theocratic, the contents of the writings uniformly imply. But touching the special manner in which the writings had their origin, and as to what are their more precise characteristics, the most definite claims do not furnish us with the desired information.

So far, however, as any portions of the Pentateuch can be proved to have been written by Moses, or, indeed, by any other acknowledged medium of divine revelation, they present a claim additional to that derived from the nature of their contents. This additional claim corresponds to that set up in all prophetic writing at first hand. The writings of Mosaism are then regarded as sacred (*ἅγιος*), in accordance with their frequently recurring formula, "The word of Jehovah came unto Moses saying." As to the nature of the contents of the writings, we have at hand the surer means for distinguishing between their absolute and ideal elements, and their imperfect and human elements; but as to the names of the writers through whom the divine elements were scripturally fixed, we have no so sure means for distinguishing them, whether in any case it be Moses, or some other prophetic or non-prophetic men. Even the record itself fails, for the most part, to name the writer.

This general view of the claims which are primarily made by the writings of the Torah for the title of Sacred Scripture is confirmed by the sporadic and rather obscure notices of them which occur subsequently in the Old Testament. These notices belong more particularly to the history of the Old-Testament Canon and to the doctrine of the canonical writings as dependent upon that history. They are also connected with critical questions of the date and authorship of the books. They appear to indicate that a collection of writings known as the "Book of the Law" was in existence, and also in process of growth and expansion, from the time of Moses onward. The writings do not appear as themselves primarily objects of veneration, but as drawing attention to themselves for two reasons. The law of the Lord — the words of Jehovah to the people — is thought to be preserved in them; and, furthermore, the law and the words are supposed to have been spoken by Moses, the pre-eminent medium of divine revelation. The concrete Torah, the word of the Lord to Israel through the great lawgiver Moses, is the primary object of regard. The memo-

rials of this Torah naturally draw to themselves a similar regard. Among the memorials, as a matter of course, all the written records of the Torah are pre-eminent, especially such writings as can by any possibility be ascribed to Moses. Originally the manuscript record stands, with respect to its claims, precisely upon the same footing as the other forms of record. Supposing that the command of Deut. xxvii. 2 ff. were carried out, the plastered stones would be originally as much an inspired record, and as truly sacred, as the manuscript book of the law: they *contained* all the words of the law, written very plainly (see Deut. xxvii. 8 and Josh. viii. 30-35).

The Book of Joshua acknowledges the obligation, divinely imposed upon its hero, to keep the commandments given by Moses (see i. 7), and refers to them as contained in the Book of the Law. Language is here used which at once reminds us of Deut. vi. 7 and xi. 18, 19. Again (Josh. viii. 30-35), the sanctity and authority of the words which Moses commanded, and which were written in the Book of the Law, are acknowledged by executing the injunction of Deut. xxvii. 1-8; and again we find even more unmistakable reference to the fifth book of the Pentateuch as containing, with its blessings (xxviii. 1-14) and curses (xxvii. 15-26, xxviii. 15-68), the divine words read in the hearing of the people. Later in Joshua (xxiv. 26-28) we receive notice of an expansion of this Book of the Law of God by recording in it the divine promises made and the ceremonies performed at the renewal of the covenant of Israel with Jehovah. In this case we are once more reminded of Deuteronomy, especially of vi. 6 and xxix. 1. In all these instances attention is directed to the words of the law, regarded as divine statutes and ordinances of blessing and threatening, and also to the fact that these words of Jehovah to Israel were given by Moses. The words are found written, however, in the Book of the Law, which therefore receives attention on account of its contents of divine statutes and ordinances commanded by Moses.

Nor are notices wanting in the Book of Joshua to the effect that other writings than the Book of the Law, which are in their turn to be deemed sacred, are accumulating; such as the description of the survey of the promised land (xviii. 10 ff.), and the war-song which commemorated the battle of Beth-horon, and which was, according to the notice of a later hand, preserved in the ancient Book of Jasher (x. 13).

But from the Book of Joshua to the record of the reign of King Josiah, only scanty and obscure references to any written form of the Mosaic law occur in the history of Israel. Such a written Torah is not expressly mentioned where we should most expect to find it; viz., in the Books of Samuel. We are told, however, that Samuel wrote out the rights and prerogatives of the kingdom, and laid up the document before Jehovah, presumably in the tabernacle with the Book of the Law (1 Sam. x. 25). Moreover, in the charge of David to Solomon, the now familiar formula for the contents of the divine revelations made through Moses and written in his law is again employed (see 1 Kings ii. 3). A book containing an indeterminate portion of the Mosaic law, and called the precepts (צִוִּית collectively), is said (2 Kings xi. 12) to have been put, according to the injunction of Deut. xvii. 18 f., into the hands of Joash at his coronation.

It is not surprising, then, that the remarkable narrative of the re-discovery of the written Torah in the time of Josiah (see 2 Kings xxii. 8 ff. and 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14 ff.) should still leave unanswered the question, How much of the Pentateuch is here referred to as the Book of the Law, or the Book of the Covenant? The preceding historical notices of the written Torah, as well as the references made in this narrative to the contents of the document discovered, favor the view that the legal substance of Deuteronomy constituted the main portion of this document. We cannot, however, absolutely exclude other indeterminate portions of the Pentateuch. We can assert that the point of view from which the claims of the written law to the title of Sacred Scripture are regarded, remains thus far unchanged throughout.

Besides those more indirect references to the Mosaic law which Hengstenberg¹ has so industriously collected, little remains to be adduced from the earlier prophetic books. The earlier prophetic writings show a surprising meagreness of direct reference to a written Torah.

But the books, both historical and prophetic, whose date lies nearer the close of the Old-Testament Canon, espouse the claims of the written Mosaic Torah in a manner much more clear, express, and consentient. In the historical accounts of Chronicles, the phrase "the law of Jehovah" repeatedly occurs

¹ In his *Authentie des Pentateuchs*, Berlin, 1836-1839, I. pp. 48-180. See, especially, Hos. viii. 12.

(1 Chron. xvi. 40, xxii. 12, 13; 2 Chron. xii. 1). Hezekiah's regulations are especially declared to have been copied after the law of Jehovah (2 Chron. xxxi. 3, 4, 21); so all the life of Josiah (xxxv. 26). In Ezra and Nehemiah, both the divine origin of the Mosaic law, and its delivery through the medium of the inspired Moses, are repeatedly acknowledged. Phrases occur like the following: "As it is written in the law of Moses the man of God" (Ezra iii. 2); "As it is written in the book of Moses" (vi. 18); "The commandments, statutes, judgments, which thou commandedst thy servant Moses" (Neh. i. 7); "The law of God which was given by Moses the servant of God" (x. 29). Ezra is styled "a scribe skilled in the law of Moses" (Ezra vii. 6), or "a scribe of the words of the statutes of Jehovah" (vii. 11), or "a scribe of the law of the God of heaven" (vii. 12). The command of the Mosaic law interdicting marriages with foreigners is described as the words of the God of Israel (Ezra ix. 4), and also as the commandment by God's servants the prophets. Accounts are also given in Neh. viii. 1 ff., ix. 3, and xiii. 1 ff., of the public reading of the written Torah for the instruction and rebuke of the people. Reference is also made in Dan. ix. 11, 18, to the divine authority and practical validity of the predictive curses which the Mosaic law provides for its transgressors, regarded as those who sin against God himself; and with this reference to the law are coupled similar ascriptions of authority to the precepts declared by the prophets. In Zech. vii. 12, the law is spoken of in such a way as to connect it with the fuller doctrine of Sacred Scripture in the three main elements of that doctrine; viz., (1) the divine origin of the contents of Scripture, (2) the inspiration of the prophetic media through whom the contents are given, and (3) the ethical final purpose which the contents are given to fulfil.

In the Psalms, besides certain more obscure references to the existence of a written Torah, and besides the simple mention of it under some of its titles as having a divine origin, we have to observe certain notices, which, without ascribing its origin to Moses, occupy themselves with paying a lofty tribute to its divine characteristics as being of great ethical value and power. (See Ps. i. 2, 3, xix. 7-14, xl. 7, 8, cxix.) The kind and amount of recognition given to the written law by the author of Ps. xl. 7 cannot be precisely stated, owing to the uncertainty of its date and authorship. Delitzsch, who, "though

not without some hesitation," regards David as the author, considers the "roll of the book" as referring especially to Deuteronomy, which was to be the *vade-mecum* of the king of Israel. (See Deut. xvii. 14-20.) Ewald, however, while thinking it not incredible that the Pentateuch is referred to, places the date of the psalm after the reformation of Josiah, in "the golden age of the written Torah, while as yet misunderstandings and misuses had not attached themselves to it, as they afterwards did."

The full significance of this later and more express authenticating of the claims of the written Torah can be made manifest only in connection with a critical investigation of the date of the Old-Testament writings. Considering the whole circuit of the Old-Testament writings, and without raising the question of their chronological order, we find an essential agreement in the nature of the claims which they make for the written Torah. Although the claims of the later writers appear to have extended themselves so as to cover under the term, "the law of the Lord by Moses," substantially all the present writings of the Pentateuch, and although they put forth these claims with an increased intensity of zeal from which the earlier prophets refrain, the Old-Testament view of the written Torah is essentially one and consistent throughout. We now present this view in the following brief statement of particulars.

1. The writings of Mosaism make a claim to be considered Sacred Scripture from the nature of their contents, which are regarded throughout the Old Testament as consisting of divine precepts and ordinances given to the nation as a basis for its covenant with Jehovah, and as themselves giving conditions to the entire nature of the national history and life.

2. The contents of the written Torah are regarded as coming through Jehovah's chosen and inspired servant Moses. They are therefore spoken of as given by the hand of Moses, or as the words or precepts which Jehovah commanded by Moses. These contents are for this reason designated as the law of Moses. But it is not asserted (even if the alleged fact of history that such was the general impression among the Jews after the Pentateuch came into its present form, and after the completion of the Canon of the Old Testament, may pass as undoubted) that the writings which record these contents were by the hand of Moses; with the exception of the few minor portions before pointed out, and the larger section of Deut. iv.

45-xxvi. 15. The express claims of a Mosaic authorship for the written Torah, which are found within the Pentateuch itself, as well as all the impressions of the later writers of the Old Testament upon the question of authorship, must be tested by criticism.

3. The divine origin and qualities ascribed to the contents of the written Torah, so far as we have express designation of the amount of writing which they are designed to cover, apply only to those principal ordinances of the Pentateuch, together with their accompanying threats and promises, which are found in its fundamental sections. Such sections are more particularly the Decalogue, the Book of the Covenant, and the discourses of Moses on the law as recorded in Deuteronomy. Even when the description, "as it is written in the law of Moses," or "in the book of Moses," came to cover substantially the same ground as the writings of the Pentateuch, it is those distinctive features of the written Torah which are regarded as giving character to all the rest.

4. There is no basis to be laid in the claims of the Old Testament for declaring the writings of Mosaism to be inspired or sacred, other than that which consists of the frequent and unmistakable declarations as to the nature of their essential contents; if we except, however, those portions which are directly ascribed to the authorship of Moses, or are said to have been otherwise composed by divine command. Such portions present the additional claim of coming as Scripture directly from a confessedly inspired prophet of Jehovah.

5. All the express claims, while confirming our impression as to the divine origin and authority of the writings, so far as this impression rests upon the nature of certain of their contents, leave large room outside of themselves for further critical inquiry. Accepting the claims as substantially tenable, we are still left free to raise our critical inquiries: e.g., as to the authorship of most of the Pentateuch; as to the degree of historical and ethical perfection reached by its narrative and its laws; as to the more precise nature of its revelation and inspiration.

6. It is the ethico-religious nature and uses of the contents of the writings in which lies the valid claim they make to divine origin and authority, and by virtue of which they lead us to speak of the writings which hold *such contents*, as being manifestly Sacred Scripture.

7. When we compare the estimate which Jesus makes of Mosaism with the claims made for it in the Old Testament, we observe certain points of coincidence and also certain points of contrast. That the Mosaic law contained a revelation of the divine truth and the divine will; that it therefore brought to all men elements of absolute ethical and religious verity in successive self-disclosures of God; and that it was especially the means of divine pedagogy to Israel, through which the theocratic nation became possessed of those great Messianic ideas that underlie the kingdom of God on earth, — these truths Jesus teaches in no equivocal fashion. But that he was capable of distinguishing between the elements of genuine divine revelation and the elements of human weakness and error with which they were mingled, in a manner altogether impossible for the writers and teachers of the Old Testament, we are also not permitted to doubt. And, in fact (as we have already seen), he made this important distinction. We can scarcely fail to believe that he might have carried the same distinction into many other details of the Mosaic law, had not a wise reticence, due to his times and to the nature of his mission, prevented him. As far as he has spoken, we are left to notice how widely his manner diverges in many respects from that of the Old Testament. The *jus talionis* to which Mosaism gives a place in the Book of the Covenant, as belonging to the words which Jehovah spoke to Moses and as part of the national compact with God, Jesus characterizes rather as one of those concessive and morally imperfect enactments which were spoken by Moses and his successors to the men of old time. (Compare Matt. v. 38 and Exod. xxi. 24.) The law of divorce which Deuteronomy gives among the other statutes of Jehovah commanded through Moses, Jesus regards rather as a statute of Moses, necessitated by the hardness of the human heart, and indeed no better than a virtual permission of adultery. (Compare Matt. v. 31 f., xix. 8, 9, and Deut. xxiv. 1.) How different, moreover, is the entire manner of Jesus when speaking of the Mosaic law, from that of the unqualified praises of the latest books of the Old Testament, with their peculiar tendencies to insist rather upon the ceremonial and sacerdotal provisions of the written Torah! The spirit of his words accords with that view which upholds the principles of righteousness embodied in the Mosaic law, and its symbolic testimony to the great Messianic ideas; while, at the same time, it relatively depreciates that which is dis-

tinctively ceremonial and sacerdotal. The scribe, with his growing importance, due to an increasing number of minute and often seemingly conflicting legal enactments, and with his superlative regard for manuscript authority, is rather pushed into the background by the teaching of Jesus. But the genuine and living word of Jehovah, which this scribe is quite too likely to overlook in his zeal for the written law, is brought forth from its hiding-place in the manuscript. Thus does Jesus differ in his estimate of Mosaism from both its earlier and later claims in the Old Testament, although drawing in spirit decidedly nearer to those earlier claims. He does not, however, so differ as to abrogate in the least his own declaration, "Until heaven and earth shall have passed away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise have passed away from the law, until all things shall have come to pass."

CHAPTER IV.

THE CLAIMS OF PROPHETISM AND OF THE HOKHMAH.

THAT the writings of Prophetism differ from those of Mosaism, in respect to the basis which they lay in their own claims for the title of Sacred Scripture, we are now in a position more definitely to consider. We find in the claims of Hebrew prophecy a decided advance beyond those put forth by the Mosaic Torah. This advance is chiefly manifest in the increased significance given to what we may call the element of human personality as an inspired medium of divine revelation. It is to the prophet, with his morally quickened and elevated consciousness, that we owe the idea and the fact of inspiration as it enters into the construction of Sacred Scripture. Indeed, in the largest and yet perfectly true meaning of the words, we may say, Were it not for the Hebrew prophets, we should have no inspired Hebrew Scripture, and no other than prophetic inspiration serves as a medium of the inspired books of the Old Testament. There may be sacred writings, however, whose claims to the title rest upon other grounds than that of being the products of inspired minds in writing; for not all *sacred Scripture* is, in the stricter sense of the term, *inspired Scripture*. But for the understanding of those writings of the Old Testament which are justly considered sacred, because they contain the words of the Lord to Israel through the servants to whom he had for this purpose given his Holy Spirit, it is surely indispensable that we should form just conceptions of the Hebrew prophets. The study of the claims of Prophetism is, then, largely a study of the personality of the prophets.

The study of the claims of the Hebrew prophetic writings, as those claims are embodied in and put forth by the inspired personality of the Hebrew prophets, we shall conduct in three divisions. We shall consider, first, certain ethico-religious ideas which enter into all Hebrew prophecy, so far as that prophecy is connected with the doctrine of Sacred Scripture; and, sec-

ond, the reality and the nature of the prophet's claims to receive the word of Jehovah by inspiration, so far as these claims are made known in the titles applied to his person and work, and in the descriptions given of his call, manner of exercising his office, and especially of his prophetic consciousness. Only in the third and last place shall we be in position to consider the argument by which the claims, primarily belonging to the personality and oral work of the prophet, pass over to the written product which becomes incorporated into Sacred Scripture. The nature of the atmosphere, the agent and the product, of Hebrew prophecy, must, then, be in turn considered.

It is both a scriptural and a philosophical view which Ewald¹ takes, when he derives the prophetic call and office, as well as the character of prophetic inspiration, from the very nature of all religion. That God is a living God, and is therefore the source of all spiritual life, and that man is made in the image of God, and is therefore capable of communicating with God and of receiving spiritual life, are reciprocal truths of all religion. It is the movement of this divine life within the soul of man which constitutes the soul of prophecy. The one divine life is the only source of inspiration, but the manifestation in humanity of this life is variously determined. A voluntary recognition of the divine presence is necessary on the part of man, in addition to his normal and constitutional fitness, if the divine Spirit is to stand face to face with the human spirit, and converse with it as though in a clear and audible voice. It accords with the very nature of prophetic inspiration and utterance, that the number of prophets should be few.² A divine choice and a divine call are therefore necessary to the constituting of the prophet.

That the claims made for other religions of antiquity as well as for the Hebrew, to the indwelling of the Spirit of the Almighty, are founded in the very nature of religion, we have no disposition to deny. We need not refuse to see the fitful glimmerings of the aurora because we admire the full-orbed moon. We cannot, however, admit the accuracy of Ewald's words in the declaration, "The Bible everywhere concedes that the heathen divinities also can have their (true?) prophets" (p. 12). We are far rather ready to say with Winer,³ that

¹ Die Propheten des Alten Bundes, I. p. 2 ff.

² Ibid. p. 10.

³ Realwörterbuch, Leipzig, 1848, II. p. 283, note. And compare the remark of H. Schultz: Die Stellung des christlichen Glaubens zur heiligen Schrift. Braunschweig, 1877, p. 35.

"all the prophecy of other nations is piece-work," — a sporadic and isolated manner of uttering prophecy. No other prophecy than the Hebrew is an organic growth. The common comparisons between the Hebrew prophets and various other classes in other nations, popularly supposed to be inspired, — e.g., the *μάντεις* of the Greeks, the Italian *improvisatori*, the minstrels of the Christian Church, — are, then, of little worth in giving us the true conceptions for our theme. But, having formed these true conceptions, we may illustrate them by such comparisons, and so place the Hebrew prophecy in its larger relations with the general work of the Divine Spirit in history. To the prophetic writings of the Old Testament alone, can we resort for the conceptions themselves.

The epithet which Winer applies to the prophecy of other nations (*Stückwerk*, "piece-work") indicates by contrast the true point of departure for an examination into the nature of Hebrew prophecy. The conceptions of Hebrew prophecy grow out of the central ideas of the Hebrew religion; its reality is due to the intense vitality of that religion. Every Hebrew prophet was born into the inheritance of those great national religious ideas which we have already found to underlie Mosaism, and to be incorporated into it. To receive, and constantly to experience afresh, these truths by revelation of Jehovah, is the claim of the religion of Israel. This general claim underlies all the special claims of Prophetism.

The wonderfully vigorous and free development of the prophetic spirit and office among the Hebrews was due to the divinely imparted truths which lay at the foundation of their religion. These truths are like an atmosphere to be breathed by every true Hebrew prophet. These truths of themselves enable us to define (1) the agent, (2) the subject, and (3) the organic law of the working of prophetic inspiration. The *agent* of inspiration is the Spirit of Jehovah, who is the living God. What was the Old-Testament conception of the divine being and activities, we have already briefly described. As the living God, in the full Hebrew meaning of those words, — a fulness of meaning which, alas! historic Christianity has too often abated and contracted rather than expanded and elevated, — the Spirit of Jehovah is the source of all life: all other life exists by the inbreathing of his life. That which is deemed true with regard even to human deeds of craft and prowess, we surely may expect to find claimed as true concerning the voice

which avowedly announces the will of Jehovah upon his covenant relations with the theocratic people.

The *subject* of inspiration is primarily the entire faithful people of the covenant of Jehovah. The divine voice announces the gift of the Divine Spirit to thee, O Israel, and to thy seed, to such as keep the covenant. The promises to impart knowledge of divine things, to guide into righteousness, to elevate and fill with life all the moral and spiritual being, when regarded as having a national application, are not incidental to the subject of prophetic inspiration: they are rather necessary and fundamental. The gift of the Spirit to the nation furnishes the explanation for the inspiration of the individual prophet. The inspired nation, the covenant people of Jehovah receiving the Spirit of Jehovah, is the primary fact. The inspiration of Moses, Isaiah, or Ezekiel, is the secondary fact which is dependent upon the primary. The faithful ones among the people are to be a kingdom of priests and a holy nation (Exod. xix. 5, 6). The avowed wish of him who was, in the estimate of the people, their greatest prophet, is to the effect that the gift of the Spirit might not be restricted: "Would God that all the people of Jehovah were prophets, and that Jehovah would put his Spirit upon them!" (Num. xi. 29.) The covenant of Jehovah with Jacob is such that his Spirit is upon him and his seed forever (Isa. lix. 20, 21; compare Joel ii. 28 ff.); and, indeed, prophecy in general is a proof of the divine favor to the people Israel (Amos ii. 11; Hos. xii. 10). When the people rebel, they vex the Holy Spirit of Jehovah which he put within them (Isa. lxiii. 11).

For the true conception of the primary subject of Hebrew prophetic inspiration, the *locus classicus*, Deut. xviii. 9-22, is decisive. The promise here recorded is neither, on the one hand, to be restricted in its application to Messiah alone, nor, on the other hand, so to be interpreted as to deny its highest typical application to him. That its primary historical reference must be taken as extending to the whole class of prophets, clearly appears from the contrast between true and false prophets, from the natural extent of the words "out of the midst of thee, of thy brethren," and from the plain applicability of the promise (verse 18), "I will put my words in his mouth," to the form of divine inspiration which was common to all the prophets. Every true Hebrew prophet was like unto Moses, inasmuch as by virtue of his office as prophet he stood between

God and the theocratic people; but no other one was so great as Moses until the typical fulfilment of these words by Messiah. Now, every distinctive feature of the prophetic inspiration and office is given, at least in germinal form, in the promises here recorded. The distinct divine vocation of the prophet who is to be raised up (עָלָה) by Jehovah, — a vocation which is, however, as a call without restrictions among the people of the covenant ("from the midst of thee, of thy brethren"); the firm historical connection of the revelation which is to continue the testimony of Moses; the distinctively ethico-religious nature of the prophetic mission and activity, since the claim to be a true prophet must rest not so much on signs and wonders as on the confession of the God who redeemed Israel and gave them their law (verses 18, 19, and compare xiii. 1-5); the corroboration of the predictive word by its historic fulfilment, without basing the claim of the prophet upon any minute insight into the definite occurrences of the future (compare xviii. 22 and xiii. 1 ff.), — all these are traits distinctive of all true Hebrew prophecy. They are, however, all involved in the promise of the gift of the Spirit of Jehovah to the theocratic people. Moreover, the faithful portion of Israel is invited and obligated to so much critical use of the judgment as is necessary to distinguish between true prophets and false. The means for such distinction are given primarily in certain ethical conceptions which are revealed to the nation by Jehovah, and which concern his own personality and providential dealing with the nation; and subordinately, in the tests by which the recognition of the truth or falsehood of alleged prophecy was to be determined in its fulfilment (see xiii. 1-5 and xviii. 9-22). The forming of the category of true prophets is thus committed to the faithful of the nation. We even find here the germs of a commission to criticise the claims of prophecy, and to form a select class, or canon, of prophetic utterances. But this commission, so indispensable to the recognition and preservation of true prophecy, belongs by gift of the Divine Spirit to the *holy nation*.¹

In accordance with the foregoing idea is the historical fact, that the actual exercise of the prophetic office in Israel was not restricted by sex, age, rank, or tribal connections. The cases of Deborah (Judg. iv. 4), Huldah (2 Kings xxii. 14), Noadiah

¹ See the complete and beautiful expression of this thought, that the gift of the Divine Spirit belongs to the nation, in Isa. lix. 20, 21.

(Neh. vi. 14), show that it was not limited by sex; there are false prophets among the daughters of Israel (Ezek. xiii. 17). The herdsman Amos is taken from following the flock (vii. 14, 15). The swarming of prophets in Israel, and the intense and large activity of prophecy in the Hebrew life, are also made evident by the facts, that no less than twenty-three prophets, besides those whose writings are preserved in the Canon of the Old Testament, are mentioned by name, and that large numbers of nameless ones are brought forward at different points in Hebrew history.¹

To Israel, the chosen people, the gift of prophetic inspiration primarily belongs; in behalf of the holy nation, the realization of its promised coming is always to be expected. Yet the course of ill-treatment which not only kings and priests, but also the people at large, gave to such as alone realized in fullest measure this divine gift, shows how circumscribed, even among the Hebrews, the number of true prophets necessarily was. While, then, the primary subject of the gift of Jehovah's Spirit is the entire theocratic nation, a choice of certain individuals becomes necessary on account of the departure of that nation from the fundamental law of the covenant. The people Israel receives the promised gift of the Spirit in the person of the prophets of Israel; the prophets themselves, in the exercise of their office, prepare the people for the fuller fruition of the same gift.

The *law* of the working of prophetic inspiration must also be conceived of as it is related to those ideas and truths which we have seen to be fundamental in the religion of Israel. The organizing law of Hebrew prophetic inspiration is distinctively and exclusively ethical, in the meaning which Israel attached to this conception under the term "righteousness." The prophetic call, condition of consciousness, office, and final purpose, — both special with reference to Israel, and general with reference to all history, — are all ethical in their characteristics. The sphere of prophetic activity is pre-eminently the sphere of righteousness. Prophetic activity is most intimately connected, not with pure thought, but with moral action. Subjectively, it

¹ See Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, II. p. 283. Clement of Alexandria enumerates thirty-five, and others even as large a number as forty-eight prophets, and seven prophetesses. Of the sons (or disciples and helpers) of the prophets, a hundred are mentioned (2 Kings iv. 42 f.) as taking their meals together before Elisha at Gilgal, and fifty of them went with Elijah and Elisha to the Jordan (2 Kings ii. 7, 16).

is an intuition of the relations and consequences of righteousness and unrighteousness, of right-doing and wrong-doing; objectively, it is a call to righteousness, a reproof of unrighteousness, a promise of reward for right-doing, and a threat of punishment for wrong-doing. It is a revelation of what Jehovah is doing and will accomplish in righteousness, as the living God. The truth of these statements will be made clear in all our subsequent discussion of the Hebrew prophet and of the nature of his inspired consciousness and work in prophecy.

The distinctive and exclusive pre-eminence of the ethical elements in Hebrew prophecy was, however, a matter of growth through the divine training of the nation Israel. For Hebrew prophecy shows an advance in its point of view, from one more nearly corresponding to the point of view from which heathen mantic regards itself, to the fully developed and completely ethical point of view. This later point of view is the only one from which we have to regard the phenomena of revelation and inspiration among the Hebrews, *so far as they form a basis for a true doctrine of their prophetic sacred writings*. The consideration of other modes of alleged revelation and inspiration than the prophetic, and, among the prophetic, of other modes than the one which is thus stamped throughout with ethical characteristics, has little or no value for the present discussion; for there are no claims to be made regarding these other modes of revelation, in which we can lay any assured basis for the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. Indeed, in the discussion of the general question of inspiration, the value of these sporadic and inferior phenomena is apt greatly to be exaggerated.

Among the temporary and inferior modes of alleged divine revelation which withdrew before the advance of true prophecy, we must place the use of Urim and Thummim. The nature of receiving and declaring the judgment of Jehovah by Urim and Thummim cannot be determined; though the fact that a claim was made thus to render a divine judgment is sufficiently clear¹ (see Num. xxvii. 21). If, among the conflicting views as to the manner of this revelation, we might adopt the one of some modern theologians, especially Bähr and Hengstenberg, — viz., that the decision was really given by the high priest who

¹ The name given to the breastplate of the high priest in which they were set (Exod. xxviii. 30), the translation of the term by the LXX., with the words *ἀγλαοίαι καὶ ἀληθείαι*, and the Hebrew term *אֲרָמִיתִים, אֲרָמִיתִים*, which refers to the divine illumination and unimpeachable correctness of the decision rendered, — all prove the fact of this claim.

was inspired for that purpose, and that the "pledge that the answer should be in accordance with God's will . . . was worn on his heart in the Urim and Thummim," — then, indeed, this form of alleged divine revelation might be brought into direct relations with the later form in prophecy. The priest would then wear his Urim and Thummim as a symbol of the really prophetic relations in which he was standing with Jehovah. Of this view we can, however, at most only say with Oehler, *non liquet*. But, the right to make use of Urim and Thummim being restricted to rare occasions, when the interests of the whole congregation were endangered, it could not satisfactorily serve the pedagogic purposes of divine communion with the nation. Moreover, this mode of revelation partakes much less of the ethical characteristics, and more of the characteristics of mere divination, than does prophecy. For this reason both it and the use of the sacred lot retire into the background before the advance of the higher form of divine revelation. The nature of Urim and Thummim was as much a matter of dispute in the time of Philo and Josephus as it is now.

Of certain elements of Hebrew prophecy itself, we must also say, that they are relatively inferior, and from their very nature destined to be only sporadic and temporary. This is indeed true of all except the distinctively ethical elements, and those predictive elements which grow out of the ethical. Among the inferior elements we must class such as we will call the *communistic*. For, although the gift of the Spirit of Jehovah belonged primarily to the holy nation at large, it was not a gift for distribution and enjoyment in communistic fashion. We would not, indeed, deny that the spirit and work of true prophecy might be connected with the so-called schools of the prophets. The contagiousness, the imitation, the tendency to congregate, and the physical excesses of prophecy in these schools, belong, however, to the true prophetic activity only in the ruder times and temporary uses of the religion of Israel. These schools of the prophets have most of their value in relation to sacred prophetic writings, by the general impulse which they gave to prophetic-historical composition. But the true prophets, whose words from the Lord form the lofty ethical and predictive contents of sacred prophetic books, were not usually men of the schools.

Scarcely any other subject of Old-Testament research has excited a larger share of interest than the so-called schools of the

prophets; and concerning them nearly every possible view has been held, not excepting the theories that they were monastic brotherhoods, or even *quasi*-Pythagorean associations, or singing-academies. Yet they make their appearance only for a time at two periods in the history of Israel; viz., in the days of Samuel, and again in those of Elijah and Elisha. They seem to have been voluntary assemblies of men who thought themselves inspired, and who for a time cherished their prophetic gift in common, and under certain communistic relations which cannot now be determined: they were not "schools" at all, properly so called.¹ It is important for a true conception of Hebrew prophecy, to observe that the distinctive characteristics of these schools are without exception *not* the distinctive characteristics of genuine Hebrew prophecy, although the former characteristics may be incidentally connected with the latter. The contagious self-propagating nature of the alleged inspiration of these assemblies does not, indeed, in all cases disprove its genuineness. It may be regarded in the light of similar phenomena accompanying the work of the Divine Spirit in the kingdom of God; e.g., in the Corinthian church and among the Camisards. It is not, however, favorable to those lofty ethical qualities which spring from the most intimate communion of the human organ of revelation with the source of all revealed truth. The temptation furnished by these so-called schools of the prophets, merely to imitate the genuine prophetic call and inspiration, could scarcely fail to degrade the prophetic functions. Nor does the word of Jehovah come in its clearest form to the soul which is self-excited, or hurried into prophetic speech by the impact of crowds of others similarly excited. To these communistic elements we may attribute in part the swarms of false prophets, self-deceived and deceiving the people, which arose in Israel. The physical excesses of inspiration, the predominance of dreams and visions, the use of prophetic insight in the petty details of life and in response to self-interested inquiry, — these are also inferior and incidental phenomena which ally Hebrew prophecy more with heathen mantic, and which need to be largely left out of the account in considering such prophetic

¹ The assembly of prophets about Samuel is called חֶבֶל (a band), and לְהִקָּה (a company); and Samuel as their head is spoken of under the title אֶחָד (1 Sam. xix. 20). The sons of the prophets in the days of Elijah and Elisha seem to be in stricter relations of dependency upon these prophets. Compare Oehler, *ibid.*, II. pp. 144 ff.; Kell and Delitzsch on 1 Sam. xix. 18-24; and Tholuck, *Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen*, p. 26 f.

revelation and inspiration as form the basis of Sacred Scripture.

Moreover, we infer that the organic law of Hebrew prophecy is distinctively ethical, from our ability to trace the growing predominance of ethical and religious elements throughout the various stages of this prophecy. Of such stages Ewald,¹ and Tholuck² following him, enumerate four. It will serve our purpose best to speak rather of five periods of Hebrew prophecy. In each of them we behold the word of Jehovah coming to the people of Israel through the messenger who is chosen to be in special communion with Jehovah; but each of them has its own characteristics, which may be regarded as adapting that word to the needs peculiar to the period. In the period preceding Moses, the prophetic inspiration may be called patriarchal in quality, and manifests itself in personal guidance of its recipient by dreams, visions, and other providential indications: it has the nature of calm communion on terms of friendship with the Spirit of Jehovah. Yet the ethical quality and final purpose of all true prophecy are distinctly manifest in this earliest type. Abraham is the typical man of this period of prophecy. In the next period the manifestations of prophetic inspiration are concentrated in the person of Moses: its method is that of open disclosures of those ethical and religious truths and ordinances which are needed for the founding of the national life in its legal and ceremonial form. Its formula is: "Jehovah spake unto Moses, saying." In the third period the germ of the subsequent form which Hebrew prophecy assumed is seen enveloped in surroundings of heathenism, and yet successfully striving to burst through this envelope. The prophets of this period are grouped about the persons of Samuel and Elijah. In the fourth period the germ has come to its full blooming. In this age of the great prophets whose work has given us the choicest contents of Old-Testament Scripture, the distinctive and high moral quality of Hebrew prophecy is most apparent: it is especially apparent in the growth of the great ideas which are at the same time ethical and Messianic. And then in the last period, the bloom is seen falling off as the time for putting forth the flowers of prophecy gives way to the time for gathering their fallen leaves, and preparing them for preservation.

The thought at present before us is a corrective of the ex-

¹ Die Propheten des Alten Bundes, II. pp. 40 ff.

² Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen, pp. 28 f.

treme view of Nöldeke, Kuenen, Wellhausen, and others. The prophecy of Israel in every period, and even in those germinal periods which precede the time of Samuel, grows out of the underlying ideas of the national religion. To misrepresent these ideas in the supposed interests of a scientific view of their development, and then, as a matter of course, misrepresent the nature of that prophetic activity which is dependent upon these ideas, is an uncritical reversal of the right method of research. If we know any thing at all of the beginnings of the religion of Israel, we know of them as already saturated with the same ethical truths and opinions. Without admitting this fact we discover no roots from which to trace the wonderful growth of Hebrew prophecy. This prophecy cannot be introduced as heathen soothsaying into the nation, and then made to account for the very development of those ideas, which, in their own development, must themselves rather furnish the partial account of it.

We now turn to consider the personality of the individual prophet, and especially the nature of his personal and prophetic consciousness. The primary subject of revelation and inspiration is, indeed, the entire holy nation. But the voluntary attitude of the nation at large toward Jehovah, the historic limitations which encompass the divine self-disclosure, and, finally, the necessity for a course of divine discipline in the carrying-out of the compact of God with the people, necessitate a further restriction of prophetic activity. As in the new covenant, so also in the old, certain individuals are especially chosen to receive, *in behalf of the community*, the gifts of the Divine Spirit. Both prophets and apostles are constituted such by divine choice; the former through an inner call, the latter by the personal act of Jesus.

The three elements which enter into the true conception of the prophet are *revelation*, *inspiration*, and *utterance*; for the prophet is the inspired medium of divine truth to other minds. Revelation, the inner disclosure of the divine thought and will to the human soul, is an essential element of genuine prophecy. But this revelation cannot become realized, cannot become a real disclosure of thought and purpose to the individual as a preparation for prophecy, without inspiration. The soul of the prophet must be ethically quickened and elevated in order that the word of Jehovah may reach the people through him. Nor can the message remain concealed in the prophet's own

soul; for it is a *message*, a divine commission to communicate a revealed truth to those for whom it is divinely intended. The existence of these three elements in the conception of all true Hebrew prophecy is made evident even by the titles employed for the prophet, for the gift of inspiration, and for the prophetic message.

The term *nabi* (נָבִי) for a prophet is the oldest and most frequent of all, and is found in all the Semitic languages. It is, according to Ewald, from an independent root which has the meaning "to make clear." Among the Arabians, *nabi* is "the speaker." The primary meaning of the Hebrew word is, then, to be a clear speaker, or, in the passive form, to speak for another. "As the dumb man requires his messenger or interpreter to speak for him, so does the voice of God, dumb to the throng of men, require some one to utter it."¹ The Hebrew used the reflexive forms, *niphal* and *hithpael*, as the Romans expressed the same class of conceptions by the deponent verbs *loqui, fari, vociferari, concionari, vaticinari*. The conception that the prophet does not speak his own thoughts, but those which he has received from God, is, then, inseparably connected with his title. Thus Aaron is said to be given to Moses as his prophet (Exod. vii. 1), or mouth as he is elsewhere designated (iv. 16); because he is to speak for Moses as an ambassador or interpreter speaks for his superior. Nor is this germinal idea wanting in the wider use of the word when it is applied to Abraham (Gen. xx. 7) as one in friendly communion with God; for this patriarch here receives the title "as the God-addressed or inspired, because the inward speaking or inspiration of God constitutes the essence of prophecy."² A certain divine activity in revelation, and a corresponding passivity in receptiveness of the prophet, are both implied in the title נָבִי. To the conception involved in this title, the element of utterance is added in more definite form by the designation "messenger (שֹׁפֵר) of Jehovah" (Hag. i. 13; Mal. iii. 1; perhaps Judg. ii. 1 [Gesenius]); a designation given to the whole people, Isa. xlii. 19. The title "man of God" is also given to the

¹ See *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, I. p. 7, and note; and *Lehrbuch*, § 149, E.: and compare H. Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 214 f.; and Tholuck, *Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen*, p. 21 f. The view of Hävernick and Hofmann is similar; but Gesenius (see *Lexicon*) considers נָבִי the same as שֹׁפֵר, the *y* being softened to *n*, and makes the verb mean "to holl forth," as a fountain. According to Delitzsch, the root is to be translated "to divulge" (on Ps. cv. 15).

² Delitzsch *in loco*; compare Ps. cv. 15.

prophet, 1 Sam. ii. 27, ix. 6; 1 Kings xiii. 1 ff., and Jer. xxxv. 4; the same title is applied specifically to Moses, Deut. xxxiii. 1, and to David, 2 Chron. viii. 14, who are regarded as the media of divine blessing to the nation. The term "man of the spirit" is used, Hos. ix. 7, of pretended prophets; נָבִי with its kindred words is used only of the false prophets, who are to be classed with the heathen soothsayers,—a distinction preserved by the LXX. in the contrast between *προφητεύω* and *μαντεύομαι*. In this distinction we may detect the germs of the true view of the prophetic consciousness in its differences from the view of the rabbis and early Church fathers.

The realizing of revelation in the transformed moral consciousness of the prophet—prophetic inspiration proper—is, however, more clearly asserted in the following titles. The word *hoseh* (הוֹשֵׁה), which belongs, for the most part, to the silver age of Hebrew (Gesenius), and which perhaps came late into prose speech from earlier usage more nearly poetic (Winer), is found almost entirely in Chronicles (see 1 Chron. xxi. 9, xxv. 5, xxix. 29; and Amos vii. 12). The word *roeh* (רֹאֶה, "seer") is, however, given pre-eminently to Samuel (1 Sam. ix. 9, 19; 1 Chron. ix. 22, xxvi. 28); but it is also given to the prophet Hanani (2 Chron. xvi. 7, 10), and is used in the plural of the prophets generally (Isa. xxx. 10). We are informed (1 Sam. ix. 9) that this title was the earlier one for the prophet, in the declaration, "he who is now called נָבִי was beforetime called רֹאֶה." This declaration, which plays so conspicuous a part in the representation of Hebrew prophecy which is given by certain critics, can be urged at most in proof only of the following facts: viz., that there was a lack of true prophets in the time just preceding Samuel, and that the people resorted for consultation regarding their own affairs to a class of men fitly called in popular language "seers," while the later and distinctively Hebrew form of prophecy came into general activity only after the time of Samuel. All three titles for the prophet are found, but distinguished according to some principle not easy to define, in 1 Chron. xxix. 29; the title *roeh* being applied to Samuel, *nabi* to Nathan, and *hoseh* to Gad. With correlated significance do we find the term צִוְּחָה (*speculator*) used of the prophet, because he, like the watchman, announces what is coming, unseen by others but manifest to his vision of a wider range (see Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. iii. 17, xxxiii. 7; Isa. lii. 8); while by the title שָׂרֵי he is more expressly represented as the

shepherd and guardian of Jehovah's flock (see Isa. xxi. 11, lxii. 6). By these titles the quickening and elevating of the intuitions by the work of the Spirit of Jehovah, and the production within the prophet of a truly divine insight and foresight, are clearly indicated. But this inspiration is also represented as imparted to the individual in order that he may be fitted to inspect and oversee the ways of the nation and of their rulers toward Jehovah, and the correlated divine ways toward them.

The fact of prophetic inspiration is more distinctly asserted by the formulae used to describe the gift of the Divine Spirit to the prophet. The Spirit of Jehovah is said to "fall upon" the prophet; the word *בָּא* signifying the descent from heaven, the supposed place of Jehovah's presence, of that divine influence which the prophet was supposed to possess (see Ezek. xi. 5). The hand of Jehovah "fell upon" (Ezek. viii. 1), or "was upon" (Ezek. i. 3, iii. 22, xxxvii. 1), or "was strong upon" (Ezek. iii. 14), are expressions favorite with one of the prophets to describe the coming of this divine influence. A similar phrase is used to describe the imparting of skill to the minstrel in playing (2 Kings iii. 15), and, with a change of the preposition (*עָלָה*), of divine strength to Elijah for running (1 Kings xviii. 46). "The Lord spake unto me with a strong hand,"—i.e., spake laying hold of me with a firm hand,—is the description of Isa. viii. 11; and Jeremiah (xv. 17) is said to be inspired with moral indignation because of the hand of the Lord. The Spirit of God is also spoken of as "clothed upon" (*שָׁכַח*) the prophet like a sort of inner garment (see 2 Chron. xxiv. 20); an expression which is, however, also used of the preparation of the hero for righteous battle (of Gideon, Judg. vi. 34; of Amasai, 1 Chron. xii. 18). These formulae, as the use made of them indicates, dwell rather upon the less definitely ethical features of the prophetic consciousness in which it more resembles the ecstasy of heathen mantic. But in the phrases, "The word [or oracle] of Jehovah came unto [or upon] me," or "Jehovah spake unto me saying," the intuition of truth which inspiration brings to the prophet is made prominent, rather than the stress of feeling occasioned by the intuition. The objective word of Jehovah, intuitively received by the inspired prophetic consciousness, and acting upon that consciousness to stir it to its lowest depths, constitutes the genuine Hebrew prophet according to the formulae examined above.

The same general impression regarding the three elements of revelation, inspiration, and inspired utterance, is made by the terms used to describe the prophet's message. These terms emphasize the element of utterance. The title נֶאֱמַר (a word or cry coming from the deep breast [Ewald], the supernatural voice which was supposed to whisper oracles in the ear of the prophet [Gesenius]), indicates that process of communion with God in contemplation by which the intuition of divine truth secretly assumes the more definite form needed for utterance. But by the term "word of Jehovah" (דְּבַר יְהוָה) the message is presented as more strictly objective, and as both cause and effect of the inspiration received. The word is *from* Jehovah as a source, and *to* others: it is, therefore, a divine commission to utter a message. How deeply the consciousness of the prophet is affected both by his intuition and also by his commission, we may conclude from the title נֶאֱמַר which is used to describe the contents of his message. The meaning of this word is, indeed, much in doubt. Gesenius and others would translate it by *effatum* merely, the lifting-up of the voice in speech; and, as applied to prophetic speech, *effatum divinum*, an oracle. But its derivation and the nature of its use with the prepositions עַל and לְ (see 2 Kings ix. 25), as well as the general characteristics of the prophecies it prefaces, seem to indicate a more specific meaning. According to Ewald, the clew to this meaning is to be found in Zech. ix. 1, where the word of Jehovah is represented as lifting up wings in flight to come to a rest only in the land of Hadrach. Its more appropriate use would then be limited to prophecy relating to a far-off land and people.¹ At the same time the thought of a word of threatening, raised, as it were, above, or passing over upon, its subject, must be taken into the account. The older commentators, following Jerome and Luther, adhere more definitely to the etymology of the Hebrew, and translate by the word "burden." And, despite the departure of most modern authorities from this earlier view, we are of opinion that the cognate element which connects the two meanings of נֶאֱמַר — viz., the meaning "to lift up" and the meaning "to bear" — always asserts itself in the usage of the prophets. The word, then, as applied to the contents of prophecy, represents these contents as coming from Jehovah into the prophet's

¹ For this reason it is that so many prophecies inscribed with this word concern foreign countries: "Hoch-spruch wenn Flug-spruch zu schwer dünkt," says Ewald, *Die Propheten*, etc., I. p. 66.

soul, as making a vast and generally even a painful impression upon it, and as demanding utterance to others.¹

Inasmuch as the prophet is distinctively a "seer," the contents of the divine word to him are themselves called a vision (רֵאיוֹן), which must be made visible to others through the prophet (see Isa. xxix. 11, xxi. 2). We have also the compound expression, "the oracle which Isaiah saw" (ii. 1); and, returning to the figure of a word uttered, the oracle is said to be spoken by Jehovah in the ears of the prophet (Isa. v. 9, xxii. 14).

Important truths, such as the reality and objective certainty of revelation, the continuous and reciprocal action of revelation and inspiration, the activity and passivity combined in the prophetic mental state, and the elevating of the faculties of intuition with reference to the discernment of ethical truths, are all implied in the very titles and terms used to designate the Hebrew prophet, his inspiration, and his message.

We attempt now to determine more precisely the nature of the prophetic consciousness by considering the claims of the genuine Hebrew prophet as to (1) his vocation, (2) his commission, and (3) his inspired mental state.

What we may call the natural basis of the prophetic consciousness can be regarded as twofold; it is both historical and psychological. The characteristics of the Hebrew prophetic office and inspiration were, to a large extent, dependent upon the ethical and religious ideas of the nation into which, as into an atmosphere, the prophet was born. In the case of the later prophets, the preceding work of their fellow-prophets became an inheritance which no one who uttered the word of the Lord was either disposed or able to hinder from having its influence upon himself. Moreover, certain natural gifts and personal qualifications are presupposed by the divine call to this office. But the combined resources of natural endowment and inheritance of national ideas do not avail to satisfy the claims justly made by every genuine prophet of Israel. The claim of the prophet is a claim to be the individual organ of a divine revelation. This general claim involves the particular claims to a divine vocation, to a divine commission, and to an endowment with the strengthening, illumining, and sanctifying Spirit of God.

An individual vocation, or divine call addressed to the

¹ That the term does not always designate the oracle of Jehovah as a truth heavy to be borne, see Zech. xii. 1 and Mal. i. 1.

prophet's own soul, forms one indispensable element of genuine Hebrew prophecy. It is the consciousness of this vocation which gives the first impulse to the prophetic spirit; it is the memory and the renewal of this consciousness which continue to feed the prophetic spirit. A certain kind and amount of prophetic activity seems, especially in the times of Samuel, to have attached itself rather to the community of prophets, and to have been shared by all the members of the community on the ground of their position in it. Under leadership, by imitation, and for a time, even Saul might be deemed a prophet. But it was not by those belonging to a company like that described, 1 Sam. x. 5, or having been trained in a school, but rather by individuals, under a distinct divine impulse, that the great and enduring prophetic work of Israel was undertaken. Men like Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah come forward as prophets by individual summons of the Lord. (See Amos vii. 14; Isa. vi.; Jer. i. 2.) The overwhelming effect which this divine vocation sometimes exercised upon the prophet may be seen in the case of Amos, who assures us (iii. 8) that he trembled like a shepherd before the roaring of a lion when Jehovah commanded him to prophesy. At times it happened to the Hebrew prophet, as it has happened to many messengers of God in all ages of the world, that he at first listened to the call of Jehovah with much resistance, or that he accepted it only when fully aware of the hardships involved. We learn that Jeremiah, who well knew that all the events of his life had been ordered with reference to his prophetic vocation (i. 5), nevertheless at first resisted the call on the plea of youth (6); but Jehovah overcame, at the last, his resistance (xx. 7). Again, afterward, he would gladly have restrained the divine impulse to predict the coming woe, but was unable to do so (xvii. 16). We notice in this case the effect upon the prophetic consciousness of a repeated, or rather prolonged, divine call, for the understanding of which both the psychological and the supernatural elements must be taken into the account. The impression made upon the mind of the recipient by the conviction of such a vocation from Jehovah is by its very nature an ethical and spiritual impression. It could not fail, in the case of any thoughtful and upright mind, to have a distinct and lasting influence in elevating and strengthening the most essential of the moral faculties. The nature of this influence is illustrated by all the analogous convictions of a lofty divine

vocation which have been held by those souls who have been morally choicest, most useful, and best, in all places and ages of the world. How the memory of his divine call was so burned into the soul of the Hebrew prophet as to become a radiating point of perpetual light and heat, we may be convinced by reading Isa. vi., Jer. i., and Ezek. i.-iii.

But the inner call which is felt by the Hebrew prophet is a call to something external to himself. He regards himself not only as called, but also as commissioned. His vocation is to receive a word or vision from Jehovah, the objectivity of which, as respects both its source and its destination, is made known by speaking of it as a communication given or put into his mouth by God. (See Deut. xviii. 18, Jer. i. 9, Ezek. ii. 8.) Even though the revelation be originally made in the still hour of contemplation, it is accompanied or followed by an impulse to reveal to others what has been for this purpose revealed to the prophet himself. Indeed, the revelation is itself an inner divine command to speak to others the truth revealed (Amos iii. 8). The prophet may not isolate himself, and keep his message: he is laid under divine obligations to seek for utterance and for hearers, even those to whom Jehovah has commissioned him to bring his word. His commission involves, therefore, the invitation that men shall listen to the word brought them from the Lord. (See Joel i. 2, Amos iii. 1.) It impels him to resort to the temple as a place of convocation (Jer. vii. 1 f., xix. 14, xxvi. 2, xxviii. 1; Hos. ix. 8), or to the gate as a place of public assembly (compare Jer. xxv. 2).¹ Not to prophesy as commissioned of Jehovah, and not to impart exactly the message given in commission, whether keeping back any part through fear, or changing any thing through love of favor, is to forfeit his divine gift. This conception of the inviolable character of the divine commission to the prophet is found, Deut. xviii. 18, and is an underlying thought of 1 Kings xiii., Ezek. xxxiii. 1 ff., and of the entire Book of Jonah. Faithful to this commission, the prophet may be confident in Jehovah (Isa. viii. 17, 18). This message has a powerful effect upon the souls of the prophet and his hearers, for it is received as one coming through inspiration of Jehovah (Jer. xxiii. 29, Hos. vi. 5); but, for this reason, in bringing it to others the messenger is given

¹ Ewald understands the words, "he that reproveth in the gate," as a title of the prophet, and refers to Isa. xxix. 21, and Amos v. 10. (See, also, Winer, Realwörterbuch, II. p. 278.)

declarative authority as a part of his commission (Jer. i. 10). And this commission is objectively as wide as it is subjectively intense. It has application not only to the people, but also, and oftentimes especially, to their priests and rulers. It may extend over the affairs of all nations, and cover with its wide sweep the entire domain of the kingdom of God. For the prophet, as the commissioner of Jehovah, is set "over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant." (See Jer. i. 10, xxviii. 8.) The genuine prophet is not commissioned to be a soothsayer or oracle-monger, but an apostle of righteousness. The forms of his activity which concern the petty details of life, — e.g., the finding of asses, the recovery of a lost axe, or the giving of counsel in unimportant cases, — are merely accidental and temporary in Israel. He has rather a commission which is distinctively ethical; he is appointed to stand in behalf of Jehovah, as a word which rebukes, incites, encourages, instructs, and warns the people in righteousness.

Yet further, this commission of the prophet may involve more than the verbal utterance of the divine message. He is himself, in his person, conduct, and life, called and commissioned to be a concrete word of Jehovah to his fellows. The thorough honesty and intense earnestness of even the earlier prophets are made manifest by their traditional habit of clothing, viz., the long, folding mantle (מִצְנֵעַ) of coarse hairy stuff, drawn together by a leathern girdle. Such a symbol of his commission plays an important part in the history of Elijah (2 Kings ii. 8). As a merely external and yet significant feature of the prophetic office, this clothing was, however, assumed by the false prophets (Zech. xiii. 4). The prophetic commission often becomes incorporated into the entire manner of the prophet's life; his consciousness is so permeated and filled with the sense of his mission, that his life becomes largely a life of prophetic symbolism. His conduct is thus a prophecy, and a pledge and first-fruits of the events prophesied. Ahijah's treatment of Jeroboam (1 Kings xi. 30 ff.), Zedekiah's horns of iron in imitation of the true prophetic method (1 Kings xxii. 11), Isaiah's bare feet (Isa. xx. 2), Jeremiah wearing bonds and yokes (Jer. xxvii. 2, xxviii. 10), Elisha with his bow and arrows (2 Kings xiii. 15 ff.), and Jeremiah again with the prophetic girdle (Jer. xiii. 2 ff.) or with the potter's bottle (xix.), are temporary and less important instances of the power of this commission. But

the whole personal history and surroundings — house, wife, children, and personal experiences — of the prophet may appear to him as parts of the truth given to him from Jehovah (Isa. viii.; Hos. i.-iii.; Jer. xvi.). As a prophet he may direct into the line of his commission his secular transactions; and thus does Jeremiah purchase a field to express his confidence in the return from the captivity (xxxii.). The past transactions and experiences of his own life, which had not at the time of their occurrence been understood, the prophet may come to understand in the light of his great divine commission. In this way we are perhaps to interpret the difficult passage Hos. i.-iii. Even natural events appear as portions of prophecy (see 1 Sam. xii. 17 f.).

Thus called and thus commissioned, the prophet must be divinely transformed in his moral and spiritual being, or else be forced to confess that he has misinterpreted his office. The dependence of the prophetic call and commission upon ethical conditions is distinctly stated by the Hebrew writers. That he may fitly accept the call, the iniquity of the prophet needs to be taken away, and his sin purged (Isa. vi. 5-8). A genuine moral receptiveness and submission (Isa. l. 5 ff.) prepare him for being sent forth by Jehovah. To flatter sinful lusts (Mic. ii. 11, iii. 5), or to speak lies (Jer. xiv. 14), or, indeed, to yield in any way to moral impurity, would result in obscuring his prophetic consciousness, and in reducing him to the base position of a falsifier of the divine word. (See Hos. ix. 7, 8.) But being "full of conscious sincerity and of his divine commission," he may announce with all boldness to the people his inspired message respecting their sins (Mic. iii. 8).

We discover further proofs of the nature of the prophetic consciousness, when we consider more definitely the effects of revelation and inspiration upon the mental state of the prophet. The objective point of starting for this consideration is the reality of that disclosure of the divine thought and purposes which is made within the prophet's soul. The genuine prophet differs from the false in that the former has, and the latter has not, the true word of Jehovah as a message to be delivered unto others. False prophets are therefore designated as those who speak out of their own heart (Jer. xiv. 14, xxiii. 16; Ezek. xiii. 2, 17); or they are declared to be not really sent by God, although pretending to be so sent (Jer. xxvii. 15; xxix. 31; Ezek. xiii. 6). But this word, objective and *from* Jehovah, can-

not become a message to men without first becoming a word subjective and revealed *in* the mind of the organ of revelation. The inspiration, or transformation of the consciousness of the prophet, is necessary in order that revelation may be realized. In and through this act of divine revelation, certain effects are represented as divinely produced upon the personality of the prophet.

Among such effects, although of inferior importance for the present discussion, and only incidental in the determination of the true nature of prophetic consciousness, must we class the tokens of excessive physical agitation. They neither prove nor disprove the genuineness of the inspiration of those alleged prophets in whose cases they occur. They belong, indeed, rather to a crude stage of the Hebrew prophecy and to the excesses which characterize the heathen mantic of the time. We are given to understand from the narrative of Saul's conduct, 1 Sam. xix. 24 (especially from the repeated phrase "he also"), that stripping to the tunic, and lying prostrate on the ground, was the habit of the prophets with whom the king is here associated. Balaam is said (Num. xxiv. 4) to see the vision of the Almighty, falling down, and with open eyes. Notices of similar phenomena among heathen nations have been collected by Hengstenberg, Tholuck, and others. The designation of the prophet as one frenzied (פֶּזֶז) or under impetuous excitement (Gesenius), although used of false prophets, Hos. ix. 7, and of true prophets in contempt, 2 Kings ix. 11 and Jer. xxix. 26, probably indicates not only the popular estimate of the condition of the prophet's mind, but also much in the mental state and conduct of the prophets which gave rise to the popular estimate. The recurrence of similar phenomena in Ezekiel and Daniel, at so long a time after the schools of Samuel and Elijah, is a proof of the decline in that age of the highest and truest prophetic spirit. Yet even Ezekiel, as Oehler remarks (II. p. 328), after falling down overpowered by his vision, has to stand up again to receive the divine revelation (Ezek. i. 28, ii. 1); and Daniel, although at first stunned, and even at one time made ill for several days (viii. 27), must recover consciousness before he is intrusted with the entire divine self-disclosure (x. 8-10). This latter prophet, whose excessive excitement in the presence of his prophetic vision distinguishes him, according to his own narrative, from all the other Hebrew prophets, represents himself as falling senseless after he had heard the sound

of the words, and then as being made to arise in order that he might give heed to them; although he became sick in consequence of the impression of the vision.

The condition of ecstasy may, then, be considered as one which, in the view of the Old Testament, especially when that view receives treatment in the light of its historic development, is only incidental to the revelations received by the prophets. Extremes of the ecstatic state, in which the moral self-consciousness appears for a time to be sunk in a flood of frenzied emotion, do not belong as a distinctive characteristic to the greatest Hebrew prophets. Nor do the phenomena of ecstasy deserve any conclusive weight in estimating the nature of Hebrew prophecy as a basis for the doctrine of prophetic Sacred Scripture. These are, indeed, the phenomena upon which the mechanical theory of inspiration primarily laid chief stress; and this fact shows to what crudity and violence of views this theory is to be referred for its basis. For, although Winer's remark, that the home of the prophets is the land of the South, "where the blood runs quicker through the veins, and feeling breaks forth stronger and prompter," is undoubtedly applicable to the Hebrews; the fact neither explains on the one hand, nor on the other discredits, the inspiration of these teachers of ethical and predictive truth. We must, then, in common with most modern opinion, express our dissent from both the earlier and the later views of Hengstenberg.

The consistent claim of the Hebrew prophets establishes the following statement as to their mental state: In genuine prophecy the Spirit of God, having its seat in and taking its point of departure from the ethico-religious nature, illumines the intuitive faculties, quickens and elevates the ethical emotions, and so possesses and sways the entire soul. This effect is not to be described, however, as a mere quickening, by natural and historic forces, of the ordinary ethical and religious faculties. The Divine Spirit moves within the prophet, having first come to him as an influence from Jehovah. But the centre of this spiritual influence is in the ethical and religious nature. The prophetic insight and foresight which result from the divine illumining are distinctively ethical; the emotions which are excited and strengthened are those which are connected with moral conduct; the final purpose of the inspiration is the imparting of ethical and religious truth, and the inciting of right moral conduct. Thus does the entire soul become an

organ for the revelation of the thought and will of Jehovah; but the organ is used only within the sphere, and for the final purpose, contemplated in the act of inspiration.

We consider then, first, the illumining of the intuitive faculties of the prophet by the divine gift of ethico-religious insight and foresight. Peculiar insight and foresight are claimed for the true Hebrew prophet as bestowed upon him by the Spirit of Jehovah in the form of an "inward intuition." It belongs to the very nature of prophetic consciousness to behold things present and things to come, more than is possible for the common consciousness of uninspired men, from the divine point of view: the true prophet of the Lord sees all things which he sees prophetically, as one seeing them in God. The titles of the prophet, *נָאֵם* and *רוֹאֶה*, and the word *רָאָה* with its kindred words for the revelation made to him, have already been referred to in proof of this truth. In view of the same claim are we to interpret the favorite use of the verb "to see" (*רָאָה*) to designate even the divine communications in forms of speech (Amos i. 1; Isa. ii. 1),—a form of inward perception which is also represented as hearing a word spoken within and yet to the soul (Isa. xxi. 10, xxviii. 22). The same thought is also indicated in those forms of speech by which the prophet is represented as a watchman who stations himself upon his post of outlook, that he may be the first to behold the inner meaning of his own times, as well as of those coming events which rise in anticipation above the horizon of prophetic vision. Thus we have the various figures of speech blended in Hab. ii. 1, where the prophet declares he will take his stand on the watch-tower, and wait for a vision of what Jehovah will say to his soul: such a vision is recorded for us, Isa. xxi. 6 ff. In cases where the inward intuition is represented as a picture, or vision, presented before the eye of the inspired imagination, we are not generally to suppose such a work of the faculty of sensuous representation as takes place in the case of vivid dreams, or in waking states of disease, or in other abnormal excitement of the brain. Such a work of the imagination seems, however, sometimes to be implied; or, rather, it cannot always be excluded. Excitement of the faculty of recalling and picturing anew, and in new combinations, the objects of sense-perception, may be implied in the prophetic visions of Amos vii. 1-ix. 6; Jer. xxiv.; Isa. vi. Specimens of vision, combined with the appearance of deep insensibility or enhanced

to rapture, are to be found in Dan. viii. 18, x. 9, and Ezek. viii. 1-3, xi. 1. In other instances the form of vision seems to be assumed, and rhetorically used to convey prophetic truth, in much the same fashion as that in which the parable also was employed (see 1 Kings xxii. 17, 19, and compare 2 Sam. xii. 1-9; Isa. v. 1-7). Some of the so-called visions of the later prophets, as for instance that in the tenth chapter of Ezekiel, cannot be represented as they are described in the text by any combinations possible for the plastic art or even the sensuous imagination: they must be regarded as the wholly artificial work of the verbal composer, — though perhaps upon the basis of some confused experiences of the sensuous imagination, — rather than as the result of prophetic intuition realized in pictorial forms. The one conception of an "inward intuition" accompanies, however, the great variety in form of the prophetic vision; from the artless symbols of Amos to the artificial and complicated verbal productions of Zechariah, Ezekiel, and Daniel.

The comparison sometimes made between this inward intuition, in which the inspired imagination, although representing ethical objects, assumes the form designated as "a vision," and the case of ordinary vivid dreams, is of little value. Revelation by dreams is to be regarded as an inferior form (Num. xii. 6-8), and one particularly liable to self-deception. For this reason the claim to such revelation is spoken of as a token of the false prophets (Jer. xxiii. 25-28: compare, however, Joel ii. 28). And, although a comparison of the prophetic state with the state of somnambulism or hypnotism suggests itself most obviously in such cases as those recorded in Daniel, the comparison itself, when made, serves to show how unlike all such mental states was the quickened and elevated ethical "inward intuition" distinctive of the truly inspired prophet of Israel. The result of every such comparison may be summed up in these words: "Divine prophetic inspiration, from whatever point of view it may be critically regarded, is a unique phenomenon." ¹

Nor do the intuitions of heathen diviners, or the penetrating conceptions of genius, even when distinctively ethico-religious, correspond precisely to the claims to insight and foresight of the Hebrew prophets. The former are indeed analogous to the

¹ See Ennemoser, *Der Magnetismus im Verhältniss zur Natur und Religion*, pp. 91, 241.

latter; because all intellectual endowment, and all human insight and foresight, especially in ethico-religious matters, are the results of a divine spiritual influence. To the former, however, are wanting not only the national atmosphere created by those revelations of fresh ethical and religious truth which belonged to ancient Israel, but also the clear self-consciousness of receiving the objective word of the Lord, and of being constituted by him the media of his communication with the nation. In one chief feature, indeed, the better class of heathen diviners may be compared, as respects their state of consciousness, with the Hebrew prophets. Both divination and prophecy are saturated with the ethical and religious convictions and feelings of our common humanity. But, even as respects the essentials of the mental state of insight and foresight, the self-consciousness of heathen mantic and of Hebrew prophecy are unlike. In extravagance of emotions the mantic is most like the inferior authors and passages of Hebrew prophetic writing. But as respects the inward intuition; his much superior conceptions of God and holiness, his loftier sense of divine vocation, his clearer consciousness of the divine communion, his surer conviction of receiving the undoubted word of the Lord, his consciousness of more absolute response in feeling and will to this divine word,—all these elements of difference find their expression in the mental condition of the Hebrew prophet. As rays of moonlight, feebly and fitfully breaking through the chinks of a cabin wall, seem to the open beams of the sun advancing from dawn to full daylight, so may we compare the fickle and dim light of the Spirit in the souls of heathen diviners, to the clearness and illumining power of the inward intuition which belonged to the genuine Hebrew seer.

The prophetic consciousness differs from that in which arise the marvellous conceptions of genius, with their seemingly divine insight into ethical truth and into the consequences of moral conduct. These conceptions do not involve the consciousness of communion with God, nor the conviction of receiving a word from him which must become, by the moral action of the recipient, a divine message to others. Lasaulx may see in Scipio's allusion, amidst the ruins of Carthage, to the future fall of Rome, "a genuine prophecy;" but the mental state of the predictor bore little resemblance to that of the inspired Hebrew seer. Scipio did not feel that the word and Spirit of the Lord had come upon him, or that he must station him-

self upon the watch-tower to see what the Lord would say to him; he did not preface his conjecture with a "Thus saith the Lord."

The further claim to a divine power of foresight is embodied in the promise of a succession of prophets (Deut. xviii. 15), and is repeatedly made by the individual members of the succession, especially by the writer of Isaiah from chapter xl. onward; e.g., xli. 21-28, xlii. 9, xliii. 9-13, xlv. 25 f., xlv. 21. But this prediction, which is involved in prophetic intuition, is distinctively an ethical affair. It is true that the earlier prophets were applied to for disclosures in matters of ordinary life; possibly we may also admit the assertion of Oehler, that such disclosures were really, though sparingly, given in order to keep the people from resorting to heathen soothsayers.¹ The great and distinctive elements of Old-Testament prediction are, however, of quite another order from those required for work like this. The true seer must not use his prophetic foresight to pander to selfishness, as does the false Hebrew prophet, or the prophet of false and heathen gods. (See Hos. iv. 12; Ezek. xiv. 1-11, xx. 1-4.) Possessing an imparted divine insight into the present ethical relations of the kingdom of God, he possesses also a certain divine foresight into the future unfolding of those relations. Looking back and forth between the world and God, he sees the future of his nation, and even of other peoples, as lying in God.² Thus is he fitted to understand and declare the counsels of Jehovah, both with reference to the present and to the future, especially with reference to the future as contained in the present. (See Jer. xxiii. 18, 22; Amos iii. 7, iv. 13.) His prediction regarding the future is a message of righteousness unto the men of the present: "Because I will do this unto thee, prepare to meet thy God, O Israel" (Amos iv. 12). We note for the present the characteristically ethical nature of the Old-Testament claim to prediction: as to the nature and validity of its predictive contents we shall examine in another place.

Nor can we omit to mention the great influence which the Messianic idea must have had toward quickening and illuminating the consciousness of the Hebrew prophets for the intuition of moral and religious truth. The so-called prophecy of Plato concerning the Lord's righteous but suffering one is perhaps

¹ Theology of the Old Testament, II. pp. 346 ff.

² Compare Ewald, *Die Propheten*, etc., I. p. 23.

the most remarkable gleam of true ethical insight and foresight which has shone upon the world outside of the Sacred Scriptures. But in the Hebrew prophets we have a succession of men whose memories, imaginations, thoughts, and purposes were divinely quickened and elevated by the celestial word which bore, under its various forms, the revelation of Messiah.

The mental state of the prophet, besides the inward intuition in its two forms of ethical insight and ethical foresight, involves a certain excitement of the emotions. To assist this excitement the prophets of the times of Samuel and Elisha seem to have employed music. (See 2 Kings iii. 15.) To this purpose Oehler also refers (II. p. 330) the circumstance alluded to by Hengstenberg, that the prophets sometimes received their visions by the side of murmuring waters. (See Ezek. i. 3; Dan. x. 4.) It is, nevertheless, pre-eminently the strong play of those emotions that belong to the intuition and promulgation of ethical and religious truth, which characterizes the mental state of the prophet. His mental state shares in the divine emotions that are appropriate in the presence of the ideas which he receives by sharing in the divine intuition. Thus the prophet feels the same wrath which he understands to be burning in the heart of Jehovah against sin, and as well the same pity and compassion toward the people who suffer on account of their sin. The moral emotion of triumph enables him at times to walk with firm and light foot upon the high places where God has placed him. (See Hab. iii. 19.) Even when he beholds prophetically the desolations which the anger of Jehovah will visit upon them for their sins, he experiences a joy at the execution of the will of Him from whom his commission comes. (Hab. iii. 17 f.; Ezek. ii. 10, compare iii. 3.) The emotions of dread which precede and accompany his inspiration are also distinctively ethical: they are the sinking of the soul before the holiness of Jehovah (Isa. vi. 5), or the reversion of self-sacrificing love before the divine judgments upon the beloved nation. Nor does this dread, born of self-sacrificing love, always confine itself to the case of Israel: the prophet even feels the woes advancing against Moab (Isa. xvi. 9-11) and Babylon (xxi. 1-10), the oppressors of Israel. On the other hand, the emotion of joy with which the prophets almost uniformly contemplate the destruction of the enemies of their people is intensely ethical. This joy is an element of devotion to Jehovah, and to the cause which is supposed to represent his interests upon the

earth. In certain instances, however, the expression of this joy seems to approach a fierce vindictiveness, and thus gives rise to the same ethical difficulties which accompany the consideration of the imprecatory Psalms.

Grandest and most divine of all the moral emotions uniformly stirred by inspiration within the consciousness of the prophets, is the pure joy with which they everywhere regard the predicted moral regeneration of their nation, and the establishment through it of the perfected kingdom of God. Through whatever dim valleys of sorrow, over whatever boggy ways of doubt, up whatever steep places of anger, the prophet may be called in inspired feeling to pass; he always returns from the journey at times to the lofty watch-tower of hope, from which he can see the Delectable Mountains, and utter his distinctively prophetic cry of comfort to the people of God. By inspiration of the Almighty are also the moral emotions of courage and fearlessness before men, and the happiness of conscious rectitude, enhanced in the prophet's soul. Thus Micah claims (iii. 8) a bold and intrepid spirit in proclaiming to Israel its sin; and Jeremiah, though fearing, by natural emotion, a failure before his enemies, becomes strong, by inspired feeling, in the consciousness of rectitude, and in the conviction that he should certainly triumph over them (see Jer. i. 19, xv. 20, xx. 11).

Accepting, then, the claims of Prophetism as affording a substantially true description of the inspired mental state of the genuine Hebrew prophet, we conclude: Within his soul, as prepared by the influence of national religious ideas and by the sense of a divine vocation and commission, the Spirit of God so quickened and elevated the faculties as to produce a supernatural inward intuition, — an insight into the present and a foresight of the future as seen from the ethical and divine point of view; and this intuition was accompanied by appropriate moral feelings, the unusual excitement of which may be ascribed to the same divine source. The centre of the divine influence upon his soul was in the ethico-religious nature of the prophet: nevertheless, all the faculties employed in the work of supernatural insight and foresight — his memory, imagination, faculties of apprehension and comprehension — were also supernaturally quickened and elevated. The final purpose of this inspiration was in order that the prophet might, as one possessed of a supernatural ethical intuition, become the me-

dium for conveying ethico-religious truths and ideas to Israel and to the world.

In accordance with this ethical conception of the Hebrew prophet stands the fact that his prophetic word is represented as coming to him in answer to his desire for communion with God, or even in answer to actual prayer (see Hab. ii. 1 f.; Isa. xxi. 8; Jer. xxiii. 35, xxxii. 16 ff.; Dan. ix. 4, 20). "Call unto me, and I will answer thee, and show thee great and hidden things which thou knowest not" (Jer. xxxiii. 3).

Such, briefly described according to the data furnished by themselves, were the preparation, call, commission, and mental state in prophetic activity, of those remarkable men whose claims serve to lay the basis of a doctrine of sacred prophetic Scripture. We now consider the argument by which these claims, primarily belonging to the personality of the prophet and to his oral work, pass over to that written product which becomes incorporated into the writings of the Old Testament. For the inspiration of the prophetic writings of Hebrew Scripture can be spoken of only as a derived quality. The work of writing is in general an entirely secondary affair with the Hebrew prophet. With claims on the part of mere scribes or compilers to be inspired in the act of collecting and editing the prophetic utterances of inspired men, we have nothing whatever to do. Such claims can form no basis for a correct view of the prophetic writings.

Titles and narratives which transfer certain qualities of prophecy to the record of the same prophecy are not, however, wanting in the writings of Prophetism. The phrase "word of Jehovah" is in some instances applied to the entire contents of a prophetic book, although the prophecies which it contains, or rather of which it gives an epitome, have extended over three (Mic. i. 1) or even four (Hos. i. 1) reigns of contemporaneous kings (see also Zeph. i. 1). This use of this phrase shows how the prophet came to regard all his impressions, and all his conduct, as a message or word from Jehovah to his own fellows. In two other instances, viz., Amos and Jeremiah, the prophetic deliverances when committed to writing are called the words of the prophet; but they are so called with a qualifying phrase ("which he saw" in Amos i. 1, and "to whom the word of Jehovah came" in Jer. i. 2) to show the divine origin and authority of the prophecies thus fixed in written form. In such cases, however, the implied claim is made for the prophet

in his reception and oral delivery of the message. The claim can be transferred to the writing only by inference, and with a secondary application. Amos records what he saw, i.e., as an inspired seer; Jeremiah writes down his own words as those of one to whom the message of the Lord had formerly come. The same conception of prophetic Scripture, as a record of divine revelations made to the inspired seer, explains the use of the word "vision" (חֲזִיוֹן) when applied to the contents of a prophetic book. This use of the word is found in Nahum, Obadiah, and Isaiah; the latter of whom especially confirms the validity of the conception by introducing it again (ii. 1) under an expanded form of designation, viz., "the word which Isaiah saw." The contents of the prophetic vision are regarded as an oracle from Jehovah; and inversely the word of Jehovah comes in the form of a prophetic vision to the inspired seer. In this form of speech the two conceptions which are blended in one are the following: the truth received as of divine origin and authority, and the prophet as receiving this truth in an inspired condition of insight and foresight. The contents of that vision which is a word of Jehovah are represented as constituting the prophetic book. Of the condition of the writer's consciousness when making the record, or of the qualities of the record except so far as they are implied in the titles given to its contents, nothing whatever is said. The oracle of Jehovah, originally delivered in verbal form, is, however, sometimes spoken of as a vision when reviewed for the purpose of committing it to writing (see 2 Sam. vii. 17; Isa. i. 1, xxi. 2, xxii. 5). The seer in writing is a seer still.

Numerous instances are also found of an alleged express divine commission to prepare the contents of revelation which have previously been made to the prophet, in a permanent form of record. In Isa. viii. 1 the prophet is divinely commanded to take a large tablet, and engrave upon it in a distinct character, "Concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz:" this was probably to be done for the purpose of erecting it in some public place where it should attract the attention of the people.¹ Parallel with the command here given to Isaiah is that received by Habakkuk (ii. 2). So also is the prophet commanded both to engrave upon a tablet, and to record in parchment, the conduct of the people toward the oracles which were received from Jehovah, and which denounced their intention to form an alli-

¹ Ewald, *Die Propheten*, etc., I. p. 348.

ance with Egypt against the threatening power of Assyria. The record is to serve as a perpetual witness of the rebellion of Israel. The interesting narrative of Jeremiah, chap. xxxvi., informs us how this prophet, at divine command, dictated to his faithful companion and scribe Baruch, the prophetic oracles which Jehovah had given him concerning Israel, Judah, and the nations generally; and how, when the first roll was destroyed, he caused to be prepared another roll containing, besides the contents of the first, many similar oracles. This account, although its right location in the Book of Jeremiah is disputable, is evidently designed to authenticate one of the larger sections of the book. In case we place it where Ewald does, it forms, together with chapter xlv., the close of all the prophecies of Jeremiah excepting the later additions found in xxxvii.-xliv. and xlv. 13-28. The divine promise of a return from the exile is not only written in a letter by Jeremiah and sent to Babylon (xxix. 1), but is also, according to an oracle from Jehovah (xxx. 1, 2), written in a book, that it may have a permanent record. So the prophet Ezekiel, besides being commanded by the Lord to publish orally and to act forth his mission, as well as to embody it in various symbolical forms, is also instructed from the same source to commit certain small portions of it to writing (xxiv. 1, 2). Probably the command of xliii. 10, to show the temple seen in his prophetic vision to the house of Israel, may be interpreted of a written description.

Other portions of the writings of Prophetism are directly ascribed to the activity of the prophets, though without an alleged divine commission to write. The message of Isa. viii. 5-15, after having been committed to writing as an epitome of his oral prophecies on the subject of Judah's proposed alliance with Assyria, is, under divine direction, sealed up and given for safe-keeping to his disciples (see verse 16). In Jeremiah we find repeated notices of the committing of his oracles to writing by the prophet himself. It is by no means clear what were the contents of the book referred to (xxv. 13) as containing what Jeremiah prophesied concerning all nations. The subscription does not correspond to the chapters just preceding, and is regarded by some as manifestly unoriginal and interpolated. Notice is given of Daniel (vii. 1) that he made a record of the dream which he had in the first year of Belshazzar.

The divine verity and authority of the Hebrew prophetic

writings, regarded as oracles of Jehovah given through inspired messengers, are also sustained by the community of testimony which the prophets themselves exhibit, and by their habit of borrowing from one another the language which expresses their community of ideas. Among such quotations of considerable length, we may note the following: Isa. ii. 2-4, compare Mic. iv. 1-4; Isa. xi. 9, compare Hab. ii. 14; Isa. xiii. 19-22, compare Jer. l. 39 ff.; Isa. xiv. 4, 13, compare Hab. ii. 6, 9; Isa. lli. 7, compare Nah. i. 15; Jer. xlix. 7-22, compare Obad. 1-4; Amos ix. 13, compare Joel iii. 18. More frequent are those echoes of language and thought which were rather the common inheritance of the prophets, and which resound from chapter to chapter and from verse to verse throughout the writings of Prophetism. We find rarely, moreover, express authenticating of one prophet by another; as when Micah (iii. 12) is quoted by Jeremiah (xxvi. 18), who gives a summary of his prophecies in the words of that special declaration, which must have made most impression upon the contemporaries of Micah. Even as early as Isa. xxxiv. 16, certain prophecies, containing oracles upon the fate of Edom, and including some of Isaiah's own, are spoken of collectively as the book of Jehovah. Ewald, indeed, insists upon assigning this chapter to the deutero-Isaiah, and interprets the phrase, "Search ye out of the book of Jehovah, and read," as pointing to the prophet's own writing in the light of a witness for the future. This interpretation is, however, arbitrary. There is no reason to doubt that we have here an allusion to a canon of sacred prophetic writing already in existence, though only in a germinal form. The books referred to in Dan. ix. 2 are without doubt the Sacred Scriptures of the Old-Testament Canon, into which at that time Jeremiah, here quoted by name, had already been received.

For the complete argument by which all the claims of prophetic revelation and inspiration that are contained in the writings of Prophetism, are transferred to the writings themselves, we must examine in detail the nature of prophetic composition and the history of the canon of prophetic writings. This argument is as complete as any similar argument can well be, provided that we are content simply to construct a reasonable view of the Sacred Scriptures of Prophetism. It must be conceded that the writing-down of prophecy is only a "continuance and supplementing of the genuine prophetic activity." The claims to receive divine revelations through inspiration

apply primarily, then, to the prophet in his oral activity. The force of such a concession is curiously illustrated in the case of Jeremiah, whose action in chapter xxxvi. 1 ff., although undertaken under an alleged divine commission, is still regarded as subordinate and supplementary to his real work. His purpose in writing down his prophecy lies in the possibility that the people of Judah will repent of their evil, if the record of divine threatenings is kept before them. The purpose is regarded as a possibility, as a hope subjective with the prophet, and not as a certainty in the sense in which every purpose must be held by the divine mind. This alleged divine commission was, then, given by the subjective impression of the prophet. It must also be conceded that we have no direct proof that all the prophetic writings were made by the prophets themselves, although large portions of them undoubtedly were; nor have we any direct claim that those portions written by the prophets themselves were written in the same inspired condition of consciousness as that in which the revelations were received. We are dependent, then, upon the conclusions of criticism for establishing the correspondence of the writings with the revelations received in an inspired consciousness. In accordance with these conclusions we may establish the following claims: The contents of the prophetic writings correspond substantially with the contents of revelation made to the prophets. The prophets, in preparing the record of their former revelations, would doubtless feel again the breath of Jehovah upon them, and would add whatever they added to these former revelations under the same divine impetus. The prophet would remain an inspired seer, if he wrote or dictated what formerly as an inspired seer he had orally proclaimed. Two things — viz., (1) the substantial accuracy, and (2) the prophetic authorship, of the books received as results of the oral activity of the prophets — must, then, be established, in order to transfer the complete claims of the prophets to the books which bear their names. While, however, this is true of these books, if we are to regard them as being themselves inspired Scripture in the strictest meaning of the term inspired, we cannot deny that many words of the Lord, coming from unknown messengers and gathered by unprophetic and uninspired minds, might be useful for the Church, and entitled to a place in Sacred Scripture. Such portions of prophetic writings are genuine Sacred Scripture, if they contain genuine words of the Lord once given by inspiration; by

whomsoever they have been recorded, and in whatever mental state. Only when made by prophets themselves, are the prophetic writings to be called "inspired scripture" in the highest sense of the words; but genuine prophetic oracles, by whomsoever scripturally fixed, are Sacred Scripture.

The argument by which the claims of the Hebrew prophets are made to authenticate the Hebrew prophetic writings is, as has been said, sufficient for a reasonable statement of doctrine. It should be remembered, however, that the very attempt to make these claims authenticate any extreme form of doctrine inevitably defeats itself. Granted that the prophet is himself so inspired as to utter God's *ipsissima verba*, and then record them in a manner free from every form of error: who shall prove that any particular prophetic writings contain such a record by the prophet himself? Only historical and critical researches are competent to connect the record with an inspired prophet; they only, then, can transfer the claims which belong to a personality over to a written record. The writings make for themselves few claims. They simply, and for the most part silently, claim that they are a faithful record of the words which Jehovah sent to Israel through his inspired messengers the prophets.

The third of those divisions under which we are considering the Hebrew writings makes few claims, either direct or indirect, within the Old Testament itself, to derive its contents from revelation of Jehovah through inspired media. The writings of the Hokhmah, or Wisdom of the Old Testament, comprise especially the Books of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, and, according to Oehler, in virtue of their matter, many of the Psalms also. As to their contents, they are devoid of an express claim to a derivation from Jehovah, in the same sense in which the Mosaic Torah and the prophetic oracles are said to come from him. The revelation which arouses the intellectual instincts of the wise is not revelation in the stricter sense of the word. The contents of the Hokhmah may in part be spoken of as "rooted in the law," or rather as springing up "upon the soil already formed by the facts of divine revelation and the theocratic ordinances." But even this view of them regards these contents as more indirectly derived from revelation than are the contents of Mosaism and Prophetism, and as

basing their claim to be received as true solely on the ground of so much of truth, thus mediately derived, as may be found in them.

From the time of Solomon onward we hear of a class of men among the Hebrews denominated pre-eminently "the wise," whose reflections, directed for the most part upon nature and the practical ordering of the world, and especially of human affairs, have come down to us in Sacred Scripture. These men were distinguished from the priest and the prophet as late as Jeremiah; whose enemies seem to have thought that enough such wise men would remain, even after they had destroyed him (Jer. xviii. 18). Jeremiah himself manifestly did not highly regard the services which the sages of his day rendered to the people (viii. 9 ff.). The record of Prov. xxv. 1 is thought to imply that an association of these wise men was in existence in the days of Hezekiah, and that they occupied themselves with literature; although it is doubtful how far they acted under any special commission. There is no trace of their ever having had, like the priests and the prophets, an official vocation or connection with the theocratic life of the nation. Their writings, then, are left — so far as any claims found in the Old Testament are concerned — to comparison of their contents with the writings of Mosaism and Prophetism.

Nor can we speak of the writings of the Hokhmah as claiming to come through inspired media. It is true, that, in the view of the Old Testament, wisdom is the gift of God. In Prov. xx. 27 the spirit of man is styled "a lamp of Jehovah;" but so is all human intelligence ascribed to the Divine Spirit. "The wide circle of virtues and mental endowments" which the Hebrews comprised under the word "wise" (חָכָם, see Gesenius, *Lexicon*) prevents us from ascribing inspiration, in the stricter sense of the word, to those said to be possessed of this wisdom. At the same time, so far as these writings of the Hokhmah profess to have the truth of the divinely revealed Torah for their objective principle of knowledge, and so far as their composers exhibit that fear of the Lord which is the chief of wisdom (Prov. i. 7), they put forth an indirect claim to a place in Sacred Scripture.

Of claims, either direct or indirect, put forth in the Old Testament itself for the Psalms, little indeed can be said. This meagreness of testimony to their divine origin by inspiration of their authors belongs to the very nature of their com-

position. The Psalms, unlike the Torah and the words of Jehovah to the prophets, are subjective utterances of divine truth. They are not primarily designed or conceived of by their authors as vehicles of revelation, as messages from Jehovah to the people: their authors are satisfied with the consciousness of personal communion with Jehovah. The Psalms are, indeed, rooted in the truths of Mosaism and Prophetism. The nature of their contents is determined by the nature of the revelations given to Israel in the law and in the prophets. But because the authors do not, like the prophets, consider themselves as called and commissioned to impart divine truth to Israel, and as inspired for that purpose by Jehovah, they are, with few exceptions, silent as to any claims for their utterances.

The indirect claims which the Psalms put forth result from the connection of their contents with the sources of these contents in the law and the prophets. Points of contact between the Psalms and the Mosaic Torah have already been designated. The law is like a well from which the Psalmists often draw the waters, the refreshment of which causes them to break forth in praises. The theocratic pedagogy of the nation, with its dark riddles of insoluble providences, its temptations to distrust Jehovah as well as its occasions to praise his goodness, and all the experiences of the covenant people as predicted in the blessings and curses of Deuteronomy, and as fulfilled in the vicissitudes recorded by its historical books, afford inspiring subjects for many of these sacred songs. And when the more strictly personal affairs of the authors come before us in the Psalms, they are often, either expressly or impliedly, joined with the national sins, sorrows, trials, blessings, and expectation of triumph. The underlying thought of many of them is thus made distinctively theocratic; the song becomes a theodicy, and its predominant tone is the declaration: "Jehovah executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed. He made known his ways unto Moses, his acts unto the children of Israel."

The contents of many of the Psalms partake also of the characteristics of genuine Hebrew prophecy. It is true that they are never, with one exception, introduced with that full prophetic formula which announces the coming of the word of Jehovah to their author. But the word which is really published, although unannounced, is no less truly a word of Jeho-

vah. The close objective connection between the Psalms and the prophets is seen in the facts, that the earlier prophets made use of music to seek and to express the contents of revelation (see Exod. xv. 20 f. and 1 Sam. x. 5), and that the language of prophecy has so many points of resemblance to the language of poetry, becoming, indeed, at times strictly poetic. We have also to note the fact, that the Hebrew titles of the Psalms—although by no means in themselves incontrovertible proof of authorship—ascribe so many of them to David, whose position as an inspired servant of Jehovah is generally recognized in the later books of the Old Testament. A few psalms claim to have certain words of the Lord incorporated into their contents; as, e.g., Ps. ii. 7 and cx. 1. We have more express declarations concerning the two noble psalms of thanksgiving recorded in 2 Sam. chapters xxii. and xxiii. The first of these two is almost universally acknowledged as Davidic, and is with many minor divergences found in our Psalter as Ps. xviii. The heading of this psalm in Second Samuel, which is doubtless of later origin than the body of the psalm, corresponds to the formula for the song of Moses, and dedicates the psalm to Jehovah as a song of thanksgiving for deliverance. Its keynote is struck at the very beginning (2 Sam. xxii. 2), and sounded again at its close (verse 50), with the words, "I will praise thee, Jehovah, among the nations." It is, in all its melody and harmony, thus made typical of a large number of the Psalms, and, indeed, by the present Hebrew appellation ("Praises"), of the entire Psalter. This heading is especially significant in its bearing upon our inquiry. Its significance results both from the fact that it makes evident the distinction already drawn between the word of Jehovah to the prophet and the word of the Psalmist addressed to Jehovah, and also from the fact that a comparison of the two versions of the psalm is indicative of that process of alteration, amendment, and free handling, through which so many of the Hebrew Scriptures have undoubtedly passed. The text of neither of these two versions of the one psalm can be considered as an exact transcript of the original composition of David. It is now impossible, however, to determine exactly the historic relations and temporal sequence of the two versions.

The heading of the other psalm (2 Sam. xxiii.) places it at once on a par, as to its claims, with other prophetic words announced by inspiration of Jehovah. The character of an

oracle, revealed by inspiration of its composer, is thus definitely assigned in the Old Testament to the so-called last words of David, alone among all the Psalms. The title *OR.*, although probably by a later hand than David's, is given with propriety to this psalm on account of the prophetic nature of its contents. These contents exhibit the fruits of the covenant made by Jehovah with David, as they will exist at the coming of the just Ruler whose reign shall bring salvation to the righteous and overthrow to the wicked.¹ This prophetic utterance is declared (verse 2) to be the word upon the tongue of David, but spoken by the Spirit of Jehovah through him. The oracle proper is, therefore, fitly introduced with the phrases, "the God of Israel saith," and "the Rock of Israel speaketh to me;" just as the prophets preface their oracles with a "thus saith the Lord." Now, although the direct claim to divine origin for the contents of this poetic utterance, and the further claim to utterance by inspiration of Jehovah, cannot be transferred from these last words of David to any other psalms; nevertheless, the implied and more important claim from the prophetic, and especially from the Messianic, character of the contents of both these psalms, is capable of such transference. The latter claim applies to all psalms whose contents are prophetic, or Messianic, or especially — to use again the term of Delitzsch — "prophetic-Messianic." It is this claim which Jesus avowedly authenticates in the case of Ps. cx. The Messianic idea and promise are found, in germinal form, in both of these psalms, although they are almost undoubtedly of Davidic authorship: we may, then, expect to find the same idea and promise in the later psalms. The Psalms will undoubtedly celebrate the grace of Jehovah to David and his seed forever, — a grace, the fruit of which shall be a Ruler who is just, and rules in the fear of God; of whom David perhaps felt himself to be the type, but the perfect Anti-type of whom was to come in the glorious future of the Davidic kingdom.

The Old Testament contains no historical mention of any portion of the Psalter except in Neh. xii. 46; where, upon notice of the great revival of the temple-service of song, we are told that certain institutions were re-established as they were originally formed by David and Solomon. We are thus informed that there were leaders of singers, and a singing of praises and thanksgiving to God, in the days of David and

¹ See Tholuck, *Die Propheten*, etc., p. 166.

Asaph of old; information which one author,¹ with characteristic eagerness, unwarrantably expands into the declaration: "Nehemiah alludes to the *third* division of the Old Testament as forming, with the other parts, an authoritative code." But the testimony of the New Testament and of the Christian consciousness is as ample to the validity of the title "sacred" and "inspired," which is worn by these Hebrew Psalms, as the notices given them in the Old Testament are meagre.

The only claims made by the historical writings of the Old Testament to a place in Sacred Scripture, are those which arise from the nature of their contents and from the imparted characteristics of the writings themselves. They contain pragmatic history seen from the theocratic point of view. They are professedly the record of what Jehovah did to and for his people Israel, in the forming and executing of his covenant with them.

We return now to the higher point of view from which to consider the nature of the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament; and inquire, How are the claims, already presented, modified or authenticated by the teaching of those who were themselves taught by Christ?

¹ Lee, Inspiration of Holy Scripture, p. 283, note.

CHAPTER V.

THE CLAIMS FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT BY THE WRITERS OF THE NEW.

THE authority which must be allowed to the writers of the New Testament, touching the origin and nature of the Hebrew Scriptures, is largely determined by the consideration of two classes of conditions whose influence contributed to form their views: one of the two classes we may call the subjective, and the other the objective. The *subjective* conditions of their views were furnished especially by the realizing of those promises of the Spirit which were made to the apostles by Christ. The imparting of divine insight into the ethical and religious truths of the Old Testament, and of a substantially correct understanding and estimate of such truths, was secured by those promises. For, pre-eminent among all the things which were said to the apostles by Christ, and which, therefore, his promised Spirit should bring to their remembrance and reveal the meaning of (John xiv. 26), are his discourses upon his own relations to the economy of the Old Testament. These are truths which glorify Christ; and which can, as by native right, lay claim to a place in that pre-eminent truth, wherein also the Spirit was promised as their leader (John xvi. 13). Divine enlightenment as to the substantially true knowledge of the ethical and religious truth of the Old Testament is, then, to be expected as a subjective condition of the apostolic calling.

But this subjective condition cannot *a priori* be held to guarantee the apostles against all hermeneutical mistakes. It only secures to them a divinely imparted insight into the truth κατ' ἐξοχὴν, so far as this truth is contained in the Old Testament. To the apostles and other writers of the New Testament, the statement of Rothe, already quoted, especially applies: The highest kind of divine insight does not take the place of experience in the art of hermeneutics. The words of Tholuck concerning Christ are certainly true of the apostles: "We cannot

assert before examination, the impossibility of mistakes in hermeneutics any more than of a grammatical fault or a chronological error." Indeed, when we consider how largely other subjective conditions of their views were derived from rabbinical training, and from the rabbinical atmosphere of their time, we should rather assert, before examination, the strong probability of manifold hermeneutical mistakes. Moreover, the failure of the New-Testament writers always to maintain that reserve which Jesus shows when approaching questions that directly involve the results of biblical criticism, makes more difficult the justification of all their implied opinions upon such questions. The subjective conditions, which involve the probability of errors in hermeneutics, may also be expected to show various forms and degrees in the case of different writers.

The conditions which we have called *objective* are such as were furnished by the circumstances in the midst of which the New Testament was written. The circumstances of the apostolic life of service were determining conditions for the views which the apostles express as to the nature of the Old Testament, and for the character of the quotations which are made from the old writings in the new. We cannot, to be sure, speak of any such accommodation on their part as would make them merely feign a belief in the validity of the current views regarding the Hebrew Scriptures. They surely had no need to feign belief in views which Jesus had taught as true. We do, however, need to admit the influence of those difficulties which were encountered in introducing the gospel as the fulfilling of the law and the prophets, and which gave rise to certain characteristics of the apostolic writings, as well as of the apostolic preaching and entire manner of life. Among their converts were not only many who were zealots for the Mosaic Torah (*ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου*, Acts xxi. 20), but also not a few who through excessive zeal were, in the estimate of Paul at least, mischievous and spurious Christians (*κακοὶ ἐργάται*, Phil. iii. 2, and *ψευδάδελφοι*, Gal. ii. 4). Many of the converts held the strictest Pharisaic and rabbinical view of the relations of the gospel to the economy of the Old Testament.

The conditions of early apostolic teaching gave rise to the necessity for defining more accurately the relations of the new teaching to the ancient economy, of the fresh and vigorous Christian truth to the old and venerated books of Judaism. The attempt at such definition involved several particulars.

Such particulars are the effort to show a substantial accord between the old economy and the new; the concession of certain views and corresponding practices to those who clung most closely to the old; and the rebuke and thwarting of those who would dwarf or destroy the new by conforming it to the old. The particular attitude assumed by any apostolic teacher toward the Judaizing class of converts — whether of open opposition, of milder remonstrance, or of attempt to lead from the germinal and incomplete conceptions of Christianity into the more mature — could not fail to manifest itself in his forms of speech and writing. In these objective conditions, then, as well as in the subjective, we have grounds for expecting a difference of view.

We must, therefore, examine the apostolic doctrine of the Old Testament with a disposition to give due weight to all the determining conditions, — both subjective and objective, both favorable and unfavorable to its complete accuracy. We cannot avoid raising the questions, whether the writers of the New Testament have not in certain cases fallen into mistakes of hermeneutics; whether they have not sometimes left the point of view occupied by Jesus, and taken rather that of the rabbis; and whether they do not differ somewhat amongst themselves in respect to their points of view. We may, however, expect to find the apostles exhibiting an unerring divine insight into that substantial ethical and religious truth, the summing-up of which is given in the complete doctrine of Messiah; for into this truth they have the promise of Christ that his Spirit shall more and more conduct them.

An impartial examination shows us that the apostles unitedly taught the same doctrine concerning the origin and nature of the Old Testament that was taught by Christ; so far, at any rate, as the two essential elements of the doctrine are concerned. These essential elements are: (1) the divine origin of the Old-Testament economy as a preparation for, and testimony to, Jesus as Messiah; and (2) the perfect fulfilment of this formally imperfect economy in the Messianic work of Jesus. The first element of their common doctrine covers the view that certain ethical and predictive contents of revelation, given through inspired media, are scripturally fixed in the venerated Hebrew writings; the second covers the view that these writings contain absolute and ideal truths of the Christian religion given in imperfect and fallible manner of presentation.

That the common apostolic view of the Old Testament regarded its writings as containing the contents of divine revelation through inspired media, we may conclude in a general way from the very titles employed to designate these writings. Among such titles are the following: (ἡ) *γραφή* to designate the Hebrew Scriptures as a whole (John ii. 22; Rom. iv. 3; Jas. ii. 8; 1 Pet. ii. 6), or to designate some single portion of the whole (John xix. 37; Acts i. 16); αἱ *γραφαί*, the writings pre-eminent (1 Cor. xv. 3); *γραφαὶ προφητικαί* (Rom. xvi. 26); *προφητεία γραφῆς* (2 Pet. i. 20); *γραφαὶ ἁγίαι* (Rom. i. 2); and τὰ *ἱερὰ γράμματα* (2 Tim. iii. 15), — the adjective ἅγιος being applied to these Scriptures as originating from God, and containing his revelation, and the adjective ἱερός adding the thought of their being held in pious reverence among men, — and ἡ *παλαιὰ διαθήκη*, used by metonymy of these sacred books as containing the laws and doctrines of the ancient covenant of God with Israel. By metonymy also, the writing in which the utterance of God is recorded is placed instead of the name of Deity making the utterance (Rom. ix. 17 and Gal. iv. 30). In Gal. iii. 8, the phrase ἡ *γραφὴ* is personified; and the Scripture, with reference to many passages confirming the general tone of its teaching, is said to have foreseen and announced what God foresaw and announced in the Scripture, concerning the future. By such metonymy and personification the truths adduced in quotation are authenticated as being of a divine origin and authority. But the truths which are thus described by a figure of speech, as foreseen and uttered by the Scripture, are the very ones which constitute Paul's quite unrabbinical conception of the gospel. We cannot make this figurative way of speaking a proof that Paul regarded all the contents of the Old Testament as veritable words of God, and therefore free from all imperfection and alloy of error.

The common apostolic view of the relations of Messiah to the economy of the Old Testament also corresponds with the teaching of Jesus. Christ is already become, in the view of these writers, the *plerosis* of the law and the prophets. It is in enforcement and illustration of this view that the authors of the New Testament deal with the writings of the Old. It is, therefore, chiefly by inference from this view, and from their corresponding manner of quotation, that we arrive at their teaching with regard to the nature of those writings. The New-Testament writers do not connect the Hebrew Scriptures

and the apostolic teaching for the purpose of exhibiting the nature of the Scriptures, but for the sake of illustrating and enforcing their own teaching, in the view of men who already received the Scriptures.

The recognition of the divine elements of the Old Testament does not, however, prevent the common apostolic doctrine from recognizing also its fallible elements. According to the writer of Heb. x. 1, the Mosaic law furnished a dim and shadowy outline, rather than a clear and express image, of the blessings of eternal Messianic salvation. The contrast here introduced reminds us of the words of Cicero, "*De Officiis*," 3, 17: "*Nos veri juris, germanaeque justitiae solidam et expressam effigiem nullam tenemus, umbra et imaginibus utimur.*" So also the Epistle of James calls the gospel a perfect law of freedom, as contrasted with the Mosaic law (*νόμος τέλειος ὁ τῆς ἐλευθερίας*, i. 25, and *νόμος ἐλευθερίας*, ii. 12); while Peter in his Epistle (i. 10–12 and ii. 5–10) sets forth the two classes of elements, the absolute and the imperfect, rather as regards the *prophecy* of the Old Testament; and to the view of First Peter the writer of Second Peter expresses his adherence in even more definite form (i. 19 ff.). The writings of Paul and John contain clearer, more abundant and definite, statements of the relative inferiority of the Old-Testament economy, and of its fulfilment in Jesus Christ (John i. 17, compare 1 John i. 2; Gal. ii. 21, iii. 21; 2 Cor. iii.; Eph. ii. 17 f.; Col. ii. 16 f.; Tit. i. 2). Messianic salvation has indeed been announced and witnessed to by the Old Testament (Rom. i. 2 f., iii. 21; Gal. iii. 24); but its law could not bring in this salvation, nor its prophets fully comprehend and enjoy the same. Moses wrote of Him whose possession is the grace and truth which Moses lacked (John i. 17, 46).

While, however, all the writings of the New Testament agree in the conception that Christ is the fulfilling of the law and the prophets, they differ, somewhat fundamentally, in the way in which they carry out this conception. They differ as well in their general attitude toward the Old Testament. Of the different fundamental forms we here distinguish — following, for the sake of convenience, the leadership of Schmid ("*Theologie des Neuen Testaments*," pp. 367 ff.) — two principal, and, under each of these, two subordinate, forms.

The least developed view of the nature of the Old-Testament economy is that taken in the Epistle of James; which by its

first verse foreshadows the main characteristics of the teaching to be expected in an epistle so addressed (ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ). Here the Old Testament is conceived of as pre-eminently law, and the gospel as the fulfilled and perfected law. The object of Christian faith is, according to ii. 19, the God who is the author of salvation, and who bears the designations of the Old Testament (κύριος and κύριος σαβαώθ, v. 4). The salvation of Messiah's followers is attained by attaining to be called "a friend of God" (φίλος θεοῦ κληθῆναι, ii. 23); a designation which is not necessarily of rabbinical origin, but is found in the Hebrew Scriptures, Isa. xli. 8, and 2 Chron. xx. 7. The words λόγος and νόμος, as used in this Epistle, correspond closely to the usage of the Old Testament, and serve to exalt its dispensation of truth as in unity with that of the New. By exhibiting the word of truth under the form of a law, and by attributing to it the potency of moral freedom (i. 18, 25, ii. 12, iii. 2), the author insists upon the parallel between Christianity and Judaism. The Mosaic law is, then, to be attributed to the same source in the divine will as the Christian law; but the former lacks the quality of having attained to completeness as a manifestation of that will, and to the power of bringing human souls into relations of free obedience.¹ The perfect keeping of the perfect law is a true service of God and a finished work of perseverance (ii. 26); the encouraging examples of such exalted legality are taken from the Old Testament. Wisdom is an important element of the Christian life, as it was of the right life under the ancient law. Thus does the doctrine of James exalt the unity of the economy of the Old Testament with the gospel; especially upon its ethical side in the two elements of obedience to the will of God (iv. 12), and of wisdom regarded as a gift of God (i. 5, iii. 13-17).

The Gospel of Matthew and the Epistle of Jude may be assigned to the same general phase of doctrine with the Epistle of James. In the case of the Gospel, however, its difference of form, and its composite origin, place it in contrast, in many respects, with the two most decidedly Hebraistic of the Epistles. Matthew is, nevertheless, undoubtedly the Hebrew type of the Gospel. Its right to this title it acquires by the fundamental conceptions which underlie its composition, and which make prominent the Messianic kingship of Jesus; as well as by its distinctively Jewish assumptions and ideas. The same right

¹ See Huther, Handbuch über den Brief des Jacobus, Göttingen 1863, *in loco*.

is affirmed by the facts and traditions which fix its authorship and its special dedication to Jewish readers. The many parallels between the doctrine of Matthew, and that of the Epistle of James, cover its conception of God, its fundamental view of subjective Christianity as *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, and many of its special doctrines and precepts. A distinctively Hebraistic view of the nature of the Old Testament is, then, as a matter of course, to be expected. A more strictly rabbinical way of understanding Hebrew prophecy may also be expected. Hence the fact that the author announces so many prophecies of the Old Testament as fulfilled in the minuter occurrences of the life of Jesus, and also uses for these announcements the strictest of the rabbinical formulae.

The Epistle of Jude, in its application of the law to transgressors of its own time, does not confine its illustrations and precepts to the contents of the Old Testament: it especially departs from the general custom of New-Testament writers by using as Sacred Scripture certain rabbinical and apocryphal sources. Jude assumes the authenticity and ethical value of the Old-Testament narratives of the escape from Egypt (verse 5), of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (7), of the wickedness of Cain, Balaam, and Korah (11); but it also assumes the authenticity and ethical value of certain traditions concerning the fall and punishment of the angels (6), the strife of Michael over the body of Moses (9), and as well the prophetic nature and value of the apocryphal Book of Enoch. These references to the case of the angels and to Michael cannot be traced to Gen. vi. 2, Deut. xxxiv. 6, and Zech. iii. 1-3; but the rabbinical traditions to which the references are to be traced may themselves have originated on the basis of certain Scriptural passages. Jude's doctrine of the fall of the angels is, however, found in the Book of Enoch, x. 12 and xii. 4; in this book mention is also made of Michael as "one of the holy angels" (xx. 5; compare Dan. xii. 1; and Rev. xii. 7). The full tradition of the contest of this angel with the Devil, concerning the body of Moses, is nowhere to be found, either in the Old Testament, the Book of Enoch, or in other rabbinical and apocryphal writings. The fourteenth verse of Jude is without doubt intended to be a formal citation, as genuine prophecy, of words found at the opening of Enoch. These words are (i. 9) put by the author of this apocryphal writing into the mouth of the angel, and addressed to

Enoch with the intent to call his attention to his so-called prophetic vision: "And see, he comes with myriads of saints to hold judgment upon them; and he will annihilate the godless, and reckon with all flesh for every thing which the godless and the sinners have done and undertaken against him." Now, however we may regard the position of Jude as one of the Antilegomena in the Canon of the New Testament, the decidedly uncanonical way in which the author indiscriminately accepts and uses both the narratives of the Hebrew Scriptures and the traditions of rabbinical and apocryphal writings prevents us from giving authority in our statement of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture to the implied views of this epistle. The claims of the Old Testament in the New are not injured by rejecting upon this point the authority of Jude: much less are they helped by appeal to that authority.

With the Apostle Peter, Christianity is especially the fulfilment of Old-Testament prophecy. For this view the *locus classicus* is 1 Pet. i. 10-12. Of this classic passage the doctrine is, that the chief subject of Old-Testament prophecy is Messianic salvation; and accordingly the prophets of the Old Testament are designated as those who prophesied concerning the grace which has been shown unto Christians. The sufferings and subsequent glories that have reference to Christ are held to have been the chief themes of prophetic concern. Moreover, the prophetic knowledge of these themes came as a revelation wrought by the Holy Ghost, who is here designated τὸ πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, the Spirit which Christ, as pre-existent, has and gives. The whole intent of this passage is to exalt the present divine grace and the future perfected divine salvation bestowed upon Christians, by representing it as the subject of prophetic revelation and inquiry. The same point of view toward the Old Testament is held in the discourse of Peter, Acts iii. 12-26. The times of the restitution of all things—*tum verae theocratiae, tum perfectioris illius rerum etiam physicarum conditionis, quae fuerat ante lapsum* (Grimm)—have constituted the grand theme of prophetic utterance from the days of Moses, Samuel, and all their successive co-workers in prophecy. The unity of the gospel with the contents of Hebrew prophetic writings, and yet the vast superiority of the former as the fulfilment of the latter, are both taught in these Petrine passages.

In the forms also of its special doctrines, the Petrine teaching discovers the same point of view for regarding the Scrip-

tures of the Old Testament. Christians are the true theocratic folk, who thus realize the prophecies concerning the chosen people of Jehovah; they are the elect race of Isa. xliii. 20 f., the royal priesthood of Exod. xix. 6 (see 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9). The Christology of the Epistle of Peter is shaped from the same point of view. The risen One is disclosed in his connections with the ideas of Old-Testament prophecy. *His* pre-existent Spirit dwelt as a revealer of truth in the prophets. Chosen as Messianic Saviour before the founding of the world (*πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*, i. 19 f.), Christ is made manifest by the incarnation: he will further be made manifest by his return from heaven in times and ways which were matters of prophetic intuition and inquiry. On his human side, he is considered (Acts ii. 30 f.) to be the successor of David according to prophecy; but he was especially anointed by the Holy Spirit for his Messianic office (see x. 38), and is designated *παῖς θεοῦ* in the theocratic sense (Acts iii. 13, 26 and iv. 27, 30). His sufferings and death are declared (1 Pet. i. 11 and ii. 22–25) to have been in fulfilment not only of express prophetic utterances, but also of manifold typical rites and ceremonies. He is named (i. 18, 19) the lamb blameless and spotless, in reference to the typical offerings of the Mosaic law; a reference probably induced, however, by Isa. liii. 7. His blood has sacrificial purifying effect according to the prophetic conception of Exod. xxiv. 6–8; Lev. xvi. 14–19; and is a ransom (*λυτροῦν*) as the blood of the offering was considered a price of release under the law of Lev. xvii. 11, 14. The resurrection of Christ is declared (Acts ii. 24–32 and 1 Pet. i. 11) to have been in fulfilment of Old-Testament prophecy.

The subjective conditions of Christian salvation are also considered by the Petrine doctrine as corresponding with the characteristics of the upright man under the old covenant. Faith in Jesus Christ is, indeed, that condition of receiving salvation which is announced by prophecy (see Acts x. 48); but this faith is always considered — e.g., Acts xi. 17, xv. 9, 11; 1 Pet. i. 5–9, ii. 6–8 — by the Petrine doctrine in distinctively Hebraistic form. The baptism which produces salvation (*σῶζε*) is regarded (1 Pet. iii. 20, 21) as having its mystical type in the flood of Noah, which is thus made prophetic — on account of its rescue of the patriarch by water — of the coming Messianic rescue by Christian baptism. The difficult passage (1 Pet. iii. 18) which contains the declaration of the *descensus Christi ad*

inferos, and of Christ's activity in proclaiming the gospel to the aforetime disobedient dwellers in Hades, may be said to accord with the Old-Testament notions of death and resurrection; but by what sources of information, or processes of unfolding, its doctrine attained the form it bears here, we are without information.

The regard given by the Petrine doctrine to the prophetic writings does not, however, prevent its recognizing the inferiority of the economy of the Old Testament to the gospel. In the feeling of this inferiority the term *ἐλεύθεροι* is applied (1 Pet. ii. 16) pre-eminently to Christians, and the declaration of the apostle is recorded (Acts xv. 10 f.) that observance of the Mosaic law is not a condition of Messianic salvation.

The standing of Second Peter, as one of the most doubtful of the Antilegomena, prevents us from citing its contents in proof of the apostolic doctrine of Sacred Scripture; although its general agreement with the first Epistle must be admitted. Indeed, the author expressly declares (iii. 1) his purpose to stir his readers, as in the first so also in this second Epistle, to remember the oracles pronounced by the holy prophets: these oracles are considered as in substantial unity with the command of the Lord through the apostles. To this prophetic word of testimony, which is more sure (on account of its availability to his readers [?]) than even the audible voice that spoke from heaven to confirm Christ's sonship, they will do well to pay close attention. For no prophecy contained in the Old-Testament Scripture has its origin as a matter of merely subjective explication, as a result of the prophet's own power intuitively to discern the meaning of the subject he cogitates; and prophecy is never sent by the will of man as a cause, but is rather uttered by men who are borne along by the Holy Ghost, and therefore speak as from a divine source (i. 19-21).

Thus do certain of the new Scriptures emphasize the unity of their contents with the contents, predictive and legal, of the more ancient Scriptures. The Old Testament is regarded by these New-Testament writers as in substantial accord with the truth of the Gospel, especially with reference to the one theme of Messianic salvation.

In marked contrast with the view thus far examined stands the view of the Pauline and Johannean writings. In these writings the wide divergence of the new from the old, the relative imperfections and weaknesses of the old, and the vast

superiority of the new, are the emphatic considerations. Their teaching is the more truly distinctive teaching of the New Testament regarding the Old; for the contents of the writings of Paul and John are far more extensive, and their form of teaching is more advanced in the progress of New-Testament doctrine.

"Paul," says Schmid (p. 479), "recognized it as the problem of his apostolic calling to exhibit Christianity in its divergence from the old covenant, the salvation of the gospel in its independence of the law." The phrase τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου is the result of his consciousness of this calling. Christianity is therefore characterized by him as divine power and wisdom, in opposition to what not only the Greeks but also the Jews sought, but did not find in it (1 Cor. i. 24, ii.). Especially sharp is the distinction made by this apostle between the Mosaic law and the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ revealed in the gospel. The righteousness of God has been made manifest without the law (χωρὶς νόμου), although witnessed to by both the law and the prophets (Rom. iii. 21). The Old Testament contains the norms or rudiments of the Messianic ideas in its Messianic types, promises, and precepts; but it cannot bind, or give law for, the independent and free development of the gospel. They who insist upon the rudiments of non-Christian humanity (τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου), "the elements of sacred discipline or ritualistic precepts common to the rites of Jews and Gentiles" (Grimm), are designated by Paul (Gal. iv. 1, 8, 9; compare Col. ii. 8, 20) as children and slaves.¹ The salvation of the gospel does not, like that of the Mosaic cultus, flow from the works of the law; nor is the opposite of the condition of legality, in which man is left by the Old Testament, considered as a new and more perfect legality, but rather as divine grace received through faith in Christ.

With the same intent relatively to disparage the law of the Old Testament as compared with the gospel, does the context show Gal. iii. 19 ff. to have been written. The Mosaic Torah is spoken of as inferior and imperfect in that it was only enjoined by angels in the hand of Moses as mediator.² Its

¹ The rudiments spoken of in the latter passage consist rather of ritualistic Jewish precepts theosophically treated.

² This difficult passage, with its two hundred and fifty (Winer) or four hundred and thirty (Jowett) interpretations of the twentieth verse, seems to have this general intent; and so — in opposition to Calvin, Winer, Meyer, Alford, and others — it is regarded by Luther, Rückert, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Ewald, Hoffmann, and perhaps the majority of modern commentators.

ceremonial and ritualistic provisions and precepts are but dim and shadowy outline-pictures of truth (Col. ii. 17). Christianity, regarded as a life-giving spirit, is contrasted with the Mosaic law, regarded as a death-producing letter; and the ministry of Moses, which took the form of a decalogue, is designated (2 Cor. iii. 6-9) as a ministry of death, in opposition to the gospel as a ministry of the Spirit and of life. The apostle does not, indeed, design to deny the divine origin and ethical value of the Mosaic law, which is (Rom. vii. 12) declared to be holy and just and good: he does, however, emphasize the points of contrast and opposition between it and the gospel, in such manner as to teach indirectly his view of the nature of Sacred Scripture. And how different is this from the view of the scribe, who lays his stress of emphasis upon *the form of preserving the contents of truth*, rather than upon *the truth itself*! The form of preserving the contents is, in the mind of the apostle, of relatively little account. The most impressive example of Sacred Scripture which the Old Testament affords—even the Decalogue, which Mosaism declares to have been graven on stones by the finger of Jehovah—must be estimated by the same standard. Thus estimated, it is as mere writing, ink, and stone tablets, compared with the gospel. Nor does the apostle design in this passage to deny the service of Moses as an inspired messenger of Jehovah; for the glory of his service is expressly asserted. But the inference remains, that the value of his service consists in its witness to the gospel, rather than in any qualities imparted by it to sacred writings. Indeed, from the point of view afforded by the words of Paul, we see again the Old Testament in the light of the doctrine of Christ. It is chiefly its contents of Messianic truth which constitute its claim to the title of Sacred Scriptures: but regarded formally, and simply as a collection of writings, it can lay no claim to exemption from weaknesses and imperfections; while it must, as regards its contents of ethical and religious truth, be esteemed vastly inferior to the oral proclamation of Christ. In the consideration of 2 Cor. iii. 6-9, we are forced, then, to declare with Bengel: "*Paulus etiam dum haec scripsit, non literae, sed Spiritus ministrum egit. Moses in proprio illo officio suo, etiam cum haud scripsit, tamen in litera versatus est.*"

The epithets and descriptions which the Pauline writings choose in order to contrast the gospel with the Old Testament, and the treatment given by them to special Christian doctrines

in opposition to the legality of the Old Testament, show the influence of the same conceptions. For this reason also does this apostle regard all the history of the divine economy as divided into two sharply contrasted periods. (See Rom. iv. 13-21; Gal. iii. 16-22; Rom. ix. 4-8.) It is only at the appearance of Christ that the second great period is ushered in, and that the secret divine plan, τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος θεοῦ, becomes revealed.

It is by no means the intent of Paul, however, to proclaim the existence of an impassable gulf between the truths taught by the Old Testament and the truth he was himself teaching. How thoroughly his own spirit was imbued with the ancient writings of his nation, his own writings abundantly show. His prevalent intent in handling the Old Testament is to seize and manifest the distinctively ethical and religious truths, the divine ideas of Christianity, as they were embodied in the Old-Testament facts and conceptions. He considered it, however, as his special mission to present these truths and ideas in their more distinctive features of difference from the forms with which they had been clothed. The ancient forms are, to be sure, only the A B C of absolute religion; but Paul will find in them all those letters of the alphabet which, placed together, spell the name of Christ.

It is in the Messianic promises, types, and symbols—the prophetic and Messianic contents in the widest meaning of these terms—that the Hebrew writings show to Paul their tokens of divine truth. It is pre-eminently these contents which authenticate the claim put forth by the writings to the title “sacred.” The divine plan of Messianic salvation, which is disclosed in the gospel Paul preached, remained hidden in the prophetic promises of the Old Testament. (See Eph. iii. 5; Rom. xvi. 26; compare Col. i. 26, 1 Cor. ii. 9 f.) The sum-total of the promises given through the prophets (including Moses and David: so Meyer), and recorded in Scripture, is such that it can be said (Rom. i. 2) to be concerning the Son of God, and to constitute a gospel of God. Even the most distinctive feature of that form of presenting the truth of Christ which Paul denominates “my gospel,” viz., the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, he regards (Rom. iv. 3 and Gal. iii. 6, 11) as germinally existent in the Old Testament; and this not only in its application to the descendants of Abraham, but also in the promise of salvation to the Gentiles. (See, also, Gal.

iii. 14-18, iv. 22 f.; Rom. iv. 23, 24, 1 Cor. iv. 1 ff.) Indeed, the conception of *δικαιοσύνη* has been fitly called "the bond which unites Saul the man of the law to Paul the man of faith." This gospel of promises, germinally present in the Old Testament, is regarded as having both a logical and a chronological precedence of the Mosaic law (Gal. iii. 17, 19), while the law is considered as a subsequent provision for the fulfilment of the promises by its pedagogic preparation for the reception of the truth of Christ. (See Gal. iv. 1-6, Rom. iii. 20, v. 20 f.) In this view of the uses of the law does the apostle (Gal. iii. 24) designate it as *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν*.

It is as having the promises in ancestral possession that Paul (Rom. iii. 2 and ix. 4) congratulates the Jews on their position of peculiar divine favor: the divine promises of Messianic salvation had been given to them in trust. The passage, Rom. iii. 2, confirms the divine origin of the contents of the Old Testament which it designates as *τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ*, and also asserts that the Jews received them as a valuable divine gift (*ἐπιστεύθησαν*) for the benefit of mankind, but the context restricts the application of this designation to such contents as foreshadowed and prepared for the reception of the truth of Christ. And, furthermore, the Pauline doctrine asserts that Christ has abolished not only the specific requirements of the Mosaic law as such, but also its entire point of view. Christ is the fulfilling of the promises of faith, and the abolition of the law of the Old Testament (Rom. x. 4). The perfect harmony of Rom. x. 4 with Matt. v. 17 remains in the fact that Christ asserts the fulfilment of the ideal and absolute contents of truth in the Old Testament, while implying the cessation of its formal and faulty constituents, but Paul asserts the latter, and implies the former.

In substantial accord with the Pauline conceptions do we find the writings of Luke and of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The point of view taken by the writer of Hebrews is, indeed, different from that of the Pauline Epistles: it is concessive where the latter is polemical, explanatory where the latter is assertive and aggressive. The difference is due in part to difference of authorship, in part to difference of readers addressed. The writer of Hebrews aims rather to magnify the claims of the gospel by showing its superiority to a confessedly great and holy order of affairs under the old economy. As Christ is in person above Moses (iii. 1 ff.), and above the

angels (i. 4 ff.), so the salvation which he as Lord declares, and which is handed down by apostles, is superior to the word spoken by angels (ii. 1 ff.). That precept of the Mosaic law by which its superior priests were constituted is designated as νόμος ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης, vii. 16; its commandment is weak, unprofitable, and therefore fleeting (18); and, indeed, the entire old covenant is far from being regarded as faultless, and must give way to the new and better one whose mediator is Christ (viii. 6, 7). The very epithets used by the writer to exalt the gospel are invested with a significance which indirectly and relatively disparages the Old Testament. (See vii. 22, ix. 15 ff., xii. 24, xiii. 20.)

The view which the Johannean writings take of the Hebrew Scriptures differs from that of Paul, as respects form, by being less polemical, and by proceeding rather from Christological grounds: they agree in emphasizing the contrast which exists between the contents of those Scriptures and the truth of the gospel. The divine origin and contents of the Mosaic law are claimed (John i. 17 f.) by the use of the word ἐδόθη, which requires ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ to complete its meaning, and by the use of διὰ, which represents Moses as the prophetic medium of divine communications. The very contrast made between the two implies that both Moses and Jesus were the channels of divine communication. But the limited and fallible nature of the revelation by Moses is also implied in contrasting it with the fulness of grace and truth which came through Jesus Christ. The difference of the two revelations — as to the form of historical appearance (Meyer), and perhaps also as to the superiority of the successive degrees of grace when compared with the narrowness of positive legal enactment (Alford) — is also set forth in the change from ἐδόθη to ἐγένετο. The Mosaic Torah is vastly inferior to the revelation of Christ. It is without the grace and truth which are with the incarnate Logos. It is without grace, because it can only awaken, and not satisfy, the want of grace. It is without the truth, not because it is wholly false, but because its truth is clothed in only imperfect and relative forms.¹ And that the revelation by Moses is thus lacking in the qualities which belong to that of Christ, is due to the difference between the media through which the truth

¹ Ἄλλως is opposed, not as the true to the wholly false, but as the perfect to the imperfect, the faultless to the faulty. See Trench, *Synonymes of the New Testament*, New York 1871, Part I., p. 51 f.

comes. Full and infallible truth could not come by Moses, because he was not himself such an one as to have the intuition of such truth. For no man, not even Moses, who was, in the opinion of the Jews, the most intimate of all writers of Scripture with God, has the intuition necessary to the possession of such truth. But he who is so one with God that he can be spoken of as "he that is in the bosom of the Father" (ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς) and even as himself θεός, — he alone has this vision of God. He alone, therefore, and no man, even though he be a recipient of divine revelations, and a selected and inspired medium of the contents of Sacred Scripture, can teach fully and infallibly the truth of God. The following declarations are, then, supported by the Johannean doctrine of the Old Testament : —

1. There are different degrees of value and certainty which belong to different divine revelations, even when equally received through inspired minds and authentically fixed in Scripture. The revelation of the Mosaic law, although of divine origin and recorded in the national sacred writings, was vastly inferior to the truth which the apostles had seen revealed in Christ.

2. Most important differences in different forms of divine revelation may grow out of the very nature of the media through which they are made. The fulness of grace (that πλήρωμα which makes possible for believers the χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος) and the infallibility and fulness of truth (since truth is included in the general term "grace," and the word ἀλήθεια is used in the unlimited sense) which belong to the gospel, are due to the nature of Him by whom the gospel comes. Christ's word, however received, is inspired and undoubted as no other contents of Sacred Scripture can possibly become.

3. We may say, on the authority of that apostle who stands next to Jesus in deep clear intuition of divine truth, substantially what Martin Luther said, in his own rough but expressive way, "There is no other doctor, master, nor preacher, but the one doctor, Christ, who is interiorly within the Godhead." With the meaning of a teacher, complete, worthy of submission of judgment, and to be deemed infallible, we are to call no *man* rabbi.

4. It is, then, this declaration of John which harmonizes all the various revelations made by the one Spirit, although of varying degrees of clearness and value, and which unites them with the one purpose of becoming subsidiary to the truth which is revealed in the person and word of Christ.

In this diverse, but essentially concordant, manner do the writers of the New Testament exhibit their doctrine of the nature of Old-Testament Scripture, by inference from their view as to the way in which the new truth stands related to the ethical and predictive contents of that Scripture. This doctrine recognizes the Hebrew writings as containing, scripturally fixed, certain contents of divine truth, which, although in germinal and imperfect form and mixed with ethically faulty constituents, are nevertheless to be received as revelations from God through chosen and inspired media, and as testifying to, and preparing the way for, their own fulfilment in the gospel of Christ. Thus do the writers of the New Testament define more precisely what they mean by referring to the Old Testament as Sacred Scripture.

These claims for the Old Testament by the writers of the New can be enforced, but not essentially expanded, by considering more in detail the following particulars.

The amount of recognition given in general form to these claims may be illustrated by the number of express quotations, and more informal references, which the writers employ. Of formal quotations Davidson¹ enumerates two hundred and fifty-five, and of informal references somewhat more than four hundred. Henderson² asserts, that "the Epistles and the Book of Revelation alone contain upwards of four hundred and fifty passages in which they [the Hebrew Scriptures] are either expressly quoted, or marked reference is made to them, or their language is used in a way which evinces that they were regarded by these inspired ambassadors of Christ as truly of divine origin. In the Epistles of Paul alone, upwards of two hundred and fifty such quotations or references are found." This counting of passages, however, is much less valuable, to determine the view of the New-Testament writers upon the Hebrew Scriptures, than the study of that correspondence of ideas which exists between the two. It would scarcely overstate the truth to say, that there is not a great religious idea of the New Testament which has not its germ in the Old; and that there are few important facts narrated in the New which have not, in the view of its writers, their anticipatory and typically corresponding facts in the Old.³

¹ Sacred Hermeneutics, Edinburgh, 1843, pp. 338-447.

² Divine Inspiration, London, 1836, pp. 321 ff.

³ It is perhaps worth mention, that, of the books of the Old Testament, rather

The elements in the contents of the Hebrew Scriptures, to which the sanctions of the New Testament most specifically apply, are the ethical and the predictive. The ethical elements comprise for the most part the divine ideas and absolute ethical truths embodied in the Mosaic law; while the predictive elements are of course most abundant in the prophetic writings. There are, however, such ethical ideas and truths underlying all prophecy; while the law, on the other hand, is not devoid of abundant predictive contents also.

The citation of passages, which are designed to set forth the identity of absolute moral truth existing between the old form of expression in the Hebrew Scriptures, and the new form in the gospel, is frequent with the writers of the New Testament. The general purpose of such citation is a twofold ethical purpose: first, to advance the proclamation of the gospel by an appeal to the recognized authority of the Old Testament; second, to show how the great ethical ideas which had been present in germinal form with the old economy had attained in Christ their more consistent and perfect expression. In emphasizing the correspondences in form of expression, they really call attention to the underlying unity of ideas, and to the correlation of facts, which bind together the Old Testament and the New. In considering these facts as divinely ordered, and these ideas as results of the informing work of the Divine Spirit, they announce the valid conclusions from their religious point of view. He who believes in the reality of the work of such an informing Divine Spirit has no reason to pronounce their conclusions invalid.

So purely ethico-religious is the purpose of all the writings of the New Testament, that, in the quotations from the Old Testament which they contain, the ethical and religious ends are always kept prominently in view. Even of quotations from the so-called profane authors, this statement is true. The words of Aratus and Cleanthes are used by Paul (Acts xvii.

more than half (twenty-one of the thirty-nine) are expressly quoted by the writers of the New. Of the Pentateuch all the books are thus quoted; Numbers, however, only once (viz., 2 Tim. ii. 19), and Genesis and Deuteronomy most frequently, — the latter as containing the law, and the former as containing the promises of faith. Psalms is frequently quoted as containing true prophetic words from the Lord. Of the historical books outside of the Pentateuch, only the first three of Kings are quoted. Of the writings of the Hekhnah, several quotations from Proverbs and one from Job alone appear. Of the prophetic writings, Ezekiel, Daniel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, and Zephaniah are not quoted. The indirect references, especially of Revelation, comprise, however, a larger sphere.

28) for the statement of lofty moral and religious truth; his quotations from Menander (1 Cor. xv. 33) and Epimenides (Tit. i. 12) are designed to enforce the requirements of practical morality. Epimenides is, indeed, designated as a prophet, according to the ancient repute which led Cicero also to reckon him among the *vaticinantes per furorem*. With the same intent are the few quotations from the apocryphal writings brought forward in the New Testament (Jude 9, 14), as well as the reference of 2 Tim. iii. 8 to unwritten rabbinical tradition. Having received the ethical truth as enforced by appeal to this tradition, we have hearkened to the author, and are then at liberty to accept or reject the alleged facts of the tradition itself.

Pre-eminently ethical, and based upon a recognition of important ethical correspondences, are the references made to the legal contents of the Old Testament. It is doubtful, then, whether we can ever speak of citations made from the Old Testament "for the sake of felicitously illustrating or embellishing a discourse."¹ For example: the ethical principle which makes the quotation from Deut. xxv. 4 appropriate in 1 Tim. v. 18, is given in the proverb immediately following: "Worthy is the workman of his hire." And when the apostle declares (1 Cor. ix. 9 f.) that this same provision of the Mosaic law regarding oxen was written *propter nos*, he overlooks the historic meaning to lay down the divine intent which is involved in the ethical principle of justice here embodied, and which is carried out in its highest application only with reference to men.

Thus it comes about that divine commandments, which express the absolute truth of morals, are, as a matter of course, given in the form of words which is taken from the recognized source of such commandments, viz., the Old Testament. The ethical contents of the Scripture, regarded as divine commands, and not the form of expression which the written commands have assumed, are authenticated by such quotation (see Rom. vii. 7, xii. 19; compare Heb. x. 30; Jas. ii. 11; compare Rom. xiii. 9, xii. 20; Eph. vi. 2, 3; 2 Cor. ix. 9; Heb. xii. 5, 6; 1 Pet. iii. 10). The ethical principle of the entire law of the Old Testament is recognized and enforced (Rom. xiii. 8; Gal. v. 14; Heb. x. 5; 1 Pet. i. 16; Jas. ii. 8). The everlasting declaration of divine mercy is given (Rom. ix. 15, 25) in the noble form which it attained in the Hebrew Scriptures; and

¹ So Davidson, *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 509.

the sanction of these Scriptures is invoked (Rom. i. 17, iv. 3, 6, 7) for the doctrine that this mercy is to be attained through faith. The need of divine mercy is also made clear by descriptions, which, although quoted from such very ancient writings, seem in no danger at present of growing antiquated (see Acts xxviii. 26, 27; Rom. ii. 24, iii. 10 ff.); and at least until they are antiquated, will the quoted threatenings of divine judgment be always in place.

It is this keen hunt for ethico-religious truth, as it exists in its essential unity under various forms of expression, which induces some of the quotations from the Old Testament in the New that are most difficult and even impossible critically to justify. To the conviction of the ethical unity which exists between the contents of the Hebrew Scriptures and the gospel, is due that allegorical interpretation of Deut. xxx. 11-14, which Paul brings forward, Rom. x. 6-8. The repeated *τοῦτ' ἔστιν*, explanatory of the meaning of the ancient writing, will not, indeed, serve to claim full prophetic consciousness for its author; but that the words of Deuteronomy are in principle predictive, and so capable of covering an indefinite number of such cases as are ranged under them by this usage of Paul, cannot well be denied. This capacity they acquire by reason of the nature of that ethico-religious truth which is expressed in them. The unity of this truth, thus expressed under varied and yet corresponding forms, concerns the following particulars: (1) the question of unbelief, which is always an inquiry after a divine word already provided and brought near to the mind; (2) the nearness to the doubter of the divine word, a nearness which is consummated in the incarnation and resurrection of Christ; (3) the duty of faith, which recognizes and appropriates, in whatever way it may be presented, the ever-present divine word; and (4) the reward of faith, which is always divine pardon and salvation. In recognizing these ethical correspondences of form given to identical moral truth, the apostle entirely leaves out of the account the historical application of the passage.

In similar manner we are to regard the so-called "rabbinical commenting"¹ of the difficult passage, Gal. iii. 15-17. It is true, on the one hand, that this fashion of interpreting the Old Testament is rabbinical (see Wetstein and Schoettgen); and that the Hebrew *וְכֵן* could not have been used in Genesis otherwise than in the singular number: and that, therefore, so far as

¹ "*Midraschistisches Kommentiren*," see Meyer on Rom. x. 6-8.

the argument of the apostle is merely philological, it is uncritical and unsound. But it is also true, on the other hand, as Windischmann has asserted, that "the argument of the apostle does not depend upon the grammatical form;" and also true, as the element of chief importance, that certain real correspondences of the one ethico-religious truth, divinely revealed in varying forms, are here clearly taught. We are not, then, to say of the sentence beginning *οὐ λέγει*, as does Meyer, that it is a "purely rabbinical conclusion:" it is rather a conclusion, which, although deriving no help from its rabbinical form, has its own weight of moral and religious truth independent of that form. Of such valid conclusion the following elements may be in this instance pointed out: (1) the unity of the divinely chosen theocratic race, which is such that it can be expressed by the collective use of the singular both in the Hebrew and in the Greek; (2) the theocratic headship of Christ as the goal and crown of Abraham's descendants (Meyer), — a truth taught dimly in the promise to Abraham, but clearly by Paul as an inspired apostle; and (3) the perpetuity of the divine promises, which, given in this form to Abraham, were fulfilled ideally only in Christ, and in those united with him by faith.

On the basis of similar convictions does the same apostle make the remarkable declarations of 1 Cor. x. 1 ff. The elements of rabbinical tradition which appear to be accepted by these allegorical interpretations — such as, perhaps, the current tradition that "the rock followed the Israelites in their journeyings, and gave forth water all the way"¹ — are not verified by their incorporation into the truth explained by the apostle. And that the interpretations of the Old Testament here given are allegorical departures from the historical meaning, seems to be confessed by the writer in the use of the word *πνευματικός*, and especially in the declaration *ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός*. These interpretations, then, so far as their purely rabbinical elements are concerned, cannot authenticate the claims of the Old Testament. But so far as they are the results of the insight of an inspired apostle into that bond of ethical unity which joins the two Testaments, — a unity which involves identity of absolute truth under correspondence of form, — they evince the ethical and the predictive elements in both. The New authenticates the Old as foreshadowing itself. Similar conclusions will apply to the cognate cases of Gal. iv. 21 ff. and Rom. ix. 8 ff.

¹ So Alford, Rückert, De Wette, and Meyer's earlier view.

It is the same conviction that an ethical unity connects the Old Testament with the New, which justifies many of the interpretations given by the New-Testament writers to the predictive contents of the Hebrew Scriptures; so far, at least, as justification may be attempted by modern criticism. How exclusively ethical these contents themselves were in their germinal ideas and formal expression, we shall see in another connection. It is pre-eminently the ethical and predictive truth, as involving its own connections with the doctrine of Christ, which the New-Testament writers authenticate. It is to the Hebrew Scriptures, as containing the *latentes rerum Messiae figuras*, that they ascribe most emphatically the titles of sacred and theopneustic writings.

The verbal mode in which the writers of the New Testament quote from the Old must also be noticed in determining their claims for the Hebrew Scriptures. The resemblance of their formulae of quotation to those employed by the rabbinical writers is undoubted; it has been shown in detail by various authors, especially by Surenhusius in his *Βιβλος Καταλλαγῆς*. That the shaping of these formulae in the New Testament was due largely to forms of thought and expression then prevalent among the rabbis, is also undoubted. A certain relationship of the apostolic hermeneutics with the Jewish can, therefore, no longer be denied.¹ The question, how far false rabbinical views of Old-Testament interpretation are implied in the use of rabbinical formulae of quotation, is a question for detailed criticism to answer. In examining this question no statement or inference of the New-Testament writers is to be judged untrue simply because it corresponds to views current among Talmudic doctors: on the contrary, a certain amount of authority is lent to these views by their correspondence with the apostolic teaching.² But, on the other hand, a certain amount of erroneous rabbinical hermeneutics, admitted into the writings of the New Testament, would by no means vitiate, or even essentially weaken, their authenticating of the valid claims of the Old Testament.

That the Hebrew Scriptures contain absolute truth,^{es} especially Messianic truth, in their ethical and predictive contents;^{el} that this truth was divinely imparted to their writers, in accordance with the one plan of God which unites these Scriptures with

¹ See Tholuck, *Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament*, on, 10-20.

² So Tholuck justly claims, *ibid.*, p. 8; and see Schoettg. Matt. i. 16.

the gospel, and by the one Spirit of God who administers both the old economy and the new, — these claims are involved even in the New-Testament forms of quotation. Among such forms are the following: the term ἡ γραφή and the various uses of the verb γράφω; the use of λέγει (*scilicet* θεός); and especially the phrases ἵνα (or ὅπως) πληρωθῇ ἡ γραφή (or τὸ γεγραμμένον, or τὸ ῥηθέν, or ὁ λόγος γεγραμμένος), τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθέν, and καθὼς γέγραπται (or ἔστι γεγραμμένον). Different writers in the New Testament seem to evince a preference for different formulæ of quotation. The use of telic sentences is especially favorite with Matthew. The use of the various forms of γράφω is common in all the other Gospels and in the Epistles of Paul, — with the exception of Ephesians, which has διὰ λέγει in two of its three citations. The words λέγει, μαρτυρεῖ, εἶρηκε, and φησί prevail in Hebrews (much after the manner of Philo) and in the Epistle of James. The attempts to assign definite reasons for these authorial peculiarities are not satisfactory. The reasons for a choice in each case are probably to be found in a union of personal points of view with specific intent, and are too complex to detect with any assurance of accuracy.

The use of telic phrases is undoubtedly to be taken as signifying the confidence which the New-Testament writers had in the divine origin and objective validity of the predictive contents of the Old Testament; in its types and typical correspondences, its history symbolically foreshadowing the fuller economy of grace under the gospel, as well as in its directly typical and prophetic-Messianic prophecies. That this use was not by accommodation, and cannot be lowered or flattened out into the merely ecclastic use, critical examination has sufficiently demonstrated.¹ It authenticates the claim of the Old Testament to a unity of substantial truth with the contents of the gospel. The Hebrew teleology, "which represents every [important and especially every surprising] event as ordered and designed by God," is in the case of the apostles the theological conception which furnishes the ground for their divinely imparted insight. This insight they exhibit in detecting the tokens of one divine plan which runs through and binds together those two great epochs of its manifestation with which they were familiar. It is, then, only the so-called "organic

¹ See Winer's *Grammar*, Andover 1869, pp. 457 ff.; Meyer on Matt. i. 22; Grimm's *Lexicon*; Davidson, *Sacred Hermeneutics*, pp. 474 ff.; Schirlitz, *Grundzüge der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität*, pp. 86 ff.

apprehension" of the citations from the Old Testament in the New, and the "organic method of interpretation," which can at the same time satisfy the conditions of criticism, and admit the verity of the claims of the Old Testament, both in its own writings and in the writings of the New. The idea of an organism alone suffices to justify our belief in the inspiration of the apostles. Happily this is also the method prevalent among those scholars who incline to accept both the results of criticism and the reality of divine revelation in the Bible.¹ In the use of this organic method of interpretation we escape the errors of extreme views. On the one hand, we are not forced to understand the Old-Testament writers unhistorically, and so as to bring their utterances into a dead and inorganic likeness with the interpretations of the New Testament; nor are we obliged always to vindicate, however contrary to the evidence, the hermeneutical skill and accuracy of the later writers.² On the other hand, we are led to admit this organic unity and living correspondence of great ethico-religious ideas between the two Testaments as a prime proof of the divine origin of both. The insight that in the earlier writers dimly foreshadows, as well as the clearer insight that in the later writers detects and distinctly exhibits, these ideas, is thus ascribed to the divine illumining which both prophets and apostles claimed to enjoy.

As to the nature of the prophetic consciousness, the writers of the New Testament have little to add to the claims which we have already examined. Their mode of quoting the prophecy of the Old Testament, as though it were interpreted by them in the manner in which it was presented to the consciousness of its first authors, is by no means decisive. 1 Pet. i. 10 ff. represents the prophets as making eager search into the more precise time, with its accompanying and defining events, which the indwelling Spirit of Christ was revealing, as it testified beforehand the sufferings of (? *eis*) Christ. This eager search we are however, to interpret rather of their private desire than of any indications in their writings (so Calvin and Huther). For, so far as we can judge by these writings, we find only in

¹ Compare especially the articles of Riehm in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1865 and 1869.

² By this method alone can we defend Christ against the impression of "rabbinical subtlety" ("not wholly without ground," says Tholuck), made by his proof from the Old Testament for the resurrection, given to the Sadducees (Matt. xxii. 32).

Daniel, among the Hebrew prophets, a manifest effort to fix the date of the fulfilment of their Messianic prophecies, or, indeed, any considerable interest in its fixing; so absorbed in the idea, and so well restrained from presumption, are their minds even in their prophetic work.¹ The contents of the revelations which were made to them are further declared by this passage to have included the general consciousness that they were doing service for the advantage of certain persons in the indefinite future;² and that this service had for its object the affairs of Messiah's kingdom. These are the same affairs which, in their developed form and with the clearer consciousness and loftier point of view belonging to them, the apostles announced in preaching the gospel. For although it was the Spirit of the pre-existent Christ who dwelt in the Hebrew prophets, and who through them brought forth the Messianic prophecies, the prophets themselves had by no means those same clear conceptions of the one great truth which were produced in apostles by the Spirit sent from heaven.

The dimness of the prophetic consciousness — in which the bright but ill-defined forms of eternal ideas rise into loftier position, and then at once, when they have reached the required altitude, appear in clear and full beauty, like the sun emerging from the morning mist — is evidently conceded by the writer of 2 Pet. i. 19. He makes the concession, although commending attention to the prophetic word. The prophetic word is indeed to be compared to a candle by which even Christians may choose their steps; but walking by it is, after all, like walking in a misty spot (*ἐν ἀνυχμῇ τόπῳ*) with only the light of a lamp (*λύχνος*), compared with that more perfect state of the believer, when the full daylight which the revelation of Christ brings has come within his soul.³ Such a view of the yearning interest, and yet dim and shadowy outlines of knowledge, which belong to the genuine prophetic consciousness, Jesus himself confirms (Luke x. 24; with perhaps special reference to 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-5). The manner in which he (John viii. 56) represents Abraham as rejoicing that he should see the day of Messiah, and again (Matt. xxii. 43) David as in the Spirit calling Mes-

¹ See the comment on verse 11 in Brückner's edition of De Wette's *Handbuch zum N. T.*, and *per contra* the note in Huther (both *in loco*).

² Only the *οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς* is to be regarded as known by the prophets, to which the writer puts in contrast the *ὑμῖν* of verse 12.

³ How this more perfect state of the believer stands related to the Lord's coming, it is not necessary to our purpose to inquire.

siah Lord, affords further confirmation of the view. Even in their Messianic prophecies these seers of the Old Testament did not know what, or what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ in them was revealing.

Slight regard for the wording of the written framework that holds the contents of truth appears in the handling which the New-Testament writers give to the ancient sacred writings. It is true that the argument of Paul (Gal. iii. 15-17) has the appearance of turning upon the grammatical form of the one word *בְּרִית*. But just so far as this appearance is proved to correspond to the reality, it discredits the argument, and makes it a piece of "rabbinical dialectic;" while our removal of the charge of rabbinizing from the apostle depends upon our being able to show that his argument does *not* depend upon the grammatical form. The same considerations apply to Heb. xii. 26 f. The little stress which they lay upon the *ipsissima verba* of the Old Testament is sufficient proof that the weight of practice with the apostles is against the ordinary theories of verbal inspiration. But the proof reaches even further than this: it indicates a totally different point of view from that held by the advocates of these theories.

How far the New-Testament writers are from being intent upon the exact verbal forms which they found in the Old Testament, their manner of quoting from it strikingly shows. The mere fact that they are obviously often quoting loosely and from memory, is a most important fact.¹ The variety in the manner of use made of the Old Testament by the writers of the New is not greater than the variety in the verbal manner of quotation. Sometimes they quote accurately, either from the LXX. or again from the Hebrew, where the texts of these two editions of the Old Testament are in closest accord; sometimes they accompany the LXX. in their departures from the Hebrew, and at other times remain with the original form of scriptural language; sometimes they change a word when seemingly making use of the language of one version in preference to the other, and either with or without an assignable motive;

¹ Mr. Lee, indeed, after acknowledging that this fact "is obviously fatal" to his view of the inspiration of Scripture, proceeds with the endeavor to disprove the fact (pp. 304 ff.) This he would do by showing that the quotations are as perfect as they would have been if they had been accurate. In view of the evidence which is abundant enough, the authority of scholarship which is consentient enough, and the prevalent practice of the early Church Fathers which illustrates that of the New-Testament writers, we may pronounce the fact untouched by Mr. Lee's argument. The fate of his own view he has himself pronounced.

and sometimes they even prefix the customary formulae of quotation to forms of words which can be found neither in the LXX. nor in the Hebrew.¹ It is not an exaggeration, then, to say with Immer, "Every single citation is in need of a special investigation."²

Of these quotations, so varied as respects their verbal form, it will be enough for our purpose to note the few following. In quoting Isa. xl., and applying it to John the Baptist, Matthew (iii. 3) and Mark (i. 3) use only verse 3, which they take from the LXX. with the exception of the substitution of αὐτοῦ for τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, and connect the words ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ as the LXX. do, and as the Hebrew probably does not; Luke (iii. 4 f.), however, in adding verses 4 and 5, after agreeing with both the others in closely following the LXX., begins to diverge quite widely from the Greek version, although following it in the unwarranted expansion of ἡγῆ by the phrase τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. Again, in Luke iv. 18, 19, the Evangelist, after following the LXX. as far as καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, although with the omission of one clause, to quote which would seem to have served his purpose excellently, and with the inclusion of a departure of the LXX. from the Hebrew, adds, by an apparent error of memory, from Isa. lviii. 6, certain words not found in this passage in either the Hebrew or the LXX.; and this manner of quoting is to indicate *what Jesus read* from a Hebrew MS. Surely, in his intentness to signify the great truth, he was not especially careful to authenticate the very words of the ancient Sacred Scripture. In quoting Mal. iii. 1, all the evangelists make a free adaptation of the Hebrew, probably in accordance with the habitual use made of this passage in the apostolic preaching. Matthew (xii. 18), however, quotes freely from the Hebrew, and departs widely from the Greek; but admits echoes, so to speak, from the words of the LXX., especially in the last clause. Again, in quoting Deut. xxv. 5, the three Synoptists all differ among themselves, and yet neither one agrees verbatim with

¹ In examining cited passages we perceive," says Davidson (Sac. Her., p. 469), "that every mode of quotation has been employed, from the exactest to the most loose, from the strictly verbal method to the widest paraphrase; but in no case is violence done to the meaning of the original." *Per contra* of the last sentence, Immer says (Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments, Wittenberg 1873, p. 134), "Der Gebrauch des Alten Testaments im Neuen ist nun ein sehr mannigfaltiger; von der buchstäblichsten Anwendung bis zur kühnsten Allegorik, von einer im Ganzen treffenden Benutzung bis zur grössten Willkühr." And to this view the later work of Davidson manifestly goes over.

² Hermeneutik, etc., p. 134.

either the Hebrew or the Greek. John (xix. 37), in quoting Zech. xii. 10, apparently with deliberate purpose departs from the erroneous reading of the LXX., substitutes the correct translation *ἐξεκέντησαν*, and for the reading of the Hebrew follows the one (viz., *ר'א* for *ל'א*) which, although without the weight of MS. authority, is probably correct. (So Ewald and Meyer.) In the lengthy quotation of Acts ii. 17 ff., it is impossible to tell why the writer should make his few unimportant variations from the translation of the LXX., here quite exact, unless he were quoting freely and from memory.

How freely Paul handled the verbal forms of the Old Testament in his effort to extract their contents of truth, and how confidently he attributed the divine quality which he found in Sacred Scripture to the latter rather than to the former, there can be no doubt. We find him (Rom. iii. 10 f.) introducing after the phrase *καθὼς γέγραπται* a sentence which can be found only for substance of truth in the Hebrew writings, and then following it with extracts from Ps. xiv. 1 ff.; Ps. v. 9; Ps. cxl. 3; Ps. x. 7; Isa. lix. 7, 8, and Ps. xxxvi. 1; some of which are accurately given after the LXX., and others of which are verbally changed, either through inexactness of memory or to suit the purpose of the apostle.¹ From the same eagerness to seize upon the contents of truth, without anxiety as to exactness of verbal form, doubtless arises, at least in part, the remarkable fact, that some of Paul's quotations are not, properly speaking, quotations at all: they are only statements of his view of some general truth to be found in the Old Testament, which he has put into a rough correspondence of language, and to which he has prefixed the customary formula of citation. The words *καθὼς γέγραπται* in 1 Cor. ii. 9 mark what follows as an alleged quotation from canonical Hebrew Scripture. But the nearest approach to the apostle's language (undoubtedly Isa. lxiv. 4, rather than lii. 15, with perhaps a reminiscence from lxv. 17, in the words *ἐπὶ καρδίαν οὐκ ἀνέβη*) is far enough removed still, both in significance and verbal shaping.² In the same way are we to explain the quotation Eph. v. 14, where, although using the formula (*διὸ λέγει*) for citing canonical Scripture, the apostle changes, both in words and in significance, the passage Isa. lx.

¹ "The codices of the LXX., which give the entire passage (Rom. iii. 13-18) in Ps. xiv. 3 ff., have had the words interpolated in the Christian era from this passage" (Meyer).

² There seems to us no need, however, of the conjecture in which Meyer follows Origen, that these words are taken from the apocryphal Prophecy of Elias.

1, 2; yet, while making these changes, he shows the correspondence of essential and ideal truth which exists between the contents of the Old Testament and the gospel he preached. To suppose these quotations to be due to slips of memory, in which the apostle remembers the words of apocryphal writings, and mistakes them for the words of Hebrew Scripture, is to suppose his mind quite too much saturated with the former, and quite too little with the latter.¹ For even Jesus is represented (John vii. 38) as introducing after the words *καθὼς ἔπεν ἡ γραφή* a statement which, only after being changed in language, and adapted in sentiment, gives a sort of epitome of the contents of several Old-Testament passages.

The attempt to apply the theory of verbal inspiration, first to the Hebrew text and then to all the deviations made from it through the text of the LXX. by the New-Testament writers, not only leads us into the wildest extravagances of criticism, but also goes obviously counter to the ordinary methods of those writers. If they held the theory of verbal inspiration, their practice is generally against their theory. Nor will any theory of plenary inspiration so called, which excludes all inexactness of memory, language, or scientific interpretation, in the quotations of the Old Testament within the New, explain the phenomena.

The great variety of scholarly opinion as to the nature of those differences which exist among the different writers of the New Testament, in their manner of quoting the Old, also confirms the judgment that these writers did not hesitate to use scriptural language with critical inexactness, and that they did not in general consciously ascribe the attributes of divine origin through inspiration to the *ipsissima verba*, but to the contents of truth. The literature on one branch of this subject, Holtzmann pronounced some years since to be "nearly immeasurable."² The mere existence of such a literature is an argument against those theories of Sacred Scripture which stick in the letter, and then endeavor to hold themselves firm by an appeal to apostolic authority. Indeed, everywhere in both Testaments do we find the scribe, with his work of verbal exactness, left in the background; while the voice of him who,

¹ Meyer makes the quotation 1 Cor. ii. 9 to be due to a *lapsus memoriae*; and so does he also treat Eph. v. 14.

² Die Synoptischen Evangelien, pp. 258 ff. Among the earlier of the modern works Credner's *Einleitung*; among the more recent, Kautzsch, *De Vet. Test. locis a Paulo apostolo allegatis*, — are noteworthy.

being in the Spirit, brings the ethical and religious message, everywhere claims divinity and authority for its contents of truth. It is not primarily the written words, but the divine truth in them, which is regarded as the Word of God. It is this which gives its title "sacred" to the Old Testament, in the estimate of the apostles as well as of Christ.

We conclude, then, that the writers of the New Testament confirm the general estimate put upon the Old Testament by its own claims and by the teaching of Christ. They are in position, however, to interpret those claims in the fuller light of their highest significance, as their original authors could not: they are not always, on the other hand, in that position of wonderful clearness of vision into ideal truth, together with equally wonderful reserve upon questions of criticism, in which we find Christ. Nowhere in either Testament is the doctrine of verbal or errorless inspiration formally maintained.¹ But the apostles and Jesus alike authenticate the claims that the ancient Hebrew writings hold in their law and prophecy, scripturally fixed, the contents of revealed truth received through inspired souls, and used by God in preparation for the establishment of the kingdom of Messiah.

And, finally, we discover in that passage of the New Testament which most directly and explicitly asserts the doctrine of Sacred Hebrew Scripture, a confirmation of the conclusions given above. This passage is 2 Tim. iii. 16. To place this passage in right relations with the results reached by our researches, the following particulars of its interpretation must be noted:—

1. The main purpose of 2 Tim. iii. 16 is to declare the ethical quality and uses of the Old Testament in perfecting a righteous character: in the light of this main purpose we must examine all the details of its interpretation. The general declaration of the preceding clause, *τὰ δυνάμενά σε σοφίσαι εἰς σωτηρίαν*, is enforced by the statement of verse 16, which enumerates several particulars including both theoretic (*διδασκαλία*) and practical discipline (*De Wette*). The adjective *θεόπνευστος* belongs to the subject, and the particle *καί* is ascensive or corresponsive.² All Scripture, theopneustic, is also profitable for the ethical purposes of teaching, conviction, correction, discipline in righteousness (compare Rom. xv. 4).

¹ See W. Schmidt, *Zur Inspirationsfrage*, Gotha 1869, p. 41.

² See Huther's comment, and especially the careful discussion of Ellicott.

2. As to the nature and extent of the subject to which the qualities of theopneusty and ethical profitableness belong, we need have no doubt; although the grammatical interpretation of this passage is somewhat difficult. The term τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα of verse 15, found only here in the New Testament, is to be taken as referring to the Old Testament. It does not include any apostolic writings (Huther *contra* De Wette), but designates the Sacred Hebrew Scriptures under the somewhat loose title of *sacrae litterae* (*scilicet Veteris Testamenti*), and represents them as the objects of pious study rather than as sources of authority (Cremer). It is noteworthy that the author, in repeating his subject under another term, omits the defining article. The words πᾶσα γραφή are, therefore, neither to be interpreted "the whole of Scripture" as including the entire *Canon Hebraeorum* (so most of the ancients, and Wiesinger and Philippi), nor "every Scripture," as referring to each passage or every part of the Hebrew writings (so Alford); but rather every, or better all, Scripture, — that is, sacred writing in general as found in the Old Testament.¹ The subject is, however, limited by the very statement contained in the predicate, as is the case with the ὅσα προεγράφη, εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν ἐγράφη of Rom. xv. 4. All Scripture that is theopneustic is also morally profitable, and, although it is not the intent of the writer to suggest the possibility of denying theopneusty to any Scripture whatever, neither is it his intent to imply such theopneusty of any such Scripture as is not also morally profitable. Whether each book and passage in the ἱερὰ γράμματα is, taken in detail, to be considered as theopneustic and also profitable for the purposes specified, the writer does not pronounce. But evidently he intends here under his subject, πᾶσα γραφή, not the verbal scriptural form of truth, but rather those contents of ethical verity, and those Messianic promises and predictions, which he wished especially to commend, and to which in practice he directed his own attention (the *argumentum scripturae* [Grimm]).

3. The meaning of the adjective θεόπνευστος as applied to the subject πᾶσα γραφή is not defined in this passage: its definition must be sought from other writings of the New Testament, and

¹ "Alles was geschrieben steht" (Hofmann followed by Möller); "jede von Gott gehauchte Schrift" (Rothe); "ist irgend eine Schrift sc. Schriftstelle von Gott gehaucht, so ist sie auch, etc." (Tholuck), — are paraphrases which throw light on the translation of this passage.

from the claims of the Bible in general. So also "the relation of this divine working to human activity, of the *divine contents* to the human form (words, conceptions, and representations), is here left indeterminate," and the determining of this relation must be derived from other sources.¹

Upon these and all other similar points of New-Testament teaching regarding the nature of the Old Testament, we are in a position from our previous examination to pronounce as satisfactory those conclusions in which they accord with Christ. Certain ethical and predictive contents of revelation, given through inspired media, certain absolute and ideal truths of the Christian religion, although in an imperfect and fallible form of presentation, are scripturally fixed in the canonical Hebrew writings; therefore these writings are sacred, theopneustic, and morally profitable for the individual and for the Church.

¹ See in Möller's edition of De Wette's *Handbuch des N. T.*, *in loco*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CLAIMS FOR THE NEW TESTAMENT BY ITS OWN WRITERS.

THE basis for the claims of the New Testament to the title of Sacred Scripture is laid in the promises of the Redeemer to his apostles. To these promises, as already examined,¹ corresponds the consciousness of their realization which the apostles manifest, and which affords additional ground for determining the nature of those writings that are due to the fulfilment of the promises. Such is the consciousness of communion with the Risen One, — a consciousness which serves, by the fulness of truth received in this communion, to authorize their teaching, and to make it, both in their own opinion and objectively, in accordance with the mind of Christ. Such a consciousness belongs, however, to each member in the entire body of believers; the consciousness thus becomes for the whole Church a characteristic of the new life which it receives from above, inasmuch as it is the Church of Christ. *In the new dispensation, as in the old, the true subject of divine revelation and inspiration is primarily the community of believing souls; the final purpose served in all special distributions of divine gifts within that community is the development of its common life.*

The whole community of Christian believers, as well as the apostles, received the truth of Christ by revelation; that is, by the power of the indwelling Holy Spirit who took away the veil which had hitherto concealed God's plan of salvation, and who made plain to them this divine plan. Christ, who is designated (1 Cor. i. 24) *θεοῦ σοφία*, is the living principle of the believer; and, therefore, he who receives Christ receives by divine revelation the *wisdom of God*. The divine way of constituting man just and upright before the divine law, after remaining long hidden from human knowledge, has had this enveloping veil removed in the gospel (Rom. i. 17); every one who becomes a believer at all becomes such by the work of

¹ Chap. II.

the Holy Ghost as a revealer within his own soul. According to 1 Pet. i. 23, all Christians have a share in the work wrought within by the living and abiding divine Word. The conception of the Holy Spirit especially Johannean is that which designates him as the Spirit of the truth (*τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας*); and (1 John v. 6) we even read, "The Spirit is the truth,"—that is, the personal life-giving principle of truth.

This Spirit of revelation is accordingly represented as given to all believers. The power to know the truth is a divine gift, which is designated (1 John ii. 20, 27) as a sort of holy anointing (*χρῖσμα*) belonging to Christians, who are therefore even said by it to know all things. The apostle does not teach his readers because they do not know the truth, for they *do* know it (ii. 21). The same gift of revelation, which John assigns to all believers as the work of the Spirit of the truth, Paul prays to have given to the Christians of Ephesus (Eph. i. 17 ff.) as a spirit of wisdom and revelation. The details of his prayer also show us that he expected from its answering, in their case, essentially the same working of divine power which presented the truth to his apostolic consciousness. Revelations of truths by inspiration to non-apostolic believers, who are on this very account designated *προφῆται*, are mentioned as existing in the church at Corinth. A divergence from his own estimate of himself, and even from his view respecting a right attitude of hope toward the resurrection, the apostle is willing (Phil. iii. 15) to trust to that corrective teaching of the Spirit which is a revelation of truth in the heart of all believers.

The whole community of believers, as well as the apostles, are inspired; that is, they are endowed with certain charisms adapted in each case to the conditioning individuality of those upon whom the charisms are bestowed. For he that has Christ in him has also the indwelling Spirit of Him that raised Christ (Rom. viii. 10 f.). The Spirit of Christ is the Holy Ghost (see Rom. viii. 9; Eph. ii. 21 f.; Gal. v. 22, 25). The Lord is the Spirit; i.e., from the dynamic point of view the indwelling Christ is the inspiring Holy Ghost (2 Cor. iii. 17). Even the power to speak with the convictions of a Christian concerning the divine authority of Jesus Christ does not come without inspiration (1 Cor. xii. 3). The definition of the Christian consciousness furnishes the subjective condition, and as well the proofs of the objective reality, of that Christian inspiration which belongs to the entire body of believers.

That Paul regarded the donative work of the Holy Spirit as belonging primarily to the Christian community, for whose sake also the special charisms vouchsafed to apostles are bestowed, admits of no doubt. The spiritual work, which in its first and germinal form Peter regarded as a fulfilment of Joel ii. 28-32, Paul regards (Eph. iv. 8), in its later and more comprehensive form, as typified in the Messianic declaration of Ps. lxxviii. 18. Of the forms in which the Old-Testament promises of the Spirit to the holy nation had their actual realization in the Christian community, we have a vivid picture from this apostle's point of view in 1 Cor. xii.-xiv.

Another thought, fundamental to the true conception of New-Testament Scripture, must, however, be taken into the account. The gift of the Spirit is, indeed, primarily made to the community of believers. But, inasmuch as there are many different individuals and ends to be served in this community, there are diversities of the one gift. The promised gift is distributed in various charisms or gifts. There exists, then, in the fundamental conditions of the new life of the Christian community, not only the necessity for an inspiration common to the community, but also the necessity for such a distribution of this inspiration as shall result in diversities of gifts. To this fact is due the apostolic office and work, with its special apostolic gifts. The distinction from which the special inspiration of the apostles emerges is not a distinction between genuine inspiration and spurious, nor between two different kinds of inspiration, nor primarily between different degrees of inspiration as such: it is rather a distinction between different kinds, degrees, and products of inspiration in different charisms, which are different on the ground of the divine wisdom and grace, on the conditions furnished by different individuals, and for the one final purpose of building up the Christian Church.

Without discussing the phenomenon described, Acts ii. 6-13, — which is manifestly regarded as an actual speaking in foreign tongues, and therefore quite different¹ from the *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν* spoken of 1 Cor. xii. and xiv., — it is only necessary to notice the general relations to our subject of this distribution of the spiritual gift of tongues. The later form of the gift was

¹ Different, that is, at least, from the point of view held by Luke in his narrative. What was, however, the extent of their real similarity, is another inquiry. (See Meyer on 1 Cor. xii.)

the more permanent, and corresponds more closely to the promise of Christ recorded in the appended close of Mark xvi. 17 (γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς). In this gift the prophecy of the Old Testament is regarded as fulfilled (see Isa. xxviii. 11, and compare 1 Cor. xiv. 21). The Holy Spirit has created for himself in all the disciples of Jesus a new organ of utterance. The conditioning element of individuality is not, however, left unconsidered by this endowment of the divine Spirit. The use of the singular γλώσση, and its interchange with the plural γλώσσαις in 1 Cor. xiv., show that the distribution of this one gift was made according to individual peculiarities. The γένη γλωσσῶν of 1 Cor. xii. 10, 28, of which προσευχή and ψαλμός are especially mentioned xiv. 14 f., are further proof of the same truth. We are also taught (1 Cor. xii. 4 ff.) that varieties of gifts, varieties of ministries, varieties of operations, serve the varied purposes of the community; they also normally correspond to the varieties of natural endowment which, in a measure, give conditions to these gifts, ministries, and operations. The general rule of distribution for this donative work of the Spirit is the profit of the community: ἐκάστῳ δὲ δίδεται ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον (xii. 7). The Church is an organism of various organs, in the midst of which the one Spirit moves, and each organ of which it energizes for the health, development, and efficiency of the whole.

It is in accordance with the same fundamental law, that the inspiration which constitutes the call, endowment, and guidance of the apostolic office is to be construed. When all the charisms are bestowed (ἐγὼ μὲν, ἄλλω δέ and ἐτέρω, 1 Cor. xii. 8) according to divine wisdom and grace, it follows normally, and yet by the same supernatural working, that God will station "apostles" in the Church (πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, verse 28).

We find, then, in this chief passage, 1 Cor. xii.-xiv., all the essential elements of apostolic inspiration — except the selective act of Jesus with its accompanying commission — attributed to the entire community of believers. Concerning these essential elements we note the following truths: —

(1) The donative and distributive work of the divine Spirit has its ground in the divine power, wisdom, and grace. Looked at from the side of divine omnipotence, the charisms are operations (ἐνεργήματα) of the one God who worketh all the effects in all who enjoy the charisms; but they are charisms (χαρίσματα) or *dona gratiae*, when looked at as flowing from the divine grace.

(2) The work of inspiration has its final purpose in the building-up of the Christian community, and in the propagation of the gospel. The charisms are also to be regarded as *διακονίαι*, or services, rendered primarily to the Lord of the Church (xii. 5), and secondarily to the community of believers, for the good of which they are all to be regarded as working (*πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον*, verse 7). They are not, however, without reference to the conversion of unbelievers and the extensive growth of the Church (xiv. 22). Moreover, to set forth the ethical final purpose of these charisms is the large intent of the figures of speech employed in these chapters. So also does Paul designate repeatedly by the same word (*διακονία*) that special service of Christ to the Church which consisted in his own apostolic office: as, e.g., Rom. xi. 13; 2 Cor. iv. 1, vi. 3; 1 Tim. i. 12; this word is also applied to the apostolic office in general, Acts i. 17, 25.

(3) The gifts of inspiration are, moreover, conditioned upon peculiarities of personal history, so-called natural fitness, and previous experience, in the individuals to whom they are distributed; and from this law, as well as the preceding, the inspiration of the apostles is not exempt. In the technical Pauline sense the charisms are all exceptional and extraordinary endowments, *eximiae facultates*, in which certain Christians excel their fellow Christians (see Grimm's Lexicon).

(4) All the endowments and attainments, both mental and moral, which belong in special and higher degree to the apostolic office as constituting its equipment, so to speak, are represented as distributed to the community of believers; if we except the one fact of a personal call and commission from Jesus Christ. The equipment for this office, so far as it consists in inspiration, is, therefore, one which differs in degree only from the equipment of non-apostolic men; while the office itself, being special and resting upon a personal call from the Redeemer and a previous personal intercourse with him, demands and possesses certain of these common charisms in the highest degree. However we classify the gifts of the Spirit,¹

¹ Whether with Meyer, into three rigorous divisions, as, (a) charisms which refer to intellectual power, (b) charisms which are conditioned on faith extraordinary, and (c) charisms which refer to the gift of tongues; or better assert with Alford only a kind of loose arrangement "occasioned by the falling together of similar terms;" or even with De Wette resign all attempt at classification. The power of the various miraculous signs, such as charisms of healings, kinds of tongues, and in general the working of all kinds of miracles; the power

it is alike clear that those here described as belonging to the community of believers include in kind all the spiritual qualifications belonging to the apostolic office itself. It is only the fuller possession of these same qualifications which constitutes the special endowment of apostles.

The bearing of the foregoing considerations upon our view of the nature of the New Testament is obvious. For it is this donative and distributive work of the Holy Spirit which lays the foundations of the New-Testament Scriptures. This work bestows upon certain men, specially selected by Jesus, that special, though not essentially peculiar, knowledge of the truth by divine revelation, and that fitness by inspiration to manifest the truth, which distinguish the apostolic office. And it is the apostolic office which gives us the writings of the New Testament. The inspired writings of the New Testament, therefore, grow out of the inspiration of the community of believers through the special form which this inspiration took in the case of the apostles. The inspiration which produces Christian Sacred Scripture is first of all, and in its specific characteristics, a *Christian* inspiration; it is then in the second place, and as a matter of degrees, an *apostolic* inspiration. The divine Spirit gives the New Testament to the Church by giving to the entire body of believers the various Christian charisms; and among those endowed with these charisms stand, first, apostles. Apostolic inspiration is for the sake of the Christian community: so far as its leading subjective characteristics are concerned, it is in and of this community. In accordance with this view, the apostolic office and its spiritual endowment are ranked by the Apostle Paul with the other Christian spiritual charisms (1 Cor. xii. 28 f.; Eph. iv. 11).

The foregoing view is embodied in the New-Testament use of the term *προφήτης*. The truths, brought before us in the claims of Old-Testament prophecy, are acknowledged in the

of supernatural insight as shown in prophecy, in the discernment of merely alleged from real operations of the divine Spirit, and in the interpretation of tongues; the penetration of the deeper mysteries of Christ's death, resurrection, and glory (*σοφία*), as well as the more logical and speculative unfolding of the system of Christian truth (*γνώσις*), together with aptness in discoursing upon the contents of such wisdom and knowledge—are all provided for in the donative and distributive work of the Spirit among the community of believers. Not only the power, by the indwelling and energizing of this Spirit, to be *ἅγιοι* and *πνευματικοί* ethically considered, but also the power to be among the *τέλειοι* as respects the possession of divine wisdom and knowledge with their faculties of utterance, are not vouchsafed to apostolic men alone.

application of this term by the writers of the New Testament to the Hebrew prophets. But the term, as applied by the same writers to inspired men of their own time, carries over many of the ideas of the Old Testament into the New. We have seen that under the ancient economy the gift of the Spirit was to the holy nation through selected servants of Jehovah. In accordance with this thought, Jesus himself may be reckoned among the prophets (Matt. xiii. 57; Luke vii. 16, xxiv. 19). In the community of Christian believers, certain men are pre-eminently acknowledged as Christian prophets. The truths they reveal are such as concern the present ethical management of the Christian community (1 Cor. xiv. 3, 24 ff.), and such as concern the future (Acts xi. 27 f., xxi. 10). Their names are joined by the writer of the Apocalypse (xi. 18, xvi. 6, xviii. 24) with the prophets of the Old Testament. Prophets and apostles are so mentioned together (Luke xi. 49; 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. ii. 20, iii. 5, and iv. 11) as to show that the apostles were all also prophets; they were thus fitted for the execution of their commission from Christ by an endowment whose general characteristics may be described as prophetic. This endowment is, therefore, essentially the same as that of other prophetic men in both the Old Testament and the New.

The history of the Canon of the New Testament shows us that apostolic origin, either direct or indirect, is the acknowledged basis for asserting the inspiration and authority of New-Testament writings. But the revelation and inspiration which are claimed and enjoyed by the apostles have already been shown to be the same in kind with those of all believers. How, then, are the apostles more authorized or better fitted than Christians in general to make claims in which may be laid the basis of our right to call the New Testament pre-eminently Sacred Scripture? In other words, how do the apostles so differ from their Christian brethren that their writings and teachings can become, for all time, pillars of Christian faith?

The answer to this inquiry must take account of two important reasons for the specific and peculiar work of the apostles.

1. The apostles had a special call and commission from Jesus in his personal selective act and command; they had, moreover, a special fitness in their personal communion with him, and in their intimate knowledge of his life, death, resurrection, and doctrine. The significance of the definite choice which Jesus made of the apostles, and of the call which he issued to them,

can scarcely be over-estimated. This choice itself constitutes a sufficient guaranty of their pre-eminent fitness to be the founders and prime teachers of the Christian Church. They were chosen, not simply in the same way of providential guidance and inner call in which, however clarified or made vivid by ecstatic vision, even the prophets of the Old Testament were chosen: they were chosen by direct personal act of Christ. Moreover, the personal instruction of Jesus developed their natural fitness, and gave to them such a preparation for the illumining of the Spirit as no others in history could possibly have. To bring the inner meaning of his teaching before them, and unfold it into the fulness of its truth, the Spirit of Christ was promised to them.

Still further must we take into account that intimate knowledge of historical facts which was deemed necessary for an apostle (see Acts i. 21, 22, ii. 32, iii. 15), and which laid the basis for his work as a witness of the gospel. Peter alludes to this indispensable pre-requisite for the apostolic office, when he declares (Acts v. 32), "Both we and the Holy Spirit are witnesses of these things;"¹ and so do the promises of the Redeemer recorded John xv. 26, 27, and Luke xxiv. 48, 49. The witness divine and supernatural was conjoined with the witness which we may call merely human and natural.

2. The apostles had a more abundant endowment of the same revelation and inspiration which belonged to Christians in general. As "especially active organs of the Spirit," says Schmid (p. 315), the apostles are placed in the front rank of those endowed with the Spirit, and at the head of the development of the Church. The charism especially bestowed in largest measure upon them, as teachers of the Church, is *γνώσις*, — the insight into the mysteries of the gospel. This acquisition, by inspiration, of deep, pure, and true knowledge, of all the truth of Christ, was not simply the product of one revelation: it was rather a growth resulting from the successive revelations of the years spent in their office.

In accordance with the above-mentioned view of their office, and of the nature of their fitness for it, do the apostles construe their own claims. Yet it is by the validity of these claims that the claims of the New-Testament writings must be tested.

The Apostle Paul distinctly places himself in the position of one especially called and commissioned of Jesus Christ, and

¹ *Res quatenus narratur* is the significance of *ἡμεῖς* here.

therefore endowed with a more abundant measure of the same gifts of the Spirit which belonged to the entire body of believers. He thus lays with his own hand the foundation for that regard which the Christian world pays to his writings, as portions of Sacred Scripture. His call to the apostolic office he finds in his conversion (Gal. i. 15 f.), but more definitely in his subsequent ecstatic vision at Jerusalem. Both at the time of his call, and subsequently, he received the indispensable endowment of revelation and inspiration which belonged to his office. He had received the truth of the gospel, not from any human source, but through an inner disclosure (*ἐν ἐμοί*, Gal. i. 16) vouchsafed to him by the Redeemer (i. 11 f.). But, after having received this fundamental truth in the spiritual self-disclosure of Christ, he was by no means left without further and more distinctive preparation for his apostolic work. He avers (1 Cor. ix. 1) that he has enjoyed the necessary preparation for becoming a witness of the Risen One; he has seen Christ, and that not simply after the flesh (Acts xxii. 6 f.; 1 Cor. xv. 8). Other revelations in the manner of ecstatic vision he also claims (2 Cor. xii. 1 ff.) to have received from the Lord. Moreover, the continuous indwelling of the divine grace was his well-spring of inspiration in his apostolic work (1 Cor. xv. 10, Eph. iii. 2-9). The special faculty which he had received from the same source from which Peter and the other apostles received their call and endowment (Gal. ii. 8), had reference to his special work of making known to the Gentiles the divine plan of salvation by Christ (Eph. iii. 8 f.). The Divine Spirit had stripped off the veil from this divine plan, and had made it clear within the apostle's soul (Eph. iii. 3). Nor did he feel himself to be lacking in the special charisms which the one Spirit distributed to the various members of the Church (1 Cor. xiv. 8 f.) Nor were his acts in connection with the teaching of the gospel devoid of divine spiritual control."¹

The other apostles, like Paul, regarded themselves as especially commissioned witnesses of the gospel, and claimed to have their preparation in a fuller divine revelation of its truth than that given to non-apostolic Christians, and in a richer

¹ The journey to Jerusalem, which from Luke's external point of view was the result of a commission from the congregation at Antioch (Acts xv. 2), Paul from the point of view of his own consciousness knew to have been the result of a divine disclosure of truth within himself (*ἀποκάλυψις*, Gal. ii. 2). In another instance we have mention of a similar command given in a vision or dream (Acts xvi. 9).

endowment of the charisms distributed by the Spirit of Christ. They, however, received the contents of the truth they taught in a manner more purely historical than Paul. In a different manner from Paul had the Apostle John seen the glory of the Lord, and received the grace which was given him in ever-increasing fulness (John i. 14, 16). He could therefore say, "What we have seen and heard we announce to you" (1 John i. 1-4). The relation, however, in which the other apostles stood to the Spirit of Christ was not essentially different from that of Paul. They considered themselves, indeed, as eye-witnesses of the life, death, and resurrection of him who was the gospel (1 Pet. v. 1); they were thus esteemed by those who heard them (Heb. ii. 3). But as witnesses, although they spoke that of which they had been historically cognizant, they nevertheless referred these same contents of truth, as inwardly received by them, to the Spirit of Christ as their source. The apostolic announcement of the contents of revelation is specified by Peter (1 Pet. i. 12) as made by the Holy Spirit (*πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*); like prophecy, the preaching of the gospel flows from the divine illumining and impelling power. So, also, does John regard the apostolic doctrine which his hearers had received, as a spiritual unction (1 John ii. 27). In the view of James (i. 18), the word of truth which forms the contents of his message has life-giving power. We are taught (1 Pet. i. 3) that the apostles had not merely witnessed, as natural observers, the resurrection of Jesus; but through it, as an inner, living, and verifying power, they had been made partakers of a new divine life.

Especially in 1 Cor. ii. does the Apostle Paul consider certain contents of the apostolic teaching as a species of divine wisdom (*σοφία*) which was received by himself and the other apostles through a divine work of revelation in their hearts. God teaches such things to apostles by the Holy Spirit (verse 10); they have received this Spirit for the very purpose that they may the more fully understand the gracious blessings of Messiah's kingdom (verse 12). The origin of the specifically Christian truth is in the eternal divine wisdom. For this truth is such as primarily only God's Spirit can know (verse 11): only those among men, therefore, who have received the Spirit and been taught by him, only the *πνευματικοί*, can discern such truth (verse 15). The limitation of these particular claims of inspiration to the apostolic teaching is exegetically required by

the context, and especially by the contrast introduced with the *καὶ ἐγώ* of iii. 1 between the *πνευματικοί*, of whom Paul considers himself one, and the *νήπιοι*, with whom his hearers are classed. But even in this passage, apostolic inspiration is not considered as setting the apostles apart from the community of believers. The possibility that any believer may come to belong to the so-called *τέλειοι* and *πνευματικοί* is plainly admitted (iii. 2) in the words *οὕτω γάρ* and *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπὶ νῦν*; while the title of "spiritual" ones is elsewhere given by the apostle to his converts (see Gal. vi. 1; Phil. iii. 15).

It is the claim of having received the gospel by revelation, and of being divinely commissioned and supernaturally quickened and guided in its teaching, that gives rise to the tone of confidence, and sometimes of command, which appears in the apostolic writings. Such a tone is especially to be distinguished in the Epistles of Paul: it is not wanting, however, in the earlier speeches of Peter (Acts ii. 14 ff. and x. 34 ff.). Frequently, unhesitatingly, and even passionately, does the great Apostle to the Gentiles aver his confidence in the absolute truth of the gospel which he teaches both in his speeches and in his writings. The divine origin and authority of its contents are such, that not he himself, nor even an apparition from heaven with its credible attestation of a new commission, is to be believed in contradiction of these contents (Gal. i. 8 f.). All the teachings of himself and of his helpers in the gospel (*ἡμεῖς*), as well as of the other chief apostles (*οἱ δοκῶντες σὺν ἡμῖν εἶναι*), and even of the highest created messenger of Jehovah, are to be tested, and rejected if not conformable to the truth of Christ, on an appeal to the enlightened Christian consciousness. That special form of the truth of Christ, which this apostle designates as "my gospel" (*εὐαγγέλιόν μου*, Rom. xvi. 25), or, by associating himself with others of the same view, as "our gospel" (*εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν*, 1 Thess. i. 5), is a divine truth which his converts can implicitly trust (2 Thess. ii. 13); in it they are to stand firm, whether they have learned its truth by oral preaching or by letter (2 Thess. ii. 15). Out of this central persuasion of the truth of the gospel come the tones of confidence with which Paul administers the affairs of the churches in the use of authority, as well as of advice, appeal, exhortation, and entreaty. We note, however, a descending scale in the tones of confidence as the matters treated of become less intimately related to the central truths of redemption.

And the above remark introduces us to the following important inquiry: To what contents of the New-Testament writings do the claims of the apostles, as already defined, either directly or indirectly apply?

In the New Testament we frequently find the gospel, as preached by the apostles, declared to be the word of God, and endowed, therefore, with absolute authority and life-giving power. As such it is able to save the soul (Jas. i. 21). The truth which Paul had brought to the Thessalonians they justly regarded as having the authority of a message from God (1 Thess. ii. 13). This figurative treatment of the oral gospel as a divine personal potency reminds us of the Old-Testament view of the word of Jehovah. The ascriptions of quality made to this "word of God" are a witness to the belief that the contents of the gospel, whether as spoken or written, are given by revelation through inspired media for the purposes of ethical and religious life and culture. It is only these claims for the word of God in the contents of the gospel as preached by the apostles, which can be transferred to the writings of the New Testament. As said Luther, "The Word is an eternal divine power. For, although the voice or speech vanishes, yet there remains the kernel, the understanding, the truth, thus compressed as it were into the voice."

This word of God which is taught on apostolic authority includes those doctrines, facts, and institutions which constitute integrant portions of the system of Christian truth,—the so-called contents of faith. These contents are, however, considered under different determining ideas by the four pillars of the early Christian Church, and of its sacred writings. The main subject of teaching by the Apostle John is the life in Jesus Christ; by Paul the same subject is conceived rather in its subjective and negative aspects as salvation (*σωτηρία*); while this salvation is looked upon by Peter as the goal of faith, and by James as an attainment of ethical deliverance. According to Schmid,¹ the essential elements of the common apostolic doctrine are the following: (1) The person of Jesus Christ as the Lord: (2) The salvation and life which he has established in opposition to the ruin of sin in the world; and more particularly under this head of doctrine, (a) the fulfilling of the old covenant which is contained in this salvation and life, (b) the participation in this salvation and life by faith in Jesus Christ,

¹ Theologie des Neuen Testaments, pp. 355 ff.

through a new birth from God, (c) the communion of believers in love, and (d) the perfecting of salvation by the completed revelation of Christ.

The further inquiry touching the extent of the New-Testament writings to which the claims of apostolic authority and inspiration may be applied, is a twofold inquiry. This inquiry has respect, in the first place, to the apostolic authorship of the writings, either at first hand, or through the influence of apostolic teaching and fellowship upon non-apostolic men. For only so far as these writings are of apostolic origin, either direct or indirect, can they claim to have the qualities which are the results of apostolic authority and inspiration. We simply note in this connection, then, the decisive importance of an historical and critical inquiry into the authorship of the separate books, and into the nature of the Canon, in its effect upon the claims of the New Testament to a place in Sacred Scripture. It may happen, however, that certain writings in Sacred Scripture will have to rest their claims to their position simply upon the basis of Christian inspiration, as distinguished from the special commission and preparation of the apostles.

The second part of the inquiry has reference, however, not to entire books as canonical or uncanonical, but to portions and subdivisions of single writings, or rather to certain kinds and distinctions of contents which belong to all the writings.

The marked correspondence which has already been shown between the promises made by Christ to the apostles, and the claims made by the apostles themselves, affords a hint as to the answer to the second inquiry. The claims of the apostles have reference to the same extent of contents to which the promise of the Redeemer — *τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἀληθειάν πᾶσαν* — also applies. The argument for our last statement lies, in part, in our past examination of the promises and of the corresponding apostolic claims. To this argument it is of no avail to object, that the inquirer cannot accurately or safely distinguish, in one body of Sacred Scriptures, between infallible contents given by inspiration and other contents not so given, or between contents of absolute truth and an imperfect form of conveying such contents. To all such objections the reply must ever remain, We are bidden and bound to make these distinctions by the very claims of the New Testament itself. To make them may, indeed, be no easy matter; as it is certainly not a matter to be rashly undertaken, or managed

wholly by an appeal to the vagaries of individual judgment. But certain distinctions are forced upon us by the phenomena of the New Testament, as well as embodied in its very claims. To use the words of a little book now nearly two centuries old, — but whose “vindication” of the inspiration and authority of the Bible is, on the whole, much more reasonable and convincing than that of many more pretentious subsequent works, — we may say with Lowth,¹ “Surely men may distinguish, if they please, the mysteries of faith and the rules of practice, from a cloke and parchments, or a journey to Corinth.” The general assertion may at once be ventured, that imperfections of memory, mistakes in fact, impression, or opinion, errors in judgment on matters of practical utility or as to the future of affairs, and even as to ethical and religious views, — so far as all these are not contents of that truth with reference to which the apostolic claims are made, — do not destroy, or essentially disturb, the apostolic claims.

In carrying into detail the distinctions just alluded to, three classes of contents of the New Testament writings have to be taken into account. There are, first, those fundamental facts and doctrines which are plainly taught in the writings as necessary elements of the truth of Christ. Of such facts and doctrines a brief summary has already been given: upon them we must lay the stress of emphasis in defining the doctrine of Christian Sacred Scripture, for upon them this Scripture itself lays all the stress of its own emphasis in asserting its own claims. There are, second, such alleged facts of historical, archæological, or scientific kind, and such opinions on subjects not distinctively ethical or religious, as obviously do not affect the verity of those facts and doctrines which belong to the first class. Such matters cannot, in any sense, fitly be said to belong to the contents of faith. And, third, there are the matters of fact, and the inferences and derived views of doctrine, which lie between the first two classes. The contents of the third class may thus be said to occupy middle ground; because, while we can by no means examine them with that comparative indifference to the decisions of criticism which belongs only to contents of the second class, neither can we attach to their trustworthiness the same importance which is due to the contents of the first class. As to the contents of

¹ *Vindication of the Divine Authority and Inspiration of the Old and New Testaments.* Reprint of London 1821.

the third class, both the verdict of criticism and the judgment of Christian consciousness may oftentimes be much in doubt.

In order to present more clearly the nature of the distinctions, in making which the contents of the New Testament divide themselves into these three classes, — viz., (1) the obviously indispensable, (2) the apparently unimportant, and (3) the important but not obviously indispensable, — the following characteristic differences must be observed: —

1. The three classes differ in their relations to the contents of Christian faith. The first class comprises the fundamental elements of the Christian faith. To receive them is to receive also the claims of the apostles to a commission for teaching them authoritatively by revelation of Christ and in inspiration of the Holy Spirit. To reject them is to reject the Christian system of faith. The second class comprises those contents of the New Testament into the verity of which the inquiry is one of criticism merely, and has no manifest bearing whatever on this system of Christian faith. The third class comprises those contents about the relations of which to the system of faith there may be reasonable debate among inquirers alike accepting this system; and concerning the adoption of which into the contents of faith there is needed inquiry, both critical and also loyal to the truth of Christ.

2. The three classes differ as to the amount of evidence at their command. The contents of the first class command all the evidences of Sacred Scripture as tested by critical inquiry and as approved by the Christian consciousness. The contents of the second class can at most only command such probable evidence, favorable or unfavorable, as belongs to an ordinary historical inquiry or judgment on matters of opinion. The contents of the third class have, in the minds of different investigators, alike critical and yet loyal to the truth of Christ, different estimates of the weight of their evidence, as well as different resulting conclusions respecting their credibility and authority.

3. The three classes differ in the importance of the conclusions which are reached respecting them. This statement follows directly from the two foregoing. It would, indeed, be less toilsome, and to some minds doubtless more satisfactory in laying the foundations of faith, if it were possible to apply to every word and syllable, or at least to every verse, chapter, and book, of the New Testament, with every statement of fact

and inferred opinion, the same inflexible rule of uncritical acceptance; or if we could ascribe to all parts the same undoubted credibility of divine origin and authority, and the same characteristics of utterance by the Holy Ghost. The facts, however, as well as the claims of the New-Testament writers, do not permit of this. The same Spirit who gave the New Testament to the Christian Church has made it necessary for the Church to make distinctions in its contents.

4. The three classes differ in regard to the nature of the claims actually put forth for them by the writers of the New Testament. For the contents of the first class, the claims to divine origin, authority, and inspired utterance, are high, express, and unequivocal. For the contents of the second class, there is no appearance of any similar claims. For the contents of the third class, there is either no appearance of any similar claims, or else a statement or suggestion of modified and lower claims.

We examine, then, in the light of the necessary distinctions, certain contents of the New Testament belonging to the second and third of these classes, together with the expressed or implied claims which accompany them. The lofty and indubitable claims made for the contents of the first class have already been examined, as well as the extent of such contents somewhat loosely defined.

Different portions, although by no means relatively considerable, of the New-Testament writings plainly belong to the second class of contents. The salutations of Paul display, indeed, his Christian brotherly love. His directions as to the details of his own temporal affairs (2 Tim. iv. 13; Philem. 22), his friendly directions as to the affairs of others (1 Tim. v. 23), his arrangements for friendly intercourse in the work of the gospel (Eph. vi. 21 f.; Tit. iii. 12), are interesting and helpful as revealing the manhood of an inspired apostle; but to speak of such portions of Scripture as results of revelation or inspiration, is to foist on them a claim which is entirely foreign to them. Minor alleged mistakes of memory and information in details of history, such as are found in the speech of Stephen, and frequently in the Synoptic Gospels, have no relation to the claims of apostolic inspiration. Nor are such claims affected by the recorded errors in judgment regarding his own future made by St. Paul. If he promises (Rom. xv. 24) to visit Rome by the way in an expected journey to Spain,

or records (1 Cor. xvi. 7 and 2 Cor. i. 16) his purpose to pass through Corinth either when going to or returning from Macedonia, or both, and then changes the purpose, or is prevented from its accomplishment; the record of these intentions is no more to be pronounced inspired than the fact of their change interpreted to the prejudice of the author's inspiration — unless, indeed, he is guilty of that immoral levity the charge of which he distinctly denies (2 Cor. i.). Neither the original nor the altered plan is, to be sure, formed by an inspired apostle with that disregard of divine guidance which belongs to the carnal heart (*κατὰ σάρκα*, 2 Cor. i. 17); but the announcement of neither is, provided he be cleared of moral faultiness in making it, a matter for special divine control. Nor is it the sphere for the inworking of the Divine Spirit always to reveal to an apostle the exact truth as to his own future, not even when his impressions are to be recorded in Sacred Scripture. Thus Paul announces (Acts xx. 25) his probably mistaken confidence that none of his converts would see his face again. He announces elsewhere other undoubting convictions which were destined to turn out erroneous. He records also the changes of his mind from expectation to despair of deliverance out of the Roman prison. Apostolic conjecture as to individual destiny, even when recorded in Sacred Scripture, may manifest the same dependence upon human freedom for its confirmation or disappointment which was left to many of the predictions of the Old Testament. The companions of Paul did not regard the prediction of one acknowledged by themselves as a prophet, even when made with a "Thus saith the Holy Ghost," as debarring them from the right of taking measures to prevent the fulfilment of this very prediction. (See Acts xxi. 10 ff.)

The remarkable, but perfectly human, vacillations of memory which the apostle not only experiences, but also records in Sacred Scripture (1 Cor. i. 14 ff.), do not prejudice his claims to inspiration. Thus he recollects, first, that he baptized at Corinth only Crispus and Gaius; then, perhaps reminded by Stephanas at his elbow, recollects also the household of Stephanas; and finally, lest he might be mistaken in even this corrected restriction, declares that he does not remember whether he did not baptize others also. The contents of memory and of Sacred Scripture alike lie, in this case, outside of the claims of inspiration. The slip of memory by which he writes (1 Cor. x. 8) the number 23,000 for 24,000 is scarcely to be ascribed to in-

spiration. Surely the mind of an apostle might waver upon such matters without being supernaturally aided, and also without prejudicing its divine enlightenment upon all matters included in the promise of Christ.

Contents of the second class are found abundantly in the minor historical discrepancies of the Synoptic Gospels. The extent of such contents is, however, relatively much more restricted in the New Testament than the Old. The writings of apostolic origin, direct and indirect, are quite strictly confined to dealing with the contents of faith. The extent of contents covered by the claims of apostolic inspiration in the New Testament is, then, relatively much greater than that covered by the claims of prophetic inspiration in the Old.

Of the application of the apostolic claims to the third class of contents in the New-Testament writings, it is often difficult to speak with confidence. On the line between the second and third classes we may consider as situated such passages as 2 Cor. xi. Of the contents of this passage the author himself declares: "What I am saying, I am saying not after the mind of the Lord, but as it were in folly (verses 17, 21), and even speaking as one out of his senses (23), and after the manner of the flesh (18)." We most gratefully receive the biographical notices of this noble servant of Christ thus providentially preserved; we sympathize most heartily with his attempt to vindicate the dignity and efficiency of his labors in the gospel, and admire the splendid record of services here made. But we can scarcely contradict his own distinct disclaimer of the quality of theopneusty, in the stricter sense, for these words. Gladly would we bear with our admirable apostle, were his boastings more lofty and lengthy, since they are well-founded and well-meant, and since Providence has borne with them in Sacred Scripture. But what profit is it to them, or to our doctrine, to deny the very clear distinction, as to origin and authority, between such writings and the written declaration of God's condescension in Christ? For, although we heartily accept the testimony of the apostle, that he is on this occasion, as habitually elsewhere, speaking like one who has the truth of Christ in him (verse 10), and can therefore use no unchristian guile; and although we understand his statement, that he is here indulging the impulses of that part of human nature which is sensuous, psychically limited, and opposed to the Divine Spirit (verse 18), as only ironically concessive: nevertheless we can-

not fail to admit on his own testimony the radical difference, as related to apostolic inspiration, between the contents of this passage and the contents of the Christian faith. For that which he utters "not after the Lord," but "after the flesh" (*οὐ κατὰ κύριον* and *κατὰ τὴν σάρκα*), we cannot claim the guaranty of the promises of Christ. Nor can we regard it as a matter of revelation and inspiration, in the same sense in which these words apply to the subject of those promises. Paul writes these words in a kind of divinely permitted concession to the lowliness of his hearers' views; but he disclaims for them the high theopneustic character that belonged to the words in which he was wont to present the truth of Christ.

Essentially similar, and so coming under the same class, yet with distinguishing differences, are the contents of 1 Cor. vii. In determining the relations of the sexes as to married life for the early churches in general, and especially for the church in Corinth, Paul recognizes the fact, that, although his judgment is entitled to acceptance as the judgment of an inspired apostle, he cannot claim for it the same assurance which is to be claimed for the express teaching of the Redeemer. The distinction here called for is not that between the words of an apostle when inspired, and the words of the same apostle when not inspired: it is rather a distinction between those contents of truth which are indubitably taught by Jesus, and committed for subsequent teaching to inspired apostles, and those other contents of truth which are mixed with possible error, since they came by remoter inferences from the truth of Christ, and were given in the trustworthy yet fallible judgments of the apostles. This distinction involves a difference between the two classes of contents: (1) as to the source of their declaration: (2) as to the manner of making the declaration; and (3) as to the relation of the declaration to the contents of faith. (1) Certain judgments of the Lord upon the marriage relation have been delivered to the Church; these constitute the infallible and permanent contents of truth in the cases involved. Certain other judgments are given as coming from Paul himself, though from him as one who has obtained mercy by the Lord to be faithful (verse 25), and who justly supposes that he, as well as others, has the Spirit of God to direct and enlighten his judgment (40). The source of judgment in the one case is his own inspired but not infallible "subjectivity:" the source in the other case is the infallible objective word of Christ

(Meyer). On the basis of this word, as it is found recorded (Matt. v. 31 f., and xix. 3-9), the command of the Lord to the Corinthians is contrasted with the judgment for them of the Apostle Paul (vii. 12, 25). (2) The truth, from its source in the word of the Lord, is the subject of express commandment: disobedience to this is disloyalty to Christ. The supposed truth coming from the inspired judgment of the apostle is a matter of concession, recommendation, or even of command on apostolic authority. Therefore the manner of declaring the word of the Lord differs from the manner of announcing the judgment of the inspired apostle.¹

(3) The differences of source and manner in the two declarations of doctrine indicate the difference of relation to the contents of faith. What the Lord has taught, whether as knowledge of the mysteries of salvation, or as ethical principles for the control of the practical life, belongs to the necessary contents of faith; it cannot be doubted or abrogated. For the denial of the objective word of Christ upon the truths of redemption and the redeemed life, in any portion or application of it, involves an unchristian attitude toward the Lord himself. Inspired apostles, when teaching the truths which they receive from the words of the Lord, and which are disclosed within them by revelation of the Holy Ghost, and taught by them under the special divine impetus and afflatus, speak and write as the Lord himself. But when giving judgment and making inferences, they, although not without inspiration, do not have the same claim to certainty and infallibility for the contents of their teaching as when declaring the truth of Christ.

We do not, then, impair the apostolic claims to inspiration, or remove any thing from the basis of Sacred Scripture, when we discover that these judgments of Paul in 1 Cor. vii. bear unmistakable signs of being, in several respects, of a purely human kind. We distinguish, then, in this one passage: (a) certain unequivocal declarations of the mind of Christ once delivered for the perpetual guidance of the Church; (b) certain wise teachings of an inspired apostle, the acceptance of which was ethically best for those to whom he wrote; and (c) certain erroneous opinions, the rejection of the practical application of which was best for the same persons. Among these last may we class the opinions and preferences expressed in verses 1, 7,

¹ See verses 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, — where, with *ἐν τῷ ᾧ*, the apostle argues his judgment, and also with the question of verse 16, — 25, 35, 38, 40.

8, 26, 38, 40; opinions and preferences into which the apostle was led by his erroneous impression as to the nearness of the Second Coming, but which he was divinely prevented from laying upon the Church in the burdensome form of express apostolic commands.

And, as to apostolic doctrine touching the *parousia* in general, we have to distinguish between contents of the first class and contents of the class now under discussion. We have to distinguish between the truth of the doctrine of the *parousia*, as Jesus committed it to them for their teaching, and those erroneous impressions as to its time, which somewhat colored their conceptions and instructions with respect to the form of the doctrine. It is to be noted, however, that there is a very wide difference, in the effect upon claims to divine authority, between teaching a false view as a matter of express doctrine, and teaching the true doctrine in a manner colored by an erroneous view. This difference is one which has to be admitted in the interpretation of the predictive parts of Old-Testament prophecy: it cannot be altogether dismissed when considering the predictive parts of the New Testament.

To the third class of contents belong also the apparent misconceptions as to the primary and historic meaning of passages quoted from the Hebrew Scriptures by the writers of the New Testament; and as well, the alleged rabbinical uses of these Scriptures. The ethical and religious elements of truth, contained in the ancient writings, are discerned by the apostles through the work of that same Holy Spirit by whom such elements were originally given to the prophets. They belong to the first class of contents, — the class to which the apostolic claims most fully apply. But many questions of Old-Testament hermeneutics and criticism may doubtless be raised to the prejudice of the implied apostolic views upon such questions. The inspiration given to the apostles furnishes them with no claim to the title of infallible interpreters and critics, it does not promise an unfailling intuition of the facts upon all the grammatical, historic, geographical, and archæological inquiries, involved in scientific interpretation. Their views upon critical inquiries, so long as their doctrine remains accordant with the great central facts and truths of the gospel, can constitute at most only contents of Sacred Scripture belonging to the third class. It cannot be denied, however, that the work of separating those truths which the inspired intuition of the apostles

discerned in the Old Testament from the erroneous views which they had upon matters of criticism, often cuts very deep. The apostles did not pay the same regard to limits in interpretation, to accuracy of definition and care in research, which are demanded of us. This fact is due to their historical position and to the nature of their work. It does not, however, invalidate, it rather magnifies, the significance of their claims to divine insight into the substantial truth of the Hebrew Scriptures, in its witness to, and connections with, the truth of the gospel. Their fallible impressions as to critical questions are matters of human inheritance: their insight into the one great truth, with its varied forms of manifestation, is a matter of divine gift. They claim the divine gift: we cannot altogether disclaim the fallibility of the impressions.

The inquiry into the extent of the New Testament which is covered by the apostolic claims to revelation and inspiration leads us, then, to distinguish several classes of contents. To two of these classes the claims apply, either with entire and strictest cogency, or only with secondary and derived force. To that class, however, whose relations to the contents of Christian faith are most remote, we can discover no intention at all that these claims should apply.

To further objections against the foregoing distinctions we may propose this inquiry: When we are providentially compelled in our use of all Sacred Scripture, and in our estimate of its nature, to make so many other distinctions, why not make these also? If we distinguish, by acts of judgment and means of research, between canonical and uncanonical books, between genuine and spurious texts, between true and false interpretations and applications, why may we not distinguish between essential contents of faith and contents only remotely connected with the system of faith, or between elements of absolute divine truth and other elements of human weakness and error?

Besides the claims which the New-Testament writers make as to contents of truth, certain other claims must be examined which apply more directly to the form of uttering these contents.

The use of the words *דבר* and *ῥήμα*, and of the other cognate words and terms in the Old Testament and in the New, forms in itself no sure basis for any theory of verbal inspiration, *suggestio verborum*, or even divine guidance in verbal forms. These

words and terms in Scripture have that concrete significance which requires that the attributes ascribed to them should be understood as belonging to the contents of truth which they hold. Of this statement we have already had sufficient proof, especially in the chapter on Prophetism. But the remarkable phenomena of the language of Sacred Scripture, as well as certain special claims made by the writers of the New Testament, require further recognition. The phenomena of language will be examined in their place. The claims of the apostolic writers to a certain inspiration in the expression of truth are not numerous, but they are decisive.

In a measure at least — so we are informed — the *words* of apostolic teaching, as well as the truth they convey, are inspired. Not only is the reception of the contents of Christian truth, the σοφία and γνῶσις of the gospel, declared (1 Cor. xii. 8) to be the subject of inspiration, but also the utterance of this truth, the λόγος σοφίας and the λόγος γνώσεως. All these charisms, however, are represented as distributed to the community of believers. In this very passage, inspired speech in declaring the contents of the gospel, even in its highest-known degrees, is attributed to the community of believers. Such verbal inspiration is the charism of skill in choosing the forms of utterance in which to present the truth of Christ. It belonged to Stephen, Apollos, and many others besides the apostles; yet it belonged in unusual degree to the apostles as a part of their necessary endowment for their special work.

As containing a definite claim to divine inspiration for the forms of speech in which the contents of truth taught by the apostles were uttered, 1 Cor. ii. is the *locus classicus*: to such an extent, indeed, is this true, that the passage has been made almost the sole basis for a distinctive theory of inspiration.¹ In this passage Paul, according to his custom, bases his claim to authority for the apostolic teaching upon the fact that its contents of truth have been revealed within the apostles by the Holy Spirit (verse 12). The apostles have within them “the intent and disposition of Christ” (Alford); or rather, they are possessors of the intelligence of Christ, whose immanency is such that “their νοῦς is no different spiritual faculty from the νοῦς Χριστοῦ” (Meyer). Such knowledge it is not possible to receive through the avenues of the senses (verse 9); nor can it

¹ See Atwell's *Pauline Theory of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture*, London, 1878.

be possessed at all by the man who is governed by senses, appetites, and sensuous desires. Indeed, no uninspired man can have this knowledge (verse 14), since both its source and its object are in the recesses of the being of God, who reveals it only to the "spiritual" (πνευματικοί) by his Holy Spirit (verse 10). Among such "spiritual" ones does the Apostle Paul reckon himself to be numbered. This knowledge, thus derived by revelation, has its appropriate forms of speech, which are both negatively and positively designated. Negatively designated, they are in contrast with the excessive show of rhetoric and logic with which the teachers of human philosophy persuade their pupils to their views (verses 1, 4). Positively designated, they are marked by that pre-eminent adaptation of the forms of speech to the contents of knowledge, which Paul and the other apostles were wont to exhibit (ii. 13). Spiritual forms of speech were fitted by these speakers and writers to spiritual contents of truth. Nor were those simple and unpretentious forms of speech in which the apostles presented to their hearers the riches of divine grace in Christ, themselves a rhetorical invention of the speakers. The speakers were taught to use such forms of speech by the same Holy Spirit who revealed to them the contents of truth (verse 13). This claim of inspiration, in adapting the language to the contents of truth, corresponds not only to the first impression made upon us by reading the apostolic speeches and epistles, but also to the deeper and more intelligent conviction which is reached through critical investigation of the verbal characteristics of the New Testament.

The above claim is not, however, the claim to a divine and infallible *suggestio verborum* which covers the entire contents of the New Testament. In general, the apostles seem to have laid no stress upon the precise words of either their oral or written teaching. The phenomena of their language, as well as their free handling of the language of the Old Testament, prove our statement true. From such a theory of verbal inspiration, moreover, we are excluded by those limitations of the claim which are implied in this very passage. For, first of all, the claim is one which may be made by any Christian who has attained a certain rank (that of a πνευματικός) in the things of Christ. All such believers speak a substantially similar language, in which the spiritual forms of utterance are adapted to the spiritual truths uttered. Moreover, this claim is here

limited to the subject in hand, which is designated as the mysteries of the blessings of Messiah's kingdom. The speakers are also represented as really using such spiritual forms of speech as their own; though in respect to the differences which separate them from the embellishments of rhetorical artifice, and so make them worthy of the name spiritual, such forms of speech are also of divine origin. This ascription of divine origin to the spiritual language of the New Testament does not exclude the historic processes which have formed this language: it rather includes them. Nor does it exclude the personal preparation of their speech which the apostles made by reflection, nor their personal peculiarities in the use of this divinely taught form of utterance.¹

Especially must we insist upon the truth that the inspired characteristics of apostolic forms of speech are primarily ethical characteristics, they are those characteristics by virtue of which the speech is called spiritual. The claim of inspiration in expression has, then, no relation whatever to other portions of New-Testament writings than those the contents of which are distinctively spiritual. In accordance with this view we find Paul (Eph. vi. 19) asking prayer that the morally right kind of utterance might be divinely bestowed upon him for fitly making known the mysteries of the gospel.

As in the case of the Old Testament, so in that of the New, we find little said by the authors as to the characteristics of their work in writing. With the Hebrew prophet, the immediate proclamation of his message from Jehovah was most absorbing; with the apostles, the oral preaching of the gospel. Yet the inference by which we pass from the claims of the apostolic preaching to those of apostolic writing is immediate and complete. The inference by which we pass from apostolic claims, or from claims common to Christians in general, to writings adjudged sacred by the Church, as bearing the marks of apostolic influence, or as being otherwise the results of Christian as distinguished from apostolic inspiration, is more indirect and incomplete. By such inferences, however, are we, for the most part, compelled to transfer these recorded claims of the apostles to the writings of the New Testament.

The different claims of the apostles apply to all that written instruction in the truth of Christ, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, which comes from

¹ These elements are, indeed, confessed in the use of the word *ἐκστασις*. (See Meyer's comment on the passage.)

the apostles at first hand. They are also indirectly applicable to every other similar writing which has the impress of apostolic influence, and according to the manifest degree of that influence. So much of these claims as belongs to the Christian community in general may be applied to still other writings of the New Testament.

We find, accordingly, certain expressions of confidence in the divine origin and authority of apostolic teaching that have reference directly to the writings in which the expressions occur. The form of address in the Epistles sometimes expresses this confidence. Paul writes as he preached; he writes, that is, as a called apostle of Jesus Christ who has a special commission with respect to the gospel (Rom. i. 1; 1 Tim. i. 1). Nor is the claim which is involved in the written title abated by his associating others with him in his formula of address (2 Cor. i. 1; Gal. i. 2; 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1). The writer of 1 Pet. i. 1 also designates himself an apostle in the heading of the Epistle, and thus shows his design to stamp its contents with apostolic authority. Certain asseverations of divinely imparted veracity in declaring the truth of Christ apply especially to that truth as declared in apostolic writings. The assertion of Paul (Rom. ix. 1) that he speaks the truth in Christ, and with a spiritually enlightened conscience, applies, indeed, only to the following declaration of his self-sacrificing interest in the welfare of his nation: it is an example, however, of his entire ethical attitude toward all matters of similar concern. In the same Epistle (xv. 15 f.) he ascribes to his divinely bestowed apostolic office the boldness with which he had written portions of it. Elsewhere (1 Cor. xiv. 37 f.) he claims for the contents of practical truth which he has just written to his converts the lofty title of a commandment of the Lord. Upon these written words of his, Paul "here stamps the seal of *apostolic* authority, and upon this seal *Christ* must stand" (Meyer). The Christian ethical rules which he lays down in his First Epistle to the Thessalonians, he declares (iv. 2-8) are not to be practically rejected; since the source of their contents is God, who has the right to command the law of duty, and who has given his Holy Spirit for the keeping of the same law. Another injunction in an Epistle (2 Thess. iii. 14) he enforces by bidding the church to withdraw their fellowship from those who disobeyed it.

From the nature of the case, the writings of the New Testament, unlike those of the Old, find no recognition in the Bible

itself as Sacred Scripture, by the application to them of this title in its technical signification. The term *αι γραφαί* in 2 Pet. iii. 16 presumably includes certain writings of the New Testament which are here, by the very designation, placed in a certain sense upon a par with the sacred Hebrew writings.¹ They thus receive recognition as sources of religious doctrine; and this recognition forms a kind of anticipatory pledge of the fuller recognition given them in the formation of the Canon of the New Testament. The writer of this passage, moreover, definitely refers to certain epistles written, according to the wisdom given to him, by "our beloved brother Paul," and co-ordinates them with the rest of the Scriptures. But we cannot answer the questions: To what epistles of Paul is reference here made? and, How many and what other writings of the New Testament were then extant, or beginning to be received as authoritative Scripture? Nor does 1 Tim. v. 18, where the customary phrase *η γραφή λέγει* is followed by two quotations, — one from Deut. xxv. 4, and the other apparently from Luke x. 7, — recognize as Scripture the Third Gospel. To a citation from Scripture the apostle simply adds the quotation of a proverb, which was used by Jesus himself because it expressed the same thought as the citation.

The nature of that revelation and inspiration which belonged to the apostolic office, and also the nature of that inference by which we pass from apostolic claims to writings only derived from apostles at second-hand, are illustrated by Acts xv. 23 ff. (compare xxi. 25 f.). No apostolic ordinance could have been more binding for a time than the epistle sent forth from the so-called Council of Jerusalem. It was, perhaps, composed by James, as the occurrence of the word *χαίρειν* in its superscription has been taken to indicate. Its contents are declared to be injunctions which seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to the apostles. Yet they are given in epitome as a matter rather of historical information, and not in a form to convey to their record the claims which belong only to the injunctions themselves.

The Synoptic Gospels, those wonderful pictures of the person

¹ The reference of *αι γραφαί* in this passage to the Hebrew Scriptures alone cannot be maintained. The adjective *λοιπαι* co-ordinates the writings of Paul with other writings more closely resembling his than would be the case, in the mind of the author of Second Peter, with the Scriptures of the law and the prophets. Such a co-ordinating of the work of living men with the canonical books of the Old Testament would require a more definite expression of their common category. (See the comment of Huther in Meyer's *Handbuch*, *in loco*.)

and life of Jesus, upon which rests so largely the system of Christian faith, make no direct claims to a place in Sacred Scripture; nor do they exhibit the tokens of any consciousness of inspiration in their authors. Their most cogent claim to the title of Sacred Scripture comes from the nature of their contents, which are fragments of the apostolic teaching concerning Jesus as Messiah and Saviour; their claim to inspiration on the part of their authors comes from the manner in which these contents are set forth. The prologue of Luke discloses, in part, the author's method of composition and his general relations to his material. He recognizes two sources of this material, the one of primary and the other of secondary authority (viz., those who are the subject of the verb *παρέδωκαν*, and the *πολλοί*); and he proposes to himself to improve upon the preceding accounts in respect to completeness (*πᾶσιν*), accuracy (*ἀκριβῶς*), and arrangement (*καθεξῆς*).¹ He has apparently no consciousness of any special divine guidance in his purpose to write the Gospel, and no expectation of inspiration in the execution of his purpose.² None the less may the very purpose of the Evangelist to write his complete, accurate, and orderly Gospel, be considered as a gift from God. And the absence of the prophetic or apostolic consciousness of receiving the Spirit may make the execution of his work in historical composition all the more trustworthy, since the place of such conscious inspiration is taken by the conviction that the success of his enterprise will depend largely upon his own efforts.

At the close of the Fourth Gospel (xx. 30, 31) the author gives us important and direct information respecting the nature of his literary work. His words imply that in his composition he had made a selection of certain portions from a large amount of available material, and that this selection had been made upon the ground of a given principle which was distinctly present to his self-consciousness. His testimony as to the large number of acts and sayings of Jesus extant at that time, accords with the contents of the other Gospels, and with the other indications of history. Of those deeds of Christ which were pre-eminently signs (miraculous tokens by which God produces confidence and authority for his messengers), and

¹ See an article by the author in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. xxvi. p. 212 f.; and Holtzmann, *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, Leipzig 1863, pp. 206 f., and 246 f.

² The use of the words *ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς*, as Meyer says, "schliesst an sich die Inspiration weder aus noch ein;" but the *et Spiritui Sancto* of some late MSS. renders the following clause an absurdity (Alford).

which were known to him on account of his apostolic connection with the Redeemer, he had chosen only a part. Of his own preparation from the Divine Spirit for this work of selection, the writer, as becomes one having a calm confidence in his apostolic calling and dignity, makes no mention; but we may indubitably assume that such preparation was given him in accordance with the promise of his Lord. Moreover, the final purpose of this portion of Sacred Scripture, as we are informed by the writer, was constantly and self-consciously before him in the work of composition. That purpose was to produce the faith that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and to impart the salvation which consists of life in his name. In this respect also, the writer is placed in self-conscious accord with the promises of Christ; in accord also with that view of Sacred Scripture which lays the emphasis upon its ethical qualities, and which makes its inspiration consist primarily in fitting the soul of the author to apprehend truly, and comprehend firmly and broadly, the moral and religious contents of revelation.

Thus are we led by the statement of an apostle back to the position from which we began our examination of the claims of the Bible. The doctrine of Sacred Scripture, so far as determined by the tenable claims of the writings themselves, begins and ends with the person and word of Jesus Christ. His word authenticates, his promises aver, his Spirit produces, the reality of those revelations of divine truth and of that presence of the divine afflatus in human souls upon which this doctrine must rely for its support. Nor are we shaken from this position by the unique claims of the writer of the Apocalypse, who, in a composition reminding us strongly of Ezekiel and Daniel, declares that he received the contents of his prophetic vision at the fourth remove, so to speak, from their original divine source. The things of the near future which he discloses, God gave as a revelation to Jesus Christ, who signified them by sending through his angel to his servant (Rev. i. 1); the witness of the writer, is, therefore, of the word of God and of the testimony of Jesus Christ.

We are now in position, as the result of critical and exegetical research, to draw certain conclusions regarding the nature of Sacred Scripture as a whole, so far as its nature can be determined by the claims, either direct or indirect, which are

found within the Bible itself. The claims which belong more particularly to the different portions of Sacred Scripture, or to the different divisions under which we have conducted the general examination, have already been indicated in sufficient detail.

1. *The loftiest and most convincing claim* which the writings of the Bible make to the title of "*the Sacred Scriptures*" (*αἱ γραφαὶ κατ' ἑξοχὴν*) arises from the relation in which they place themselves to the *person and work of Christ*. While, on the one hand, his infallible word authenticates the divine origin and permanent authority of the Old Testament, and his unfailing promises lay the basis for ascribing a like origin and authority to the New Testament; on the other hand, both the Old Testament and the New authenticate his word, declarative and prophetic, as the very truth of the very Son of God. The book witnesses to the person; the person sanctifies the book.

It is this same correlation between a book and a person which constitutes both the organic unity of the Bible and the completeness of that view of Christ which is given to the Church through the Bible. It is also this correlation which, more than any thing else, both embodies and evinces the divine origin and authority of the Sacred Scriptures, so far as they are, either in law, type, prophecy, history, or express doctrine, a witness to Jesus as the Christ. But by no means all Scripture puts forth or possesses, in equal degree, this pre-eminent proof of its valid claim to the appropriate titles (*ἅγιος, ἱερός, and θεόπνευστος*). The proof which the Old Testament in general exhibits differs widely from that exhibited in the New. The Messianic truth of the Old Testament is found there as the higher developments of every organism are, so to speak, contained in its lower stages. Between the two Testaments there is, with respect to the truth of Christ, an identity of absolute contents and an analogy of form; so that the form of the Old Testament covers these absolute contents, while it is also typical of the form in which, in the New Testament, the absolute contents are uncovered or revealed. Considerable portions of the Old Testament, however, neither put forth, nor, so far as we have any evidence in the Bible, possess, any claim whatever to belong to this body of Messianic truth. Such portions can never attain, then, to that position, as respects the doctrine of their origin and authority, which belongs only to this body of truth. Certain relatively small portions of the New Testament stand only in remote and

uncertain connections with the truth of Christ; the closeness of the connection of each portion with this truth (*κατ' ἐξοχήν*) cannot fail to influence our view of its origin and authority. The chief witness of the Bible to its own divine origin and authority is its own witness to the Redeemer; the witness of the Redeemer to the divine origin and authority of the Bible is given to the Bible, in so far as it is a faithful witness to himself.

2. *The same origin, authority, and value cannot be ascribed, on the basis of its own claims, to all portions of the Bible alike.* The distinctively Messianic contents, whether given in the form of an ethical and religious preparation for Messiah, or of prophetic truth which announces beforehand the things of his kingdom, or of apostolic teaching which proclaims and administers the gospel of his kingdom, put forth certain claims that distinguish them from the remaining contents. This distinction applies to the origin, the authority, and the value of different portions of the one body of Sacred Scripture. Of certain contents of truth scripturally fixed in the Bible, the origin by revelation from God through selected and specially inspired messengers can be maintained upon the ground of the claims of its writers and teachers, including Christ himself. Of certain other contents we can only say, that they are the product of such human reflection and research as have received, in greater or less degree, the divine illumining through the truths and ideas current at the time of their expression. Of certain others still, we can say that they make and evince no claim to being in any degree truths of revelation and inspiration, properly so called. These various contents have necessarily, therefore, different degrees of authority and value. And to assert for the whole body of Sacred Scripture the same derivation by revelation and inspiration, or the same formative authority and constructive value, is to advance claims contrary to the whole tenor of Scripture itself.

3. *The one claim to the title "Sacred Scripture," which is most generally applicable to the writings of the Bible, is, so far as appears from the views of its own teachers and authors, the claim that arises from the nature of their contents.* The highest form of this claim is, as we have already remarked, that which is made for those portions of Scripture which hold contents of Messianic truth. But we may also say that the Bible throughout claims to hold, scripturally fixed, the contents of divine

revelation made to the community of believers on the basis of a divine covenant with them. The central part of the law received through Moses is the revelation of that covenant which institutes the long course of divine pedagogy for the nation, in the divine effort to make them holy even as God is holy. The prophets reveal the further conditions of this covenant, enforce it by threats and promises, and predict the establishment of a new form of the compact of Jehovah with his people. The apostles and Christ himself bring the final divine revelation to the community of believers; the apostles, since they present and unfold the truth of Him who is the complete revelation and final word of God to men. Because the writings of the Old and New Testaments contain these successive self-revelations of God, which all culminate in Christ, and in him form one organic and complete history of divine self-disclosure, and one living and abiding work upon humanity of God as the Redeemer, therefore they are themselves sacred, holy, and divine. The truths of revelation which constitute one organic body of revealed truth sanctify the vessel that contains them.

4. *The scriptural doctrine of Sacred Scripture depends, therefore, upon the scriptural view of the nature of revelation.* More precisely what this view is, we shall inquire hereafter. We note now, however, the fact that with the writers and teachers of the Bible the primary consideration concerns the nature of divine revelation; the secondary question, almost entirely, however, lost out of sight, concerns the nature of the record of revelation. The scriptural claims concerning divine revelation and inspiration have to do in the first place, therefore, with the substance of truth received, and with the souls who receive this truth. The manner of utterance is of importance only in the second place. These claims, then, only require us to accept the contents of the Bible to which they apply, as revelations of divine truth which came through inspired souls. The form of preserving the truth, when once scripturally fixed, and even the mental condition, whether inspired or uninspired, of the person in whose hands the truth thus becomes fixed, are subjects upon which critical and other researches must furnish the decision. The most important fact is this, — that the contents of revelation are secured in the writings of the Old and New Testaments.

5. *The contents of revelation are not, however, confined to any one age, portion, set of authors, or manner of composition, of*

Sacred Scripture. For the one organic revelation is both necessarily, and as a matter of fact, presented in various forms and different stages of divine self-disclosure. Not only prophecy and apostolic doctrine, but also law, history, poetry, and proverb, enter into and partake of this revelation: and to the extent and degree in which each scripture shares in the substantial truth of the one revelation, does it also share in the claim to the sacred origin and authority which belong primarily to the revelation itself.

6. *The primary subject of the one revelation* which is contained in the Sacred Scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testaments, *is the community of believing souls.* The self-disclosures of Jehovah are to the people Israel through Moses and the prophets. The removing of the veil so that the gospel shall be apprehended truly, and comprehended widely, is a divine work that comes upon all who will believe in Christ. The apostles, however, as having been chosen by Jesus to be eye-and-ear-witnesses, and as having been promised and given a pre-eminent fulness of revelation, are constituted special organs by which the community of believers enjoys a knowledge of the truth and will of God. Yet the ability and the obligation to test the alleged truths of revelation, by whomsoever brought to them, are never taken away from the community of believers. They form the basis for a true doctrine of Sacred Scripture as canonical scripture; they also give the right to regard the formation of the Canons of the Old and New Testaments as, in some sort, a revelation of divine truth concerning those selections of sacred writings which it is the divine will to preserve for the use of the Church. Indeed, certain considerable portions of the Bible present, as their first, and, we may say in some instances, as their only claim, to the title "Sacred Scripture," the bare fact that the Church has considered them such. If Moses and the prophets and the apostles are divinely appointed teachers of revealed truth, which is scripturally fixed in the Bible, for the community of believers; then the community of believers itself has been, and in some sort must ever remain, the judge of Moses, of prophets, and of apostles.

7. For, moreover, *the primary subject of inspiration*, of the divine gift of ethical and spiritual insight and foresight, *is also the community of believing souls.* Under the old covenant, the gift of the Spirit of Jehovah is to the nation Israel; under the new, to the Church of Christ. Only one form of inspiration is

claimed as a basis for the inspired scriptures of the Old Testament, viz., prophetic inspiration; only one as a basis for those of the new, viz., apostolic inspiration. Both of these, however, are in and of the religious community. Apostolic inspiration is Christian inspiration, founded upon the basis of personal communion with Jesus during his life and after his resurrection, and raised to pre-eminent loftiness by the abundance and excellence of the same spiritual charisms in which the whole community shares. These two forms of inspiration have certain points of difference; certain points also of resemblance, since the apostles are classed among the prophets. Indeed, the word "prophetic"—in its widest significance, as designating one who has communion with God, and receives special disclosures of divine truth through a moral consciousness clarified, elevated, and quickened by the Divine Spirit, and for the purpose of communication to others—may be used to describe the inspiration of all of the inspired teachers and writers of the Bible.

But as to any special form of inspiration, given to the authors of the Bible as writers of Sacred Scripture, and given *ad scribendum* or *in scribendo*, the Bible itself has not in all its circuit of truth a single word to say. Such inspiration none of its writers claim for themselves or for each other; of such inspiration they make no mention at all. And just as little do they tell us of any "verbal" or "infallible" inspiration of the writer of Sacred Scripture, in the strict and technical meaning of those terms. Indeed, the writer of Sacred Scripture is very rarely brought to our attention by the Bible itself; and we have no basis laid by its claims for any one theory (which shall be applicable alike to all the contents) of the mental and moral condition of its authors when in the act of writing. Nor are claims brought forward which of themselves serve to cover any considerable portion of its contents, or which prove them to have been regarded by the Bible itself as writings composed by men inspired *ad scribendum* or *in scribendo*. The portions to which the inferred claim of being inspired Scripture (in the technical sense of the word "inspired") particularly applies have already been pointed out.

9. *The doctrine of Sacred Scripture, in its completeness and unity, cannot be derived solely from the claims of the Bible itself.* According to these claims we can only infer so much of unity for the various writings of the Bible as shall prepare us to consider

the further claims which are put forth in the formation and acceptance of the completed Canon of Scripture. The inferences which make it proper for us to ascribe to the Bible as a whole any of those claims which, as they are presented in its various writings, apply only to certain portions of the Bible, are chiefly these four: the inference from the use of ἡ γραφή for the entire Old Testament; the inference from the word of Christ, which, as being both retrospective and prospective, binds together both the Old and the New Testaments; the inference which comes from the apostolic use of the Old Testament in the writings of the New; and the inference from the unity of substantial truth inherent in the contents. Such inferences, however, do not suffice to authenticate the applicability of any of the claims to the entire body of Sacred Scriptures, much less to all portions of that body alike. We find, then, on the basis of its own claims, that the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments consist of a group of writings, of various origin and of different degrees of authority and value; which, however, when taken together, give us, scripturally fixed, the contents of divine revealed truth regarding God as a Redeemer of men through Jesus Christ.

10. The special claims which we have already in detail examined, and the one lofty and inclusive claim which has just been stated, must now be examined in the light of the phenomena of Sacred Scripture. The claims of the Bible as to its own nature must be tested by the facts of its construction and history. And, when it is clearly seen how far the claims and the facts accord, we shall have the right to conclude that a true doctrine of the nature and authority of Sacred Scripture has been inductively established. We pause in the transition from claims critically examined to facts critically established, that we may reflect for a moment upon this thought: How unlike the claims which have been put forth for Sacred Scripture are the more substantial claims which it puts forth for itself! And yet how vastly more reasonable are these than the former! *The word of God concerning God's Word is easier to receive on faith, and yet incomparably grander, than the word of men concerning His Word.*

PART II.
CRITICAL.

THE PHENOMENA OF THE BIBLE.

Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατέραςιν ἐν τοῖς
προφήταις. — HEB. i. 1.

Per ea quae erant secunda ad prima vocans, hoc est, per typica, ad vera; et per
temporalia, ad aeterna; et per carnalia, ad spiritalia; et per terrena, ad coelestia.

IRENAEUS: *Con. Haer. IV., c. 3.*

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

AN inductive examination of Sacred Scripture properly begins with the claims which the Bible makes for itself. This examination cannot, however, confine itself to these claims; for, although it may make certain assumptions concerning the authority of biblical religion, and especially concerning the authority of Jesus Christ, it cannot assume that the self-made claims of the Bible are indisputably true. To make the latter assumption would be equivalent to denying the necessity for a real induction. Moreover, these claims, both direct and indirect, are by no means all the phenomena which the biblical writings invite us critically to examine. Indeed, the claims are not of themselves the most important of the phenomena. The biblical writings are very little occupied with making claims for themselves or for one another. We have already seen how difficult it is to find a sufficient amount of clear and direct teaching in the Bible as to its own origin and nature to serve even as a foundation for any theory of Sacred Scripture. The Old and New Testaments are not occupied in telling us what they are, but in telling us other facts and truths of the religion which they record.

Furthermore, the process of critical examination, when once applied to the claims of the Bible, discovers in its writings many other subjects for a similar critical examination. The question, *What are the claims of the Bible?* is at once changed into the larger question, *What is the Bible?* And to this larger question no answer can be given in the form of a scientific induction, without critical examination of other phenomena of the Bible. It was, indeed, with this larger question in view that we attempted to answer the narrower one. The critical examination of the claims of the Bible is chiefly valuable in order to understand what the object really is for which the claims are made. And, of course, no claims for the Bible can permanently

maintain themselves which contradict a fair critical estimate as to what the Bible really is: this is true, whether the claims are made by the Bible for itself, or by other writers in the supposed behalf of the Bible. We must, then, carry our critical examination through the entire circuit of facts which the object of examination has to present: we must examine, that is to say, in the light and by the means of modern criticism, all the important phenomena which are displayed by the biblical books. And, since we have already examined in the same way the claims which are made for themselves by these books, the order of our examination will require that we test the claims by the phenomena. When this has been thoroughly done, then, and then only, can a satisfactory inductive theory of Sacred Scripture be attained.

To examine absolutely all the phenomena of the Bible would be both unnecessary and impossible. It would be impossible, because the number of the individual phenomena is so great, the disputes over most of them are so intricate and difficult, and the means to be employed so multiform, that a score of ordinary lifetimes would not suffice for such a task. The result of an attempt at such examination would be the bewilderment and irrationality which always come from the failure to select and classify the materials of induction. No such attempt is, however, necessary: for only certain classes of the phenomena are important enough to call for a separate and detailed treatment; and, by reducing the phenomena to separate groups or classes, we can make a few examples stand in the place of a countless number. We shall therefore consider the phenomena of the biblical books as related to the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, under the following five classes of contents; viz., the so-called scientific, the miraculous, the historical, the predictive, and the ethico-religious. In the discussion of each class the question kept constantly in view will be this: What do the phenomena displayed by this particular class of contents (now under examination) teach us as to the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture? In the answer to this question we shall have constantly to resort to the field of Biblical Introduction; and in this field the materials for research, although by no means always satisfactory and in some cases disappointing on account of their meagreness, consist in the accumulations of many years by many workmen. But while using the materials furnished by modern criticism in Biblical Introduction, we shall

never lose out of mind our peculiar point of view. This point of view is selected and fixed by the main inquiry. It is always as throwing light upon the doctrine of Sacred Scripture that we consider and pronounce upon the subordinate inquiries of Biblical Introduction. It is always from this point of view, and as leading toward the solution of the chief inquiry, that the particular examples are selected, and the particular inquiries of criticism are pursued.

But the critical examination of those kinds of phenomena which may be grouped under the five classes of contents will not suffice to lay the basis for an inductive theory of Sacred Scripture. For, after the nature of the separate classes of contents has been examined, and the relation of each to the general inquiry pointed out, the further question arises: Who gave to the world, in the case of each literary unity contained in the Bible, this particular form of the contents? We have to ask not simply, What is the nature of the contents of the Bible? but, Who were the authors of the biblical books? How intimate and mutually influential the two questions are, nothing else can make so clear as the examination itself. To a complete inductive doctrine of Sacred Scripture no inquiry is more important than that which concerns itself with the authorship and composition of the biblical books. The inquiry into the authorship of the books is naturally followed by an inquiry into their language and style. This latter inquiry is peculiar, as compared with those preceding, in that it has to do more specifically with the form of Sacred Scripture; this form is the form of language *written*, as, of course, the very title *Scriptura* implies.

When the above-mentioned critical inquiries have been answered, with respect to the different classes of contents and the different books, as composed by their different authors in the linguistic form which belongs to each, two further inquiries must be raised regarding the Bible as a whole. The first of these inquiries concerns the process by which the different books came together to make that whole which is called *the Book*, the Bible. The second of these inquiries concerns the preservation and purity of the text in which this collection of books is transmitted to us. Both of these inquiries—and especially the former—have very important relations to a true inductive theory of Sacred Scripture. It is, indeed, only in accordance with a true doctrine of the Canon that we can

frame a theory which shall apply to all those writings (considered collectively) which are called by the term Sacred Scripture. The phenomena of the text, moreover, are such as at once and forever to settle certain subordinate inquiries regarding the origin and nature of the Bible.

After an answer has been sought and found to the critical questions indicated above, then, and then only, shall we be in condition to attempt the statement of the doctrine desired. The induction which comes at the close of this varied and difficult process of inquiry will be, if the process be satisfactorily conducted, a true and valid induction.

Whatever advantages the proposed method of inquiry may have, — and it certainly has many advantages, — it is not free from at least one or two objections. The principal objection arises from the difficulty of dealing with the phenomena of the biblical books in separate classes. That needs only to be stated at present, which the course of the inquiry will make constantly more and more evident; viz., the miraculous, historical, predictive, and ethico-religious contents of the Bible are intimately and inseparably connected. Moreover, the question of the authorship, and manner of origin, of the separate books is a question which is reciprocally related to all the classes of contents. How, then, shall the consideration of these classes and the question of authorship be so separated as to be made the subjects of separate investigation? The practical answer to this question is not so difficult as might at first be supposed. Selected examples, which fall most obviously under some one of the separate classes of contents, are readily found; certain capital examples may profitably be more than once referred to, according as they are considered for their alleged miraculous, historical, or ethico-religious character; and the consideration of all the examples falling under each chapter can keep those considerations which belong to the other chapters duly in mind. It will thus be possible to examine a great variety and number of the biblical phenomena, both in themselves and also in their relations to others of the same or differing classes, but especially in their relation to the one final purpose which selects and arranges them all. In this manner the order and method of a treatment, designed to be both comprehensive and progressive, may be relieved of any suspicion of either repetitiveness or artificiality.

As to the weight which must be allowed to critical studies of

the Bible, when compared with the direct or indirect claims of the Bible, the case can appear clear only after the examination is closed. We do not begin the critical examination of the phenomena by assuming that all the claims of the biblical writings with regard to their own precise origin and nature are indisputably correct. To assume this would be to draw back at once from the very examination proposed. The claims of the biblical writings are facts; and, regarded in the light of certain assumptions as to the validity of Old-Testament religion and of Christianity, and as to the authority of Christ, they are very important facts. But there are other facts which must also be taken into the account. How far the facts or phenomena which critical investigation will bring to light must modify the claims, is the inquiry now before us. In making it, the claims must stand upon their own merits; they must verify themselves, or submit to be modified and corrected by the facts. But it may come to pass, that whatever modifications take place will, in part, consist of expansions and enlargements of the claims; and that whatever corrections in them are made will not affect their substantial validity as to the matters in which we are most interested.

It would be impossible, however, to conduct such a long series of critical investigations touching the phenomena of the biblical books without some guidance from assumed principles of inquiry. For not even the most candid and searching criticism, when applied to Sacred Scripture, can wholly dispense with assumptions regarding the nature of religion and the authority of Christ. We shall not once make the pretence of denuding our minds of all convictions concerning biblical truths in order that we may the more thoroughly criticise the biblical phenomena. It is only in the light of these truths that the phenomena can be considered aright. The same postulates which we have already employed will enter into the subsequent critical researches. The spiritual being of God, the reality of the supernatural, the validity of divine self-revelation, the existence of spiritual potencies, the communion of God with man by inspiration, the final authority of Christ upon the ethico-religious matters which it was his mission to teach, — these are truths from the influence of which it is absurd to demand that biblical criticism shall set itself free. It is rather the assumption of such truths which gives both its chief interest and its main direction to all critical inquiry into the origin and nature

of Sacred Scripture. The pretence of freedom from bias by these truths ill conceals the desperate bias from the false ethico-religious opinions which lead to the denial of *such* truths. And the history of modern criticism has already shown, what it will yet more clearly reveal, that a really candid and comprehensive examination of the phenomena of the biblical books is made only the more difficult for the critic who denies the fundamental truths of the religion which the books contain.

CHAPTER II.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE SCIENTIFIC CONTENTS OF THE BIBLE.

IN the stricter and more modern conception of the term "science," especially as applied to the phenomena of physics and natural history, the Bible must be said to be almost wholly devoid of scientific contents. This is by no means because the writers of the Old Testament, or the readers whom they addressed, were without interest in the contemplation of nature. Nor is it wholly because they were relatively unskilled in the knowledge of its phenomena and laws, when compared with the other peoples of a like antiquity. It is rather to be explained by the following facts: viz., that the Hebrews shared in the ignorance of these peoples; but especially that they regarded nature itself almost wholly from the supernaturalistic point of view, and that the final purpose of all their sacred writings was so purely ethical and religious, rather than intellectual and speculative or theosophic. We might therefore suppose, upon merely *a priori* grounds, that the revelation given to man in the Sacred Scripture would be able by silence and reserve to escape all conflicts between itself and the physical and natural sciences. The supposition would not, however, be borne out by the history of biblical interpretation; for this history shows us that conflicts have actually arisen wherever the human mind has compared its researches in nature with the statements of Scripture, and that the relative intensity and magnitude of the conflicts have varied in nearly direct ratio with the researches themselves. The truth of this statement is evinced by the correspondence of the different eras, which mark the relations of biblical theology and the sciences of nature, with the general eras of hermeneutics and of the doctrine of Scripture at large.¹ As a special example, we may notice how the views of Philo-

¹ See especially D. O. Zöckler, *Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Theologie und Naturwissenschaft*, Gütersloh, 1877, I. pp. 67 ff.

respecting God and the world are a recognized factor in his entire influence upon Christian views.¹ The discussion of the relations which the biblical utterances maintain toward the discovered facts and laws of the physical universe, and even toward the hypotheses of investigators as apparently supported by those facts and laws, is much too deep-rooted and of too long continuance to be dismissed by the simple dictum: "The Bible is not given to teach science, but religious truth."

Moreover, the nature of Sacred Scripture, and the conception which science is bound to hold concerning its duty and mission, are such that, between the two, points of contradiction or of coincidence must inevitably exist. For both science and the Bible are bound to consider that in which the reality of both the natural and the supernatural is concerned. The point of view from which each considers its facts may be different: the facts considered must, however, be to a large extent the same. The very least that the Bible can be made to claim for itself is this, that it is the record, in the main authentic, of a divine self-revelation. It must therefore convey or assume certain truths as to the characteristics and permanent relations of the supernatural and the natural. The very conception of revelation and inspiration involves the belief that the course of nature and the course of history are penetrated with the supernatural. It involves also a certain doctrine as to the method and final purpose of creation. But science also claims the description and explanation of the course of nature as its particular domain; it rightly regards history as resting upon and intermingled with this course of nature, it even attempts the delineation of the method of creation by a theory of evolution, and defines or denies the rational meaning of so vast a work. It follows, then, that the harmony of science and the Bible cannot easily be secured by relegating each to exclusive control in an entirely separate domain. Some manner of adjusting the claims which both these forms of teaching truth make upon human reason and belief is for every doctrine of Sacred Scripture an inevitable necessity.

It may be perfectly true, as Reusch claims,² that the Bible never has the express design of giving scientific information; and that this concession, instead of being newly captured from theology by the onsets of modern science, is as old as Peter

¹ Compare Zöckler, *Ibid.* I., p. 53 f., and Siegfried, *Philo*, p. 25 f.

² *Bibel und Natur*, Bonn, 1876, p. 21.

Lombard,¹ or even as Augustine. It may also be true, as Kurtz declares,² that the Scripture never "anticipates human science," nor "deals with the problems, the solution of which belongs to empirical investigation." And yet both these writers join themselves to the great crowd of other writers in the attempt to construct elaborate and satisfactory hypotheses of reconciliation. Such an hypothesis in some form is not, indeed, usually made necessary for the student of the Bible by the mere observation of natural phenomena. In the earlier stages of science the sense of contradiction between itself and the Bible does not emerge. It is rather when science strives to realize the highest ideal of its mission, and grasp the phenomena together under some general law, or to extend the sphere covered by second causes through exercising its right of rational explanation, that it first seems to conflict with the statements or views of Sacred Scripture. In the days of Linnæus and his followers, species were considered as "simple curiosities of nature," "to be inventoried and described":³ with the advent of morphology, the sciences of botany and zoölogy began; they began, moreover, at the same time to contest the current interpretations of the Mosaic cosmogony.

It is evident that the results reached by comparison of these two classes of conflicting statements and claims will depend upon the general point of view taken by the investigator. This point of view will itself largely depend upon the conceptions current as to the nature of scientific truth, and as to the right doctrine of Sacred Scripture. With those who reject entirely the claims of the Bible to contain a supernatural revelation, the question of reconciling its claims with those of the physical and natural sciences is, of course, a mere superfluity. On the other hand, a class of theologians and biblical critics — now much reduced in number — has always existed, who have been equally ready to deny, to ignore, or to pervert in use, the truths of these sciences, according to their conception of the best service thus to be rendered to the dogmas of their own orthodoxy. Thus Delitzsch did not hesitate to believe that the body of man, as well as the bodies of all the beasts, underwent after the fall an entire change in physical constitution; although, as Keerl⁴ and others have pointed out, an entire change

¹ Sent. ii. dist. 23.

² Bibel und Astronomie, Berlin, 1858, p. 397.

³ See Natural Science and Religion, Asa Gray, p. 57 f.

⁴ Einheit der biblischen Urgeschichte, 21 ff.

in plant-life, the nature of sunlight, and the relations of the sun to the earth, seems involved in this belief. And yet Keerl himself felt that he was justified in lengthening the period of the rotation of the earth's axis, so as to make his interpretation of the day in Gen. i. accord with the geologic periods; while Keil was even ready to assert the creation of the earth in six days of twenty-four hours each, and, in carrying out his view, to deny the antiquity of the earth as evinced in the geologic strata, and even the antiquity and distance of the fixed stars as involved in the very nature of light.¹ In the view of this latter author, creation is, like miracles, only a matter of religious faith: "natural science has supplied no certain conclusions as to the origin of the earth."²

Now, neither of the two above-mentioned classes of thinkers can be expected to make candid and thorough work of examining the relations which exist between the truths of the sciences and the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. For such a work of examination implies a confidence in the fact, that nature and the Bible both furnish revelations of God, and that the human mind has already attained the substantial truth as to the deliverances of both these revelations. And, as a matter of experience, no other spirit than one which is born of this confidence will prevent the frequent contemptuous rejection of real truth, or the wilful assertion of only seeming truth, on the one side or the other, — a manner, indeed, of conducting so grave questions, which is, on whichever side it occur, alike unseemly. Especially does the theologian who insists upon opinions like those mentioned above, as though they were necessary assumptions of religious faith, need to be reminded, that it is neither right nor wise to undermine the very foundations of all rational theology in his zeal to defend a dogma of the scientific infallibility of some section of Scripture. Rational theology cannot subsist without the assumption that nature is a divine revelation. In this chapter, as elsewhere in the entire discussion, the truth and authority of Christianity as a supernatural revelation is assumed. To this assumption must be added another, which applies especially to the contents of this chapter. The world, as a system of second causes, furnishes a divine revelation, which, *within certain limits*, is also authoritative in moral and religious truth, and which may be, and has been, interpreted aright by the

¹ See Commentary on the Pentateuch, by Keil and Delitzsch, pp. 40 ff., 59, note.

² Ibid., p. 52, note.

same human soul to whose understanding the revelation of Scripture is addressed. It can readily be shown that this assumption, with regard to so-called nature, is itself eminently biblical; it may, indeed, when rightly conceived, rise to the dignity of a real assumption of religious faith.

Further than this it is not, however, necessary that we should extend our postulates. We may not take for granted the scientific infallibility of the Bible. Such infallibility is indeed necessary for the maintenance of certain theories of the nature of Sacred Scripture. If the theory of verbal inspiration, or the strict theory of so-called plenary inspiration, is to be vindicated, this and many further assumptions must be made. It can scarcely be asserted, for instance, that the dogma of the scientific infallibility of Genesis is arrived at simply by impartial investigation of the Book of Genesis. Such a dogma is one form of the general assumption that Scripture, in order to be sacred and inspired, must be also in every respect infallible. But it is precisely this general assumption which we must bring to the test of criticism in this and all the succeeding chapters of this part of our work. And we have already seen that the claims of the Bible itself by no means substantiate such an assumption. How, then, can the assumption be made the instrument, either by misrepresenting science or by misinterpreting Scripture, for torturing the two into a happy reconciliation?

It is certain, then, that we cannot escape the difficulties of an adjustment by making a final and complete separation between the sphere and claims of science and the Bible. This general statement is pre-eminently true of certain doctrines. The complete theory of creation is both a religious doctrine and a matter for rational inferences based upon facts scientifically collected and interpreted. The doctrine of creation as a religious doctrine is fundamental; the fixing of its religious elements aright was indispensable to the planting and growth of true religion among the Hebrews and over the whole earth.¹ Nor can this religious doctrine take on any definite form without assuming relations either of coincidence or of conflict with the conclusions of the physical and natural sciences. To a certain extent, then, the very form in its particulars becomes also a matter of religious doctrine. But, on the other hand, it is equally true that the more distinctively religious elements,

¹ Compare Dörner, *Glaubenslehre*, I. p. 460.

both as expressly given and as implied in the form of the doctrine, differ greatly in importance from those which belong merely to scientific accuracy in details of form. We may, then, at least make unhesitatingly the distinction, known to Thomas Aquinas, between matters that belong *ad substantiam fidei*, and others which belong only *per accidens ad fidem*. Nay, more: we may unhesitatingly admit the existence of many imperfect, faulty, and even erroneous, impressions in the Old Testament concerning scientific matters that are not organically connected with the truths of faith, just as our Lord and the disciples have admitted that such impressions exist there concerning certain ethical and religious matters. There may be in Scripture many statements on matters of scientific research, and also much in the details of the form in which specifically religious truths are communicated, that is scientifically incorrect, and yet the sacredness and inspiration of Scripture not suffer thereby. In many cases the real difficulty will be the difficulty of ascertaining the valid conclusions of science and the right interpretation of Scripture, rather than of admitting that either one of the two may be mistaken in its judgment of truth.¹ In such cases the danger of committing the substantial verities of religion to an opinion either way has been for a long time manifest to the most thoughtful.²

If inexactness and mistakes in scientific matters are found to exist abundantly in Sacred Scripture, an explanation may also be found which shall both satisfy the facts and save a valid and sufficient doctrine of its origin and nature. Speaking from the historical point of view, we may say that such errors arose from the ignorance of the writers: the views of nature which they held were of necessity inexact and mistaken. But, speaking from the theological point of view, we may say with equal truth, it did not accord with the divine wisdom and love to reveal these scientific truths to the writers of Scripture, or even to prevent the writers from expressing the infallible revelations which were committed to them, in forms made erroneous by their ignorance. We ought, then, on historical grounds to expect errors in scientific matters, if there is, indeed, to be any such thing as a fallible human element in the Scriptures. And, as Harless has declared, we ought not on dogmatic grounds to expect "the knowledge and description of nature," — "not

¹ Compare Reusch, *Bibel und Natur*, pp. 35-49.

² See Augustine, *De Gen. ad lit.* I. 19, 39, II. 18, 38.

because it *could not* have been given, but because it *would not* have been given.”¹ The theory that errors in matters of science are on *a priori* grounds probable in the Bible, and the willingness promptly to admit them as often as they are shown to occur, will save the investigator from much effort to do violence to either one of these two divine self-revelations.

It must also be admitted, that the writers of the Bible show an almost complete disregard of that point of view from which science must contemplate the phenomena of nature. They had little or no conception that the universe could be regarded as a self-contained system of materials, forces, and laws. They had little disposition to dwell in secondary causes even so long as is necessary to recognize their reality. The presence and activities, immediate and unchecked, of the one primal Cause, they discover in all the beings and activities of so-called nature.² But science, even when not intentionally atheistic or materialistic, designedly recognizes as little as possible any forces or causes lying outside its own sphere, especially is it loath to believe that this sphere is constantly interpenetrated and informed by the one primal Cause. It is, then, with reference to the relations of the natural and the supernatural, that science and the Bible come into most serious conflict. And vain have been all the attempts to separate the two spheres so as that the forces belonging to each shall seem to have no chance of commingling. The writers of Scripture constantly present the supernatural as dominating, vivifying, controlling, and energizing the natural; and, with respect to this great congeries of truths, their doctrine is religious doctrine. We have, moreover, less hesitation in saying that this doctrine is true doctrine, revealed by inspiration of God, and that these writers are fitted to teach it to the votaries of the modern sciences, than we felt in making the above-mentioned concessions concerning the probable fallibility of the same writers in scientific matters.

Let us, then, briefly set forth the doctrine of the relations of God and nature, so far as the elements of the doctrine are most distinctively religious, and at the same time liable to come into seeming conflict with the physical and natural sciences. And if this setting-forth is to give just force to that view of nature which all the modern sciences concur in establishing, as

¹ *Christliche Ethik*, 1849, fourth edition, p. xiv.

² That is, writers of Scripture have the so-called “*Gottes-bewusstsein*” fully developed, but they have no corresponding development of the so-called “*Welt-bewusstsein*.”

well as to that idea of God as the Creator, Preserver, and Lord of life and history, which the Scriptures teach, then it must pass beyond the point of view reached by the writers of the Bible. It must recognize whatever is true in the modern scientific conception of the cosmos. The biblical idea of the supernatural is in all its distinctive religious elements forever grandly true; the biblical exhibition of this idea makes little or no account, however, of the conception to which, in most of its details, neither the Hebrews nor the other nations of the earth had as yet attained. But this modern conception of nature is itself suited to be filled full of life by an inspiration from the indwelling of the supernatural. For science, instead of having excluded God from the world, has really made known many new points for his entrance, and much that is new concerning the manner of that entrance.

The doctrine of God as Creator of the universe is a religious and a biblical doctrine. But science is not simply powerless to deny this doctrine: it rather leads up to and enriches its affirmation. Of this doctrine the fundamental element is this, that God and his eternal idea of the world is the logical *Prius*, or ground, of the world's substances, forces, and laws.¹ The very being of nature can neither be conceived of, nor its phenomena exhibited, as constituting a whole complete in itself. The quasi-metaphysical truth of an original divine creation out of nothing is not, indeed, expressly taught in the writings of Mosaism,² nor should we expect such teaching from the nature of those writings. They, neither in form nor in thought, correspond to the later stage of speculation, when the doctrine of creation proper was asserted in opposition to highly developed theories of the eternity of matter, or of its origin by emanation from Deity. The narrative of Gen. i. 1-ii. 3 leaves these questions behind itself: it proceeds at once to enumerate in order the steps by which God produced all things, as they now exist, from a condition of darkness and chaos.³ The indications which Schultz⁴ finds in Ps. cxxxvi. 6 ff., Eccl. iii. 11 and vii.

¹ See Dorner, Glaubenslehre, I. p. 462.

² This doctrine is, as will appear more clearly hereafter, not taught by the use of the word *אֵלֶּה*, nor by the proper interpretation of Gen. i. 1. To speak of an interpretation which refuses to take the declaration, "in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," as teaching the metaphysical conception of a creation out of nothing, after the manner of Keil, who represents it as invented to get rid of true doctrine, is extremely invidious.

³ Compare Schrader, Studien zur Kritik, etc., p. 53.

⁴ Alttestamentliche Theologie, Frankfurt, 1878, p. 527 f.

29, of an attempt to deal with the philosophical questions that concern the doctrine of creation, are not sufficiently clear to form a marked contrast with the tone of the earlier writings. And, as the same author says, the "nothing" upon which the earth is, according to Job xxvi. 7, suspended, is not that out of which the earth is conceived of as created, but the boundless abyss of space over which it seems to hang. The Old Testament, however, teaches that conception of the relation of God to all other persons and things which, on occasion of the presence of heathen philosophies or theosophic speculations like those which influenced some of the Apocrypha (ἐξ ἀμόρφου ἡλθς κτίσας τὸν κόσμον, Sap. Sal. xi. 18) readily develops into the doctrine of creation out of nothing. This form of thought which is only suggested by Rom. iv. 17 (καλῶν τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα) manifestly shapes to itself the words of 2 Macc. vii. 28, and Heb. xi. 3 (εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων τό βλεπόμενον γεγονέναι).¹

The more positive and religious form of the same doctrine of creation, which deduces all things from the wise and loving will of God, is as certainly biblical as it is eminently rational. Not only the formation of the idea of the world, and the realizing of the idea in the successive products of the world's unfolding, but also the original coming into being of the materials and forces in and through which the idea is to be realized, are to be ascribed to the divine will. That idea of creation proper which distinguishes itself, as a free, intelligent, and gracious act of God, from pantheistic views of development and emanation, and from materialistic views of an uncreated material substance, is fundamental in the Old-Testament religion and writings. The word of God is dominant and creative: he has but to speak, and it is done; to command, and his will is executed (compare Gen. i. 3, 14; Ps. xxxiii. 6, 9). And although, as has been said, it is not the intention of Gen. i. 1 f. to assert the doctrine of creation out of nothing; its entire form of representation, which sets forth the original chaotic mass, the *Tohu-va-Bohu*, as plastic and obedient to the divine word, assumes that this mass—as well as the subsequent forms of being and life superinduced upon it—is utterly dependent upon God. In accordance with the same idea of creation, God is called (Gen. xiv. 19, 22) the founder and possessor (נִרְכָּם) of heaven and

¹ This interpretation of Heb. xi. 3 must be adhered to in spite of the opinion of Bleek, Delitzsch, Schrader, and others, that the intention of the author is simply to ascribe to the world a "supersensual ground" in God.

earth. It would be quite contrary to the prevalent teaching and spirit of the Hebrew writings to consider the poetical representations of Job xxxviii. 28 f. as intended to set forth the philosophical doctrine of creation by emanation from Deity. In this conception of creation as the "absolute miracle,"¹ as an effect produced by divine free-will without any mediation of secondary causes whatsoever, there can be nothing at which science should take offence. For, preceding this act, there are no secondary causes to be considered, no forces of nature to be co-ordinated or overcome. The very existence in fact and form of so-called nature, with all its original substances, forces, and laws, is conditioned upon this creative act. Neither does it admit of scientific representation or explanation: of it nothing more can be said than — to accept for this purpose a doubtful interpretation — is said when it is declared, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." The doctrine of creation is entirely unaffected by any discoveries or theories as to the nature of matter, and as to the relation of the physical forces to the atoms of which it is composed.

In accordance with this doctrine of creation proper is the biblical conception of the relation of the visible and physical universe to time. The Bible does not, indeed, attempt to solve the perpetual antinomy which cleaves fast to all human thought when dealing with the conception of creation and the idea of time. It makes no effort to reveal to men whether or not we must adopt the seemingly necessary but self-contradictory statement of Augustine, *Mundus non in tempore sed cum tempore factus est*. It assumes, however, that which is in the biblical conception necessary to the thought of the dependence of the whole visible universe upon the divine will, it assumes that this universe is not eternal, is not even in its most original substances and forces coeval with its Creator and Lord. Before it came into existence — and the simplicity of the biblical language admits of a "before" when as yet there is no measure of time, — Jehovah was forever the same in his power, wisdom, holiness, and grace (compare Ps. xc. 2, Prov. viii. 22 ff.). To this conception the physical and natural sciences, even when helped by the philosophy which is esteemed most favorable to them, have nothing to oppose: they are powerless for correction or reproof. That the present order of the universe must have had a beginning in time, they with one voice concur in asserting;

¹ So Rothe, whose remarks compare: *Zur Dogmatik*, pp. 94 ff.

they even, and rightly, believe themselves able to demonstrate this truth. Beyond this they can, when contradicting the scriptural doctrine, only fall back upon crude assertions like the following: "The gaseous condition of the solar system, which preceded its present condition, *must* [*sic*] be considered as only one member in the infinite chain of phenomena: it has not happened once alone, but an infinite number of times, and will happen just as often again."¹

The creative acts of God are not, however, limited to the calling into original existence of the world's substances, forces, and laws.² Creation is represented in the biblical doctrine as consisting of repeated and successive acts of the divine will. But it follows necessarily from the very conception of the universe as an orderly whole, that these successive creative acts should be conditioned upon the preceding creation. Creation as an act of divine free-will is most readily admitted by the theories of science, if it can be confined to one original constitution of matter, and endowment of it with its forces. Thus is the idea of the supernatural relegated to a most remote antiquity, and so conveniently disposed of as to give freer play to the activity of merely natural forces. But this doctrine of creation as confined to a single divine act, which was that of Augustine, is neither favored by the biblical representations, nor—if the truth may only be admitted—by the researches of the sciences. There can be, indeed, only one act of *absolute* creation by which the first being and form of the universe is constituted. All subsequent creative acts must take this original act into the account, and be, indeed, based upon and conformed to it, if the idea of the divine mind in its completeness and unity is to be realized. These creative acts, which are subsequent to the original act, will then be supernatural, in that they are creative; they will also partake of the natural, in that they are conditioned upon what is already in existence by the original divine act. Fault may, indeed, be found with the narrative of Gen. i., because it makes and maintains no firm distinction between the natural and the supernatural. As co-ordinate with that exercise of the divine wisdom and omnipotence which calls into first being the light (verse 3), and originates in the heavens their light-giving bodies (verse 14), and as constituting a part of the one great

¹ See a book called *Bibel und Natur*, by F. H. Thomassen, Köln und Leipzig, 1878, p. 125.

² Compare Dorner, *Glaubenslehre*, I. p. 478 f.

history of creation, we are told that God said, "Let the earth bring forth grass" (verse 11), and "Let the waters swarm with swarms, with living beings" (verse 20). In these latter cases the conception of creation is made with childlike simplicity to correspond with the present experience of natural processes. The annual production of the grass by the earth was, to the Hebrew thought, no less a divine creative work than its first origin from the ground. And yet in 2 Sam. xxiii. 4, the grass is represented as growing by sunshine and rain; and in Job xxxviii. 25 f. Jehovah is spoken of as having prepared the store of waters and the channels for their overflow, to cause it to rain, and by the rain to cause the grass to grow. But that the writers of the Bible did not clearly distinguish the natural from the supernatural, or rather overwhelmed the former by the latter, is far from proving them wrong in their general conception of creation as due to successive acts of the divine will.

For the utmost length to which the physical and natural sciences have gone, or show any indications of going, in revealing the efficiency of so-called natural causes, does not diminish the demand made upon the supernatural to account for the world's present order by successive creative acts. At the first appearance of life upon the earth, science has no tenable theory to substitute for the doctrine of a divine creative act. This act was undoubtedly conditioned upon all the pre-existing substances, forces, and laws of the material universe. This assertion is, however, a very different thing from the claim that physical substances, forces, and laws are adequate to account for the origin of life. And thus it is that the Bible represents each stage of creation as dependent upon the preceding, and yet as the result of a creative divine word. It particularly insists upon the truth that God is the Giver and Lord of life. But especially when, in the order of creation, the appearance of man is reached, does the need which science feels of a cause outside of all natural causes make itself abundantly felt. It is not simply true, as Dörner¹ has declared, that to hold that "man is *only* a product of animal existences, or of still lower forms of nature, is a frivolous materialistic view:" it is also true that the combined work of all the natural sciences can present no faithful picture of him as such a product. These sciences have done little toward adequately explaining even his brain and remaining bodily structure solely by secondary causes, while they have

¹ Glaubenslehre, I. p. 479.

not gone a step toward presenting by these causes alone an adequate account of his spiritual nature. When, then, the Bible represents man in his total being as the product of special creative activity (Gen. i. 26 f. and ii. 7), and as the offspring of God (Acts xvii. 28, τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἑσμεν), it has as yet nothing to fear upon these doctrines from the discoveries of modern science. And yet the same representation acknowledges that the creative act was also in the case of man conditioned upon so-called natural substances and forces (compare Gen. ii. 7, iii. 19, and vi. 3; Ps. civ. 29; Eccl. iii. 20). Nor is this truth to be depreciated because of the simple and *naïve* form in which it is indicated.

And all along the immense distance from the first appearance of life upon the earth to the first appearance of man, numerous openings for the entrance of divine creative energy appear. For science is still a long and weary way from proving that all the species and genera of animal life have had their origin solely from pre-existent forms by natural descent. It has indeed been well established that the former conception of species will not hold good throughout; it has also been made highly probable that forms for which theology would otherwise have assumed a creative act are descended from common ancestors; it has been made likely that further researches may, in some noteworthy degree, still extend the range of phenomena which can be accounted for by second causes. But until modern science is far better able than it at present seems likely to be, to fill up some of the monstrous gaps which appear between the tribes and families and genera, and between many of the cognate species, of the animal kingdom, it can scarcely complain if those who have no unconquerable prejudice against the supernatural, account for the admitted phenomena by referring to the divine wisdom and love in creative work. Nor can this doctrine of creation by successive divine acts, each of which is conditioned upon so much of nature as at the time exists, be considered to contradict the unity and causal order of the universe. This unity is one of rational and ethical connections as well as of physical causes; this causal order admits of that upon which its own very existence is founded, viz., the causal activity of the divine will. The ground of the world's order, and not the source of its disturbances, is the will of God.

Moreover, we are quite at a loss to account for each human

being, considered as a true personality, without assuming as one element in our account the supernatural in the form of creative energy. That many elements of man's complex being belong with that which is purely natural, we must freely admit. And this, as we have seen and shall further see, is the doctrine of the Bible. Whether these elements are so like those of some of the higher animals that man should be considered by anthropology simply as belonging to the animal kingdom, or should be, in the language of Quatrefages,¹ constituted apart as the so-called "*human kingdom*," this doctrine does not decide. One of the most cautious of American scientists² has well said, "Man, in short, is a partaker of the natural as well as of the spiritual." And the evolutionist may say with the apostle, "Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual." The close connection of man with the other animals is more than once hinted at in the narrative of Genesis (compare ii. 19 and 7), but his original difference is also plainly taught. The beast of the earth, and man, belong to one day of creation, but to separate and differently enacted works (i. 24-28). And in the case of each individual that which is spiritual, and which cannot be derived from any combination of natural causes,—the causes which concern the laws of human transmission of life and heredity being included,—is to be ascribed to its supernatural source.

The constant presence and power of the supernatural in and over the natural is, moreover, made known by the doctrine of God, the Preserver. The physical universe is every moment, and by virtue of its very constitution, dependent upon God, the Absolute. This doctrine does not deny the real existence and efficiency, as second causes, of physical substances and forces: it rather assumes this existence and efficiency.³ The same dispute which the philosophy of the physical sciences carries on, as to whether all the so-called second causes are not to be considered as forms in activity of the one Unknown Cause, theology takes up and carries on in different form. But whatever of real existence and efficiency belongs to these

¹ *The Human Species*, New York, 1879, p. 24.

² Professor Asa Gray, *Natural Science and Religion*, p. 55.

³ The denial of the reality of second causes is at present nowhere made more vigorously than by Herbert Spencer and his followers, who at the same time are readiest in the claim to explain every thing intelligible by these same causes. (See their fallacy exposed in Herbert's *Realistic Assumptions*.)

causes, belongs to them only as they are held in being and interpenetrated with the force of the divine will. As in the case of human agency, the human will by its innervating force energizes the physical forces in the midst of which it dependently operates, so does the force of the divine will in a sphere without limit, and with an absolute dependence of all physical forces upon itself, energize them without destroying their reality. The rather is the energy of this supernatural force the condition of the very existence and activity of the physical forces. It follows, then, that that ascription of results in nature to the divine power, which the Bible constantly makes, is as true in fact and in philosophy as is the ascription which science makes of the same facts to natural causes.

The doctrine of God as the Author of the particular events of nature, and especially of all life, teaches, in still another form, the presence and power of the supernatural within the natural. For God is not simply the creator and preserver of the universe. The supernatural is also the co-ordinating force which uses the substances and forces of nature in order to realize the divine idea, in order to accomplish the divine plan of the world. To this conception of God as the co-ordinating force to whose activity of thought and will the particular events in nature are due, science has no insuperable objection to propose. The structural forces of nature, the chemical and vital, are within their restricted spheres examples of co-ordinating force. But each event, even in the so-called natural order, is to be fully accounted for only on the ground of some cause which must be itself a cause with thought and will, and which must so control the second causes as to unite them in that special event.

And what is more or less completely true of each event included wholly within the sphere of physical causes, is pre-eminently true also of those events in history which include also causes of another order. The co-ordinating force in history, the weaver of its web, the author whose thought and will must also be taken into the full account of every thing which happens in history, is the Personal Absolute "whom faith calls God." ¹

How intimately inwrought into all the conceptions of the Old Testament are the foregoing elements of doctrine con-

¹ See, for a more detailed statement of this truth, an article by the author: *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, 1880.

cerning the relations of nature and God, the following brief summary will make sufficiently clear.¹ In all the teachings of the Bible we shall find the subject considered almost purely from the ethical and religious, that is, from the supernaturalistic, point of view.

Between the supernatural as Creator and Lord of life, and the order of nature and living beings which he has made, the Spirit of God and the Word of God are used as mediating concepts. The term "Spirit" indicates in this use the general vivifying and informing power of God; while the term "Word" is an expression for a definite divine purpose as determining the special forms which wisdom and grace would impress upon creation.² "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and by the breath of his mouth all their host" (Ps. xxxiii. 6). The Spirit of God, that is, "the moving force of his own life," is the source of all life, the inner spring to the being of all that lives (Gen. i. 2; Ps. xxxiii. 6, civ. 30, cxxxix. 7 f.); this Spirit is represented (Job xxvi. 13) as adorning the heavens with stars, and (xxxiii. 4, compare xxvii. 3) as imparting life to man. In Isa. xlvi. 13, heavens and earth spring into being at the call of Jehovah. The withdrawal of this divine breath, which is in all things, is their death (Ps. xc. 3, civ. 29); if this indwelling Spirit of Jehovah were removed, all flesh would relapse into that which without this Spirit it constitutionally is, mere unorganized and common dust (Job xxxiv. 14 f.). The life which he has given depends, then, every moment, upon him (Gen. vi. 3); and this not simply in the way of his providential care (Gen. viii. 1) and his constant impartation of life as strength for self-defence (Ps. xviii. 31 f.), but also because he is the Lord of life, the Author of the spirits of all human kind (Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16). It is in accordance with this conception that the gift of offspring is represented in Genesis (xvii. 15 f., xviii. 10, xxv. 21, xxx. 2), and constantly throughout the Bible, as due to a divine volition. The element of human generation is, however, also represented as an act of human intelligence and freedom;³ and the dependence of the child upon

¹ Compare, especially, H. Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, pp. 525 ff.; and Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II. pp. 387 f. and 442 f.

² "Der Geist belebt und kräftigt, das Wort bestimmt und entscheidet." (See Ewald, *Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, I. p. 19; and compare H. Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 529.)

³ This truth is implied in the Hebrew word *yṭl*. (See Keil on Gen. iv. 1; Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament*, I. p. 215.)

the parent, in the strongest sense of race-connection, is duly acknowledged (Deut. v. 9 f.; Ps. li. 5; Job xiv. 4). Especially are we taught by passages like Ps. cxix. 73, cxxxix. 13, 16; Job x. 8 f.; Jer. i. 5, xxxviii. 16; Isa. lvii. 15 f., that the majesty of God as Creator and as Providence is to be recognized in the birth, at the divinely appointed moment in history, of every rational soul. On the other hand, he has allotted to each soul his time, and the book of the Lord is the book of life (Ps. xxxix. 4 f., lxix. 27 f.); he cuts the thread of human life (Isa. xxxviii. 12); he summons the soul from man when He will (Job xxvii. 8).

The connection of God with the most purely physical phenomena of the universe is intimate and unintermitting; for God is not forever separated by his creative act from the universe which he has made¹ (compare Gen. i. 26 and 28, ii. 7). The original order of nature and the will of God coincide (Gen. i. 20, 21, 24 f.); nothing is known to the writers of the Old Testament concerning an order of nature which is independent of God, or, indeed, concerning a universe which is not by its very constitution and idea constantly under the impress of the divine force, wisdom, and love. The constant relation of the physical universe to the divine goodness and grace is the theme of the noble descriptions of nature given in Ps. civ. and cxxxvi. Of the former Humboldt² says, "We are astonished to find in a lyrical poem of such a limited compass, the whole universe — the heavens and the earth — sketched with a few bold touches." The Old-Testament doctrine is far, however, from entangling the conception of God in that of the universe; it even speaks of the latter as though it were in rebellion against the divine authority, and needing to be subdued by the divine power (compare Ps. xciii., civ. 6-9; Job xxxviii. 8 ff.). So strenuous at times does the representation of the separateness of the physical universe become, as to threaten the doctrine of the divine immanence (see Job ix. 4-13, xxvi. 11).

In general, God is conceived of as wearing nature like a garment (Ps. civ. 1 f.); so that its laws are the expression of his power and wisdom (Prov. viii. 22 f.; Job xxviii. 23 ff.), and the scope and province of its forces and laws are to execute the divine behests (Amos iv. 13; Job xxxvii. 12 f.). And,

¹ The narrative of Gen. ii. 4-iii., although not so much a story of creation as an introduction to the actual history of humanity, agrees in this conception with the narrative of Gen. i.-ii. 3.

² Cosmos, New York, 1863, II. p. 58 f.

being constantly under divine control (see Ps. xix. 5 f.), these forces manifest his glory (Ps. xviii. 7 f., viii. 1 f.); yea, "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork" (Ps. xix. 1 f.); the phenomena of nature are theophanies. The whole order of nature is the expression of the divine omnipotence and freedom in justice and grace. It is, therefore, repeatedly declared, — as for instance in Jer. iii. 3, v. 24, xiv. 22; Ps. civ. 13 f., — that it is God who gives rain and fruitful seasons, or withholds them; he is praised (Ps. civ. 14 f.) for making the grass to grow, and furnishing wine and oil to gladden man. To him is ascribed (Joel i. 18–20; Job xxxviii. 39 f.; Ps. cxxxvi. 25, cxlv. 15) the supply of the animals with their needed food. And yet all which is known of God in nature is declared (Job xxvi. 14) to be but the barest outlines, the meagre sketch (צֶרֶף), of the divine doings.¹

And all these results, accomplished by the supernatural in the sphere of so-called nature, are to be interpreted as designed for the sake of God's moral kingdom. That God rules the elements of nature for the punishment of the wicked, for the destruction of the enemies of Israel, and for the chastisement of Israel itself, is frequently asserted or implied.² Natural phenomena are to him as instruments of thought, as weapons of offence and defence in the cause of righteousness. Storms fulfil his purposes; so the plague, the locust, and war; so heat, drought, cold, and moisture. Whether the Hebrew writers have perverted this element of their general doctrine so as to teach or imply the error which our Lord rebuked (Luke xiii. 2 f.), it is not now the place to inquire. But science cannot deny that their conception of God as the Lord of life and destiny, as the Will by whose force the purposes of justice and grace are carried out in history, is true to the facts and philosophy of history. We, on the other hand, cannot truthfully affirm that it is the complete conception, or that it gives also to the second causes their real place and office in history.

We do not need proof to show how completely all the views of the Bible concerning the meaning, reality, and explanation of the events of history, — and especially of the history of

¹ See Oehler, II. p. 443, and compare Umbreit and De Wette.

² See Gen. vi. 3, vii. 1 f., xix. 24 f.; Exod. xiv. 16 ff.; Isa. xxxi. 3, xliii. 1 f., xlv. 7, 18.

Israel, — are controlled by the supernatural factors. Some of the proof is involved in the relation of the divine names to the development of the national life, and has already been briefly discussed.¹ The very constitution of the law, history, and prophecy of the Old Testament is dependent upon the Old-Testament idea of God.

The Hebrew conception of man's relations to nature may be briefly described as follows. Man's primitive condition is regarded as one of peaceful relationships:² this we conclude from the description of the life in paradise, and from the contrast of this description with Gen. iii. 17 and v. 29. A comparison of Gen. ix. 2 with i. 29 and ii. 18 f. seems to imply that man was not originally carnivorous, but lived on friendly terms with all the animals. To this view of his original condition science makes strong and well-founded objections, in the face of which it is difficult to establish, as in agreement with reality, a literal interpretation of the account. According to the writers of the Old Testament, this ancient relation to nature will be restored in the completed kingdom of redemption. According to Zech. xiv. 20 f., holiness will then change even the most external matters; according to Joel iii. 18 f. and Ezek. xlvii. 6 f., a stream of renewing influences will flow forth and abroad from the religious centre of Judaism. Nothing injurious from the animal kingdom shall, we are assured (Hos. ii. 18), annoy the people of Jehovah in that day; for even the very nature of the wild beasts will be changed (compare Isa. xi. 6—8 and lxxv. 25). This renewal of nature is conditioned upon moral causes; when, and because, the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, then and therefore shall there be peace in the animal kingdom, and they shall not hurt nor destroy in all God's mountain (Isa. xi. 9). When the iniquity of the people is forgiven, then there shall be no more complaint of sickness (Isa. xxxiii. 24). This expansion of the conception of all nature as the product of an almighty will, which orders all things in conformity with a wise and righteous purpose, is, throughout, biblical. The prophecy of science is not yet ready to utter its voice as to what *will* be, nor have its powers in projecting principles upon the future yet grown so as to declare what *must* be, the order of nature in the time of the perfected moral kingdom. They who uttered these prophecies apparently understood them as

¹ See Part I. chap. iii.

² See Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II. p. 387 f.

though they were to be fulfilled in every letter of their text. But so much of them as it is the mind of the Spirit to use for furthering the divine kingdom, does not suffer, if the letter of their representations should prove scientifically faulty or inexact.

The same intense monotheistic supernaturalism controls all the biblical descriptions of nature.¹ It is, as says Humboldt,² "characteristic of the poetry of the Hebrews, that, as a reflex of monotheism, it always embraces the universe in its unity." These descriptions, therefore, while wanting the bright, fresh feeling of the Greeks, excel in depth of insight.³ The phenomena of nature are penetrated with the vision which beholds all things in God. To this ethical and religious quality is due the humane spirit of the Torah toward animals, as evinced in provisions like those of Exod. xxii. 29 f., xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 1-4, 6 f., xxv. 4; Lev. xxii. 27, 28; and to the same quality the prophetic complaint over the share of nature in man's sinful sorrows, as recorded in passages like Jon. iv. 11; Joel ii. 22; Jer. xxiii. 10, iv. 25, ix. 10, xii. 4, xxvii. 6; Zech. viii. 12. But as the lower animals have shared in the consequences of human sin, so shall they share — as we are taught, Ps. xxxvi. 6, 7, l. 9 f. — in the divine grace and in Messianic salvation. The purpose of Scripture in promulgating these conceptions and descriptions of nature is as distinctively ethical and religious as are the descriptions and conceptions themselves. The relation of God to nature is taught, and the descriptions of her phenomena are given, in order that men may know and praise and serve him as the Lord of nature. In every thing the religious and not the purely scientific motive has control. As it is written in Amos v. 8: "Seek ye the Lord, that ye may live, — him who formeth the seven stars and Orion, and changeth the darkness into morning, and darkeneth day into night, who summoneth the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth, — *Jehovah* is his name."

As might be expected, we find the New Testament nearly silent upon the more definite elements of the conception of

¹ Of such descriptions the following are among the more characteristic: Ps. viii., xix., lxxv., lxxiv. 15-17, civ., cxlvii., cxlviii.; Job xxvi., xxviii., xxxvii., xxxviii.-xli.; Hos. xiii. 7, 8, xiv. 6-9; Isa. x. 14, xxx. 23 f., xl. 4 f. The most lengthy description of an animal is that of the crocodile (Job xli.).

² Cosmos, II. p. 57.

³ See Zöckler, *Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Theologie und Naturwissenschaft*, I. p. 24.

nature, as nature is in itself and in its relations to God. The mission of the New-Testament writings is such as to lead to the assumption of all the true elements of the Old-Testament doctrine, and then to the unfolding of the connected religious truths, without any consciousness of scientific difficulties, or consequent desire to solve them. It is, therefore, the distinctively religious elements of the so-called Mosaic cosmogony which the New Testament accepts as valid; it is by these elements that its doctrine of creation is connected with that of the Old.¹ This doctrine it expands, however, by the Christian conception of Christ as the creative Logos. The doctrine of God as the original source and immanent ground and final purpose of creation is no less forcefully reiterated, Rom. xi. 36 (*ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα*), because the personified life-giving power of God (the Spirit or Word of Jehovah) is now known as the one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him (*εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ*, 1 Cor. viii. 6, compare Col. i. 15, 16, and John i. 3). This Christian doctrine of creation is one which the most advanced point of view reached by the modern sciences enables the investigator neither to descry nor to refuse.

The doctrine of a *palingenesis* of nature, which is to accompany the establishment of the completed Messianic kingdom, belongs to the New Testament as well as to the Old (see Matt. xix. 28). At that time all nature, in the sense of the entire irrational creation (*κτίσις*), will be free from the consequences of human sin (Rom. viii. 19 f.); since Christians, as well as the ancient people of God, expect new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness has a firm and lasting habitation (2 Pet. iii. 13; compare Rev. xxi. 1).

The attitude of Jesus toward nature is so gentle, free, and noble, as to constitute in itself a system of unwritten doctrine. Such of his express teachings as contain in any way allusions to natural phenomena — notably some passages from the Sermon on the Mount, and certain of his parables — prove his observations to have been of that quick and penetrating, yet quiet kind, which belongs to those whose spirits are most akin to the spirit of nature. The beauty of the flowers has been noticed (Matt. vi. 29), and the soul of the observer touched

¹ See Acts xiv. 17, xvii. 24-28; Rom. i. 19 f., xi. 36; Eph. iii. 15; Heb. ii. 10, xi. 3 f.; John i. 1-4; Col. i. 13 ff.; and compare Dörner, Glaubenslehre, I. p. 460.

with a feeling almost like grief or compassion, at the thought how quickly that beauty fades or is ruthlessly destroyed (verse 30). In accordance with the fine instinct of the Hebrew religion, the divine care for the animate and inanimate creation is made the occasion of praises and of exhortation to a life of gratitude and trust (verse 25 f.; compare x. 29). The unity of God's work, and the supremacy of the ethical to the material and æsthetic interests, are alike taught in many of the parables. The world of nature is God's world; in it, and even amidst its most grim and dreadful phenomena, its most devastating experiences, the child of God may walk as in his Father's house. It is just those implied views of nature that characterize the discourses of the central figure and only infallible teacher of the Bible, which most completely escape even the suspicion of any conflict with the assured discoveries of science.

In contrast with the elevation and rare development of view which is shown by all the more distinctively religious elements of the biblical doctrine of nature, must be placed the simple and crude conceptions which are held as to the existence, characteristics, and concatenation of second causes. The phenomena of nature are throughout the Old Testament apparently conceived of in the most primitive fashion, and to attribute this appearance merely to the use of popular language, without acknowledging the presence of those conceptions to which the language is due, is not more justifiable in the case of the Bible than in that of other ancient writings.

The Hebrew conceptions of physical phenomena were similar to those of neighboring nations in antiquity. The popular belief that the sky is a solid expanse (שָׁמַיִם, στερέωμα, LXX.) was expressed in its very title, and corresponded to the belief of the Greeks as found in Homer, Pindar, and even in some of the philosophers.¹ In Amos ix. 6 it is called a vault, and in Isa. xl. 22, Ps. civ. 2, it is compared to a curtain stretched out overhead. Since it is both pellucid and firm, it resembles a mirror (Job xxxvii. 18) or the light transparent blue of a sapphire (Exod. xxiv. 10). It was popularly supposed to be set upon the tops of the mountains as upon supporting pillars (see Job xxvi. 11 and 1 Sam. ii. 8), and to have openings like doors, or windows, or canals, through which the water falls as rain upon

¹ As, for instance, Empedocles. Corresponding Greek epithets are στέρεον, χαλκον, πολυχάλκον.

the earth.¹ although the true state of the case was not unknown, at least in later times, as to the nature of the rain,² and even as to the suspense of the earth without visible support (see Job xxvi. 7). Above the firmament was an exhaustless store of water,³—a conception connected with that of the nature of the sky itself, and also with the ancient conception of an ocean-stream flowing around the entire earth.

The simplicity and unscientific character of the Hebrew conceptions of the animal kingdom is manifest in the classifications of the Mosaic cosmogony and of the Torah. The purpose of the writers is in every case to serve the ends of morals and religion rather than of accurate scientific knowledge: in serving these ends they employ such means of information as are at their hand.

We must, then, approach the detailed consideration of any point seemingly in dispute between the Bible and the natural and physical sciences, with the following presumptions, which are conclusions from the preceding examination.

The view which the Bible takes of nature is intensely monotheistic and supernaturalistic. The phenomena which science classifies according to the way in which they exhibit the qualities of second causes, the Bible ascribes to their source in the wise and gracious will of the Primal Cause. If it be true, as we are assured on credible authority, that "the whole progress of physical science tends, in respect to divine action, to consider that mediate, general, and in a sense indirect, which has been thought to be immediate and special,"⁴ it is equally true that the permanent tendency of revelation and Scripture is to attribute to the immediate divine action what physical science considers as "mediate, general, and in a sense indirect." The Bible does not deny the truth of the scientific point of view, from which "all appears to have come to pass in the course of nature, and therefore under second causes;" although this comprehensive statement is very far from being verifiable by science. But when science confesses, "What these are, or how connected and interfused with first cause, we know not,"⁵ revelation receives from the hand of science a commission to become its teacher. Concerning the being and qualities of the

¹ Compare Gen. i. 7, vii. 11; 2 Kings vii. 2, 19; Job xxxviii. 25; Ps. lxxviii. 23, cxlviii. 4.

² Compare Gen. ii. 6; Job xxxvi. 27, 28; Jer. x. 13; Ps. cxxxv. 7.

³ Gen. i. 7; Ps. cxlviii. 4, compare xxix. 3, civ. 3.

⁴ Asa Gray, *Natural Science and Religion*, p. 69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 76 f.

supernatural, and concerning the religious elements of belief as to the relations of the natural and the supernatural, the declarations of Sacred Scripture may be presumed to teach true doctrine. And this presumption has strength in direct proportion to the strength of the organic connection which exists between each such element and the distinctive central truths of Scripture.

The view which the Bible takes of nature coincides with that of science in some of the most important elements of their common ground. The point of view is different, but certain ideal characteristics of nature are described from either point of view. That the world has been formed and exists as a cosmos, an orderly and progressive system, both science and Scripture declare. But Scripture is as far from possessing the scientific conception of the world as a self-contained whole, as science itself is from the ability to make this conception good.¹ The power which pure religious ideas exert to purify the various subordinate elements of the conception of nature, and thus to make it correspond to the ideal forms under which science shows that nature has been created, appears often in the Bible; especially in the case of the Mosaic cosmogony. Certain deductions from the true religious idea of the world necessarily correspond to the inductions of science. Revelation makes known this idea in its unfolding into these forms of deduction. It is to be presumed, then, that the Bible will be scientifically exact so far as certain general elements of the scientific conception of the world are concerned. It will, however, arrive at these elements by deduction from its religious idea and as items of revelation included in that idea; whereas science will arrive at the same elements by scientific induction on the basis of an experience of nature.

The view which the Bible takes of nature is the view of men who were relatively lacking in exact knowledge of phenomena, devoid of scientific conceptions, and without scientific means of acquiring this knowledge or these conceptions. The writers of Scripture could, then, be kept from manifold erroneous impressions and statements upon such matters, only in a supernatural way. Were they so kept? So far as the answer to this ques-

¹ The statement of the author just quoted (see p. 67), — that "nature . . . is a system of fixed laws and uniformities," — is not more verifiable in the sense intended, than the other statement of Dawson (*Nature and the Bible*, p. 31): "The uniformity of nature as under natural law, expressing the will of the unchangeable Creator, is as certain a dogma of Scripture as it is a result of science."

tion depends upon the assumptions of faith, we have no right to say that they were. So far as it depends upon historic probabilities, we have every reason to presume that they were not. So far as it depends upon the facts,—and to the facts an ultimate appeal must be taken,—we have abundant reason to assert that they were not. The presumption in favor of any passage in the Bible is in the inverse ratio of its attempt,—should any such attempt anywhere exist—to deal with scientific questions.¹ Moreover, in cases where the handling of scientific questions is indirectly concerned in the establishment of religious doctrine, we cannot expect that the writers will be kept from all error. The rather will their liability to error be in the direct ratio of the remoteness of these questions from the central truths of such doctrine. In other words, both substance and form of truth may be expected only so far as they are concerned in the main purpose of revelation, and with a certainty of expectation conditioned upon their closeness of organic connection with the infallible contents of revelation. Both form and substance of representation may be expected to share in the errors of the time, so far as they are distinctively not thus connected with such contents, but derived in a purely human way from observation or tradition. The human, fallible, and erroneous elements will be permeated, and to a certain extent transfused, but not necessarily freed from their fallibility and error, by the presence of revealed truth concerning the supernatural.

We proceed now to illustrate and enforce the foregoing conclusions by several selected examples. And among these, as being both first in occurrence and chief in import, must be placed the so-called Mosaic cosmogony (Gen. i. 1-ii. 3).

The relative antiquity, the noble simplicity in style, the loftiness and purity in theological conceptions, of this masterpiece which meets our sight at the very opening of the Bible, are acknowledged by all, both critics and casual readers.² Its literary quality has won the praises of writers like Herder and Jean Paul Richter. And since modern science began to make more serious work of theories of world-building, the elaborate presentation of the relations between this simple ancient cosmogony and these complicated modern theories has provoked the painstaking, not only of theologians like

¹ Compare Reusch, *Bibel und Natur*, pp. 21-34 and 262 ff.

² Compare Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, p. 1.

Bosizio,¹ Delitzsch,² Ebrard,³ Godet,⁴ Keerl,⁵ Keil,⁶ Kurtz,⁷ Reusch,⁸ F. W. Schultz,⁹ John Pye Smith,¹⁰ Zöckler,¹¹ and many others, but also of scientists like Cuvier,¹² Dana,¹³ Dawson,¹⁴ Miller,¹⁵ Pfaff,¹⁶ Quenstedt,¹⁷ and Andreas Wagner.¹⁸

The general accord of this narrative, in its religious doctrine, with that of the entire Bible (as that doctrine has already been exhibited), is undoubted; and as well the fact that the purpose of the narrative is distinctively not speculative nor scientific, but religious. "It has throughout," says F. W. Schultz (p. 86), "only one thing, the founding of the kingdom of God, in its view." In the light of this great final purpose, not only its express statements and its implied inferences, but also its silences and omissions, and even its lapses and errors (as judged from the scientific point of view), must all be interpreted. This purpose, then, invites us at once to distinguish between the items of true doctrine which the passage intends to teach, and the forms of conception, whether scientifically exact or erroneous, in which the doctrine is conveyed. Of the more important elements of doctrine designed to be taught, the following may be especially distinguished: ¹⁹ —

(1) The universe is dependent for its existence and present order upon the will of God. That God is the Creator and Lord of all, is a truth in which science, philosophy, and religion unite for their common foundation, and upon which all the

¹ Das Hexaemeron und die Geologie, Mainz, 1865. (Jesuit priest.)

² Commentar über die Genesis, 4 Aufl., Leipzig, 1872.

³ Der Glaube an die heilige Schrift und die Ergebnisse der Naturforschung, Königsberg, 1861.

⁴ Études bibliques, first series, second edition, Paris, 1873.

⁵ Die Schöpfungsgeschichte, etc., Basel, 1861; Die Einheit der biblischen Urgeschichte, 1863.

⁶ Genesis und Exodus, Leipzig, 1861.

⁷ Bibel und Astronomie, 4 Aufl., Berlin, 1858.

⁸ Bibel und Natur, 4 Aufl., Bonn, 1876.

⁹ Die Schöpfungsgeschichte nach Naturwissenschaft und Bibel, Gotha, 1865.

¹⁰ The Relation between the Holy Scriptures and Some Parts of Geological Science, fifth edition, London, 1854.

¹¹ Theologia Naturalis, Frankfurt, 1860; Die Urgeschichte der Erde und des Menschen, Gütersloh, 1868.

¹² Discours sur les Révolutions du Globe, re-edited by Höfer, Paris, 1850.

¹³ Manual of Geology, New York, 1874.

¹⁴ Nature and the Bible, New York, 1875.

¹⁵ Testimony of the Rocks, and other works of this author.

¹⁶ Schöpfungsgeschichte, etc., Frankfurt, 1855.

¹⁷ Sonst und Jetzt, Tübingen, 1856.

¹⁸ Geschichte der Urwelt, 2 Aufl., Leipzig, 1857. (In this brief list, only some of the more recent and elaborate works are mentioned.)

¹⁹ Compare F. W. Schultz, Die Schöpfungsgeschichte, pp. 94 ff.; Reusch, Bibel und Natur, pp. 75 ff.

other truths and experiences of salvation depend. This primal truth, however, is not taught (Gen. i.) in the form of the assertion that God created the world out of nothing. The word **קָרָא** is, indeed, in the Kal used only of the divine activity: as thus used it is never joined with an accusative of the material, and always expresses the production of somewhat new, whether in the kingdom of nature (Num. xvi. 30) or in that of grace (Exod. xxxiv. 10; Ps. li. 10). But, on the other hand, its use even in this very passage cannot be confined to the act of absolute creation (compare i. 27, v. 1, and ii. 7); and in other passages (Amos iv. 13; Isa. xliii. 7, xlv. 7, 18) it stands in parallelism with **עָשָׂה** (to make), and **צָרַף** (to fashion), or with **חָשַׁח** (to renew) (Ps. civ. 30). Moreover, the claim that it is the express intention of Gen. i. to teach the doctrine of God's relation to the world under the form of a creation out of nothing, cannot rely upon the very sentence (Gen. i. 1) which forms its chief support. For, of the three interpretations of this difficult passage, that adopted by Bunsen, Ewald, Schrader, Hermann Schultz, and Dillmann, is perhaps the least difficult, in view of the construction of the language and the exegesis of the entire chapter. We read, then, as the opening declaration of the Bible, "In the beginning when God created the heavens and the earth, — and the earth was waste and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the Spirit of God brooded upon the face of the waters, — then God said, Let there be light." ¹ The doctrine that all things, even the original materials of the world, are the product of the divine will, is, then, rather implied than expressly taught in the Mosaic cosmogony. Nor is this fact of negative significance alone: it serves to emphasize the distinguished simplicity and purely religious and practical (as contrasted with what is theosophic) nature of the narrative. We have already considered the other items of this general relation of God to nature and man, in so far as they contradict all atheism, materialism, deism, and dualism, — not, however, with express intent to enter into philosophic controversies, but in the simple and even naïve fashion which befits so ancient a document in its work of laying the foundations of the practical religious life.

¹ The justification of this translation cannot, of course, be given here; but compare Dillmann, *Die Genesis, in loco*; H. Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 530 f.; and for an answer to the objections growing out of the length of the sentence, see Schrader, *Studien zur Kritik*, p. 48 f., and compare Gen. ii. 4 f., and v. 1-3.

(2) The divine qualities of power and wisdom, as evinced in the divine work of preparing the world of physical substances and forces, of living creatures, and of moral subjects made in the divine image, are prominent in the thought and narrative of the author. The almightiness of the divine word is shown in that this word is immediately followed by its perfect result (i. 3, 6 f., 9, 11 f., 14 f., 20 f., 24 f.); the perfection of the divine wisdom is shown in that each such result, as well as the total product of creation, may be inspected and pronounced to be "good" (verses 4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31). An adequate actualization of the divine idea is thus proclaimed. The six days of creation are, then, not needed as time in which the divine volition may reach its full result; nor is the doctrine of a creation which not only takes place in time, but continues through time, here taught in the sense in which F. W. Schultz¹ and others would find it. None of the time of the six days of creation is regarded by the author of Gen. i. as necessary for, or indeed, in strictness of speech, as occupied by, the divine act of creation.

(3) The divine qualities in their creative activity penetrate every detail of creation. The arrangements of things inorganic, and of the lives of all organized beings, are, one and all, due to God. No contrast is intended which shall restrict the divine activity, when we are told of one act of creation that it was immediate, and of another that it was mediate. And just as truly as the prophet intends no distinction of fundamental relation to God, when he speaks (Isa. xlv. 18) of Jehovah that "*created*" the heavens, and "*formed*" the earth; just so truly does this author intend no such distinction when he makes Elohim command the light *to be*, and the earth *to bring forth* the grass. The resting of God cannot, therefore, contradict that specifically biblical view of the relation of God to his creation which makes him always the Creator and Preserver of his universe. The distinction between God's works in creation, and his sabbatic rest, is one between the divine activity in producing all the past forms of creation, and that activity which concerns the moral government and redemption of man.² The supremacy, transcendency, and immanency of God are implied alike in all his creative works and in his sabbatic rest. No form of matter or of life is, then, to be considered as exempt from this relation of dependence upon God; much less can it

¹ Die Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 96 f.

² Compare F. W. Schultz, *Ibid.*, p. 101.

be personified as a nature-god, or worshipped in implied independence of its real Creator.

(4) The divine institution of the Mosaic sabbath is the doctrine, which, although not in itself of equivalent importance with the foregoing truths, nevertheless, on account of its historical value in connection with the founding of Mosaism, gave distinctive shape to the Mosaic cosmogony. This doctrine is itself revealed and taught in this narrative. The division of time into weeks rests upon a natural order, and existed for an indefinite period before this account of creation was promulgated. A tradition of creation among the Hebrews, in certain features like, and in others unlike, the cosmogonies of the other nations, also preceded the writing of Gen. i. 1-ii. 3. But the account of Genesis, in substantially its present form, must be held to be contemporaneous with, or shaped upon the ground of, the institution of the sabbath-feast among the Jews.¹ It is, then, the hebdomad rather than the hexaemeron which primarily determined the shaping of the account. The eight or more works of creation which the writer found existent in the traditional accounts, he gathered up into the six days of his narrative, in order that the six days of work and the one day of divinely appointed rest might appear in creation itself. It was not a revelation of the number of geological periods in which the work of framing the universe actually took place, that he supposed himself to have received or designed to convey, but rather a divine command for the institution of the sabbath rest. From this point of view, then, the entire narrative culminates in the declaration, "And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it."² The Mosaic conception of God, and the Mosaic institution of the sabbath, contribute elements of doctrine which blend themselves in the form of the Mosaic cosmogony. The number of the days is to be insisted upon as an enforcement of one command of the Decalogue (compare Exod. xx. 8-11). But that otherwise the precise order of the works, or the number of days in which they should be conceived of as consummated, was not held important in Old-Testament doctrine, we find proof in the variableness of its own conception of these details of creation. Thus in Gen. ii. 4 ff. there appears a different, if not a contradictory, account of the order of creation. In Job

¹ See Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, p. 12.

² Compare Rensch, *Bibel und Natur*, p. 127 f.; and F. W. Schultz, *Schöpfungsgeschichte*, p. 344 f.

xxxviii. 4-7, the existence of the stars before the founding of the earth is presupposed. These passages, and as well Prov. viii. 24 f., Ps. xxiv. 2, Job xxvi. 7-10, and even that later description which most closely follows this of Gen. i., — viz., Ps. civ., — show no anxiety to accord in these matters with their great original.

Besides these more strictly religious doctrines, and yet as deduced from them and so sharing in the marks of revelation which they bear, are certain general conceptions in which the narrative of Gen. i. either coincides or contrasts with the conceptions of science. Among such are the following: —

(1) Man stands at the head of creation, being last in time but first in excellence, and sharing both in the natural and in the supernatural. The conception of the Mosaic cosmogony agrees with scientific discoveries in making man appear last upon the earth, and only after, though in close conjunction with, the higher orders of animals. The Mosaic cosmogony tells of a sixth day, which includes the seventh and eighth works of God (i. 24-28). Geology tells us of a cenozoic time, which is divided into two ages, — the tertiary, or age of mammals, the quaternary, or age of man.¹ The point of view which science holds is ordinarily, however, the merely anatomical or physiological: it is wont, therefore, to insist upon man's connections with the natural. But when it has tried to take the other side of man's complex nature also into the account, and is then asked after his total origin, it is forced to say, "I do not know:"² its declaration contrasts with, but does not contradict, that of Gen. i. 26, which asserts, "God created man in his own image."

(2) Man, so far as the purpose of the Bible is concerned, may be regarded as the centre of creation. The Mosaic cosmogony so regards him. Its order of creative acts has not only its culmination, but also its focus, in man. The earth must not more surely bring forth vegetable life in preparation for the animal life, which, according to the conception of Genesis, was wholly to be sustained by it, than must all animal life be brought forth in preparation for man (compare Gen. ii. 18 f.). Sun, moon, and all the remotest stars were created for man, to rule the day and night for him, and to give him light; in this office

¹ See Dana, *Manual of Geology*, ed. 1874, p. 141, 766 f.

² See Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, p. 128; Asa Gray, *Science and Religion*, p. 100.

they serve the divine moral purpose as well as in the office of hosts of the Lord who made them (compare Job xxxviii. 7; Isa. xl. 26). From the biblical point of view, one of these two offices can scarcely be called more poetic or prosaic than the other.¹ From the merely scientific point of view, man appears far otherwise placed than at the focus of creation. And yet these two points of view, the biblical and the scientific, are not so much necessarily contradictory as they are actually in contrast. That the form in which the Mosaic cosmogony conceives of man as having come into this central position, may be, in its details, scientifically erroneous, does not prove the conception itself untrue.

(3) That the universe has been constituted by God, through successive acts of creation, an orderly and progressive whole, is also a conception held firm in the Mosaic cosmogony. And this is also the conception arrived at by the inductions of the natural and physical sciences. From lower to higher, and by the fitting of each new form into the place already provided for it, the work of creation moves to its resting-place. The cosmos is perfect as a divine idea, it moves in actuality forward toward its goal by successive stages. Only when sin has interrupted the natural order, does a pause in order take place. The perfect cosmos shall come in that perfected kingdom of redemption, whose narrative is the entire Bible. With this conception, much that science holds true of the order of nature either coincides or contrasts, according to the manner in which its details are wrought out. Of that immense conflict amongst the forms of animal life, of those countless ages of growth and increase, succeeded by ruin and comparative chaos, which geology has brought to view, the Mosaic cosmogony plainly has no information. To the thought of its author, such a method in creation might have seemed contradictory to the conception of divine wisdom and order. But science has shown that this method of order out of disorder lies in the divine path from the lower to the higher, from an earth waste and void to a world redeemed by Christ.

That arrangement of the materials in this ideal course of creation which is given by the Mosaic cosmogony is, however, as faulty scientifically as the materials are meagre. The arrangement, and the amount of material to be arranged, are only such as were in accord with the author's ignorance of scientific mat-

¹ Compare Job ix. 6 and xxxviii. 6, with xxvi. 7.

ters. The general conception of order is a deduction from the religious belief of Mosaism. Understood in this way, it is at every step simple and natural to a mind inspired by revelation of religious truth, but ignorant of the truths of science. The visible universe begins to become the fit habitation of the kingdom of redemption when the word of God first summons the light into being. For light is the indispensable condition, not only of all existence, but also of the very cognizance of that process which the writer is to describe. Before its appearing, all definite existence is but potential, since there is only a wide and dark expanse of waste and impetuous waters (תהום), brooded over by the divine life-giving Spirit. This watery mass, still undivided, but now illumined with the newly created light, the word of God then separates into its two parts, and fixes separate by the firm and pellucid expanse of sky. And as the heaven had been divided from the earth, so now is the earth itself divided by the collecting together of the waters into the sea, and the dry-land called earth (אֶרֶץ) in the more restricted sense of the word. This earth is thus prepared at once to respond to the creative command of Jehovah, and spontaneously bring forth every known kind of vegetable life. The light, which had until now been conceived of as everywhere equally diffused above the earth, is now conceived of as stationed at its centres of supply; there has been light, but now God says, "Let there be lights."

The creation of the heavenly bodies upon the fourth day, separated thus from the creation of light, is the only real surprise in the order of the Mosaic cosmogony. Many occult reasons, both scientific and theosophic, have been assigned for this order. A prophecy of the modern scientific theory of world-building has been detected in it by all the more confident modern harmonists. But, according to Dillmann¹ and others (Tuch, Ewald), the creation of sun, moon, and stars occurs here, because, as possessed of the power of motion and fitted for activity, they belong to a higher order of beings than stationary vegetable forms.² Considering the traditional accounts which the author had to handle, and the conceptions, religiously true but scientifically inexact, which control his handling of these accounts, this order may be said to be not so surprising. According to these conceptions, the creation of the heavenly luminaries could not take place until a firmament was con-

¹ Die Genesis, p. 13.

² Compare Judg. v. 20; Job xxxviii. 7; Isa. xl. 26.

structed in which to set them; it would not be conceived of as taking place except in the order of the service which these luminaries were to render to the world as the dwelling-place of man. The lights are *for* the earth, and *for* man as dwelling on the earth (verses 14-18). They could not, then, be created earlier than the third day. But since the author was to combine the eight works of creation so as to make the sabbath week, two works were allotted to the third day. The two works which naturally and almost necessarily went together were the making of the dry-land, and the command to it to bring forth its products of vegetable life. Moreover, by this arrangement of the fourth day, the entire balance of the two great halves of the creative works—the *opera distinctionis* and the *opera ornatus* of Thomas Aquinas¹—is secured and maintained.²

From this point forward, the author of Gen. i. introduces the animal creation upon the earth, in an order which corresponds to his general plan and to his conceptions of its relations to man; until he reaches the crowning divine work, the one for which all the preceding narrative has been arranged, and to which all the subsequent history and doctrine shall recur.

Since, then, the details of time and order, in which the narrative of Gen. i. 1-ii. 3 was so arranged as to embody the true religious conceptions of its author, are necessarily dependent upon the knowledge of nature belonging to his age, we may anticipate in them not a few scientific defects and errors. Among the specific difficulties which modern science finds with the Mosaic cosmogony, the following are the more important. The difficulties which belong to its general conception, and occasion contrasts with, rather than contradictions of, scientific truths, have already been sufficiently noticed.

(1) The Mosaic cosmogony does not recognize that close relation in origin of the various forms of life, and that gradual unfolding of higher and yet higher forms, which modern science proclaims. All the forms of plant-life are introduced together in verse 12; all the forms of fishes and birds in verse 20; all the forms of land-animals in verses 24 f.

(2) The Mosaic cosmogony does not recognize that slow and uninterrupted progress, requiring countless ages for the suc-

¹ Summa Th., I. quæ. 74, art. 1; and for the same view from the scientific standpoint, see Dana, Manual of Geology, p. 769.

² Compare F. W. Schultz, Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 343 f.

cessive steps of its procedure, which science shows to have been the method of creation. Even admitting that the "six days" of creation may be interpreted as six periods of indefinite length (an admission which will soon be examined critically), the time thus gained is not represented as in any sense filled or occupied by creation. But the very substance of the scientific representation requires this immense lapse of time in order that it may be occupied with the unfolding of the various forms of life.

(3) The correspondence of the *Tohu-va-Bohu* of Gen. i. 2, and the cosmogonic period when the heavens and the earth were "in the condition of a gaseous fluid," is specious. For, according to the Mosaic cosmogony, the heavens were made from the earth-mass, which was at that time unilluminated; and, moreover, the term *תְּהוֹם* (a mass of raging waters) has no resemblance to a "gaseous fluid."¹ The appearance of light is, then, the first step toward order from the original dark and watery chaos; whereas light belongs by its very nature to that condition of the earth-mass with which the hypothesis of science begins.

(4) The production of all the various great types of plant-life is represented by the Mosaic cosmogony as taking place before the existence of sunlight upon the earth (verses 11 f.). This difficulty cannot be escaped by pointing out that some of the lower forms of plant-life may possibly have existed without sunlight; for the very description is manifestly designed to cover all the forms familiar to the experience of the author and necessary to the sustenance of man and beast (compare i. 11 f. and 29 f.). The design of the description is further manifest in the phrase which concludes this perfected work. Nor can we say that the great age (the carboniferous) in which the luxuriance of plant-life was distinctive is here characterized by a few bold touches; for this age must have been subsequent both to the fourth, and to a part of the fifth day of the Mosaic cosmogony.

(5) The separation of all plant-life from the animal-life which the Mosaic cosmogony assigns to the fifth and the first part of the sixth days, is in opposition to the conclusions of modern science. The impossibility of separating the lower grades of vegetable from those of animal life, even by the analysis of

¹ This is certain from the etymology of the word (*רום*, to roar), and from its use elsewhere: compare Gen. viii. 2; Ezek. xxvi. 19; Jon. ii. 5; Ps. xlii. 7.

scientific methods, is declared by Professor Gray to be a settled opinion in science.¹ And even Dawson admits that the usual explanation of the difficulty, how an entire aeon could elapse between plants and animals, is "a straining of the records;" while the same harmonist entirely shirks this difficulty himself.² Nor is the statement of the Mosaic cosmogony relieved of its scientific inaccuracy by holding either one of the two views of the scientists upon the question, whether vegetable or animal life appeared first upon the earth.

(6) The creation of the heavenly bodies, which the Mosaic cosmogony seems to make subsequent to the present distinction of sea and land upon the earth's surface, and even to the production of the various forms of plant-life, is necessarily assigned by science to an antiquity immensely more remote than either. That the words of Gen. i. 14—"And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament"—may be made to refer to the merely phenomenal change by which the heavenly bodies are now first made visible from the earth, is not exegetically defensible; nor does it essentially change the scientific objections. For the difficulty with respect to the relations of sunlight and the perfection of plant-life still remains. The supposition that the work of the fourth day coincides with the claims of science includes, moreover, the supposition that the most far-reaching and as yet unproved form of the theory of La Place (the form which includes in one process of evolution all the remotest fixed stars) was either known to the writer of Genesis, or else revealed through his unconscious agency. The comparison of the *אֵל* of verse 14 with the use of the same word in the preceding verses (3 and 6), and the fact that the article is wanting before *אֵל*, prevent us from understanding these words as expressive of any thing less than a divine creative act.

(7) The different steps in the creation of animal forms (verses 20-25) correspond with the representations of geology and palæontology, in certain of their larger outlines; but this correspondence is still only such as belongs to the true nature of the narrative,—a correspondence growing out of the partial agreement of the deductions from true religious conceptions and the inductions of scientific research. Beyond these limits we find again the same inexactness in scientific matters which the earlier part of the chapter shows.

For answering these and other objections, to which the

¹ See *Nature and Religion*, p. 10 f.

² See *Nature and the Bible*, p. 105.

Mosaic cosmogony has been summoned by the loud-sounding voice of modern science, various methods have been proposed. The statement and criticism in detail of these several methods does not fall within the compass or intent of our present work. They may be classified and presented, however, in accordance with their more distinctive principles, as the following four forms of the general hypothesis of reconciliation.

Of these four forms the first attempted was, naturally enough, the *hypothesis of literalism*.¹ Of this hypothesis the general principle is, that the Bible is to be literally interpreted and understood as the infallible word of God, and that the discoveries of science are to be admitted only so far as they allow of present or prospective accord with biblical statements. Long before the objections to the Mosaic cosmogony were felt in their more modern force and shape, we find attempts to account for newly discovered facts in nature, by causes the knowledge of which can be derived only from the biblical writings. How great difficulty the Copernican system found in making its way, because of its seeming contradiction of the biblical narratives, is too well known to need mention. Even as early as Tertullian we find the position of the petrifications of those marine shells, which were discovered in places of high altitude, attributed to the Noachian deluge. The geological theories of Descartes and Leibnitz, and of Burnet, Woodward, and Silberschlag, accounted in the same way for much in the present formation of the entire earth, and in the disposition of its fossils. The interpretation of the Bible adopted by the advocates of this theory at the present time has this advantage, that it is not necessarily led into unmixed incongruities of modern science and ancient doctrine by the effort to make the statements of Scripture scientifically exact. But alas! when the task of answering the most valid claims of science is laid upon these advocates, their interpretation of nature does not equally commend itself to an enlightened and fair judgment. For their answer consists in denying, both in general and in special, the claims and proofs of science; and this in order that they may maintain the infallibility of Scripture in scientific matters. They sometimes contemptuously ask of science the question, "What is the evidence you have to present?" while, at the same time, they are

¹ The so-called *ältere Ausgleichungsweise*, according to the language of F. W. Schultz (see *Schöpfungsgeschichte*, p. 296); according to that of Reusch, the theory *nach der buchstäblichen Deutung der sechs Tage* (Bibel und Natur, p. 213 f.).

obviously quite without power to appreciate the answer when it is given. And no wonder; for this answer is — to quote the words of a devout scientist — “no less than the whole science itself.”¹ In the opinion of these advocates, all the species of plants were really created on the third day of twenty-four hours; all the species of animals, on the fifth and sixth days. The fossils are all due to the catastrophe of the Flood in the days of Noah, or to other catastrophes which have succeeded in upheaving the earth’s strata since that great epoch. What the geologists have to say of different fauna and flora belonging to different periods, is all the fancy of the geologists. As we have already seen, the denial of the antiquity of the solar system, or of the fixed stars, is not impossible with some harmonists. But manifestly the terms “harmony” and “reconciliation” can be applied to such writers only as a grim satire. And, in fact, Bosizio, Beith, and, above all, Keil, remain almost the only distinguished advocates of so untenable a view.

The *hypothesis of restitution* is the second of the principal forms in which the reconciliation of Genesis and geology has been attempted. Of this hypothesis it is an essential feature to introduce between the first two verses of Gen. i. an interval of time sufficiently vast, so that to it may be assigned not only all the astronomical period of creation, but also the earlier and longer geological periods during which occurred the formation of the earth’s strata and the deposit of its fossils. The first verse, then, is intended to describe the original and primal act of creation; the second, the condition of the earth countless ages subsequently, and after one or more great catastrophes had already taken place. As to the cause of this catastrophe, the advocates of this hypothesis divide in opinion: some, like Chalmers and Buckland, are content to assign causes which correspond to those of present experience; and others, like Boehme, Oetinger, F. von Meyer, Stier, and Keerl, mingle with these reasons theosophic speculations concerning the fall of the angels, and the effect of this fall upon the physical condition of the earth. The more famous recent advocates of this theory, in one form or another, are the theologians Hengstenberg, Kurtz, and Delitzsch, and the zoölogist Wagner. As to the more special relations of the “days” in Genesis to the more recent geologic periods, the opinions of these writers differ:

¹ Le Conte, *Religion and Science*, p. 235.

Kurtz,¹ for instance, alleging that it is the *πρῶτον ψεύδος* of most attempts of reconciliation that they make the days and the periods correspond; and Keerl² maintaining that the Mosaic cosmogony must correspond with the assured results of geology, or it cannot be considered an original and trustworthy record (*Urkunde*) of revelation.

But the objections to the entire hypothesis are insuperable and conclusive. In that form of it which includes angelic agencies as furnishing reasons to account for the *Tohu-va-Bohu* of Gen. i. 2, it is especially indefensible. Even so ardent an advocate as Keerl is forced to admit that it lacks any direct proof from the Bible; and the indirect proof which it obtains from the doctrine of the fall of the angels can claim only certain passages found in the deuterocanonical books of 2 Pet. ii. 4, and Jude 6. It assumes that God cannot be the direct author of that condition with which the Mosaic cosmogony begins, but that the position and construction of verse 2 indicate the intent of the writer to suggest another cause than the divine activity for the production of chaos. The interpretation, therefore, makes a wide gap between the first two verses of Gen. i., and "fills it with a wild horde of evil spirits and their demoniacal works." But one of the chief elements of the superiority of the biblical narrative to the cosmological myths of surrounding nations consists in just this: that the original condition which is assumed as the ground or subject of the divine activity in the following creations, is itself to be referred to the creative divine will. Moreover, this form of the opinion that the primal condition of the world is the result of a *καταβολή*, or dejection of pre-existent beings to a lower scale of existence, is traceable to the sources of North-German demonology.³ And in no form does the hypothesis meet the difficulties involved, but rather occasions new and graver ones. It cuts off the close connection between verses 2 and 1, and assumes that *הָיָה* — "the meaning of which has never been doubtful to any one acquainted with Hebrew" — may be equivalent to "became." It destroys the unity of the narrative, and the

¹ Einheit des Pentateuchs, Königsberg 1844, p. 54 f.

² Einheit der biblischen Urgeschichte, pp. 6 f. and 115 ff.

³ See F. W. Schultz, Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 303 f.; Diestel, Geschichte des A. T., p. 727; Tholuck, Vermischte Schriften, II. p. 230. This form of the general view must not, however, be confounded with that of Origen, who made not the destruction, but the original construction, of the physical universe a consequence of the fall of the angels. (See De Princ. III. 5, 4.)

proof which the narrative gives that the writer had a lofty and inspired conception of creation. It is irreconcilable with the declaration elsewhere made (Exod. xx. 9 ff., xxxi. 12-17), that God made "the heavens and earth" in six days. It makes the entire narrative only an account of some comparatively petty transactions in geologic relations, which preceded the appearance of man. And how dangerous it may become, as an attempt at "reconciliation," to the very life of religious doctrine, may be seen in the modification which Pye Smith made of the theory of Chalmers: the *Tohu-va-Bohu* of the Mosaic cosmogony, instead of representing the universal star-dust from which all worlds came, was taken to mean only a local and partial displacement of the earth's crust.

In the third place, we must notice the inadequacy of all the various forms assumed by the general *hypothesis of concordance*. "Moses was a Neptunist," says Quenstedt; and Wagner speaks of him as one of the oldest geologists of the world. The one postulate of this hypothesis is the possibility of making the eight divine works of Genesis accord throughout with the order and the substance of the established periods of geology. That this hypothesis is in every form inadequate, is shown by its utter failure to remove or relieve a single one of the seven chief difficulties mentioned above. But it is also shown by the untenable nature of its indispensable pre-requisite in exegesis: viz., the "days" of Genesis must be interpreted as at least admitting the meaning of long and indefinite periods of time. To prove that the word *יום* might have in Hebrew this required meaning, would be quite a different thing from proving that it *does* have this meaning in Gen. i. But not even the proof for the first position can be made satisfactory to careful exegetes. The use of *יום* with *א* to denote the time when, forms no analogy to the case here alleged.¹ In Ps. xc. 4, where we are told that a thousand years are in Jehovah's eyes like (the day of) yesterday when it is past, the force of the comparison depends upon retaining the customary meaning of the word "day." Nor can the fact that the seventh day, which is that of the divine rest, must cover an indefinitely long period, be brought in proof of this rendering; for it is the seventh day in which God ended

¹ Compare Gen. ii. 17, iii. 5; Exod. x. 28; 1 Kings ii. 8; 2 Sam. xxi. 12. The use of *יום* in Gen. ii. 4, which Delitzsch has made a proof of his view, is only similar to the use in the above-mentioned passages: Kurtz has, in reply to Delitzsch, alleged that, if the use in Gen. i. were strictly parallel with that in Gen. ii. 4, the two passages would be involved in a contradiction.

his work and began his rest (Gen. ii. 2 f.), and not the long period through which that rest extended, that is parallel to the other six days of creation. This day, presumably of the same duration of twenty-four hours as the other six days, God blessed because in it he had rested (ii. 3). Nor does the prophetic use of the phrase, "the day of Jehovah," correspond to the use of the word *or* in the Mosaic cosmogony, which is not prophecy, but the narration of accomplished fact. And that this word is not intended by its author to have another than the customary use, seems clear from the following considerations.¹ The very idea of a long period required for creation is foreign to the biblical conceptions (compare Ps. xxxiii. 6). The connection of the narrative with the institution of the sabbath favors the literal construction. The fact, first asserted by Kurtz and afterward demonstrated by Delitzsch (so Oehler), that the formula — "there was evening and there was morning, one day" — corresponds to the Babylonian instead of the Hebrew usage, and that, therefore, the first whole day began with the light and closed with ensuing darkness, favors the same construction. The division of the entire day into two equal periods of light and darkness, closed by evening and morning, is utterly inconceivable, unless the writer intended to indicate a succession of days corresponding to those of the week as known in ordinary experience. The conception of the days following the fourth, in which the sun is given to rule the day, and the moon the night, corresponds only to the literal interpretation. For, what manner of long periods, determined by *sunlight* and succeeding darkness, could either represent the thought of the author, or satisfy the claims of geologists? And, instead of arguing that the fifth and following days of creation must be understood as long periods, because the first three days could not have been determined, even in the writer's thought, by the successions of sunlight, we are rather to argue that the first three days are not intended to be understood as long periods, because the fifth and following cannot be so intended. Nor did the succession of darkness and light in the accustomed order and

¹ The desperate attempts to which the determination to reconcile the days of the Mosaic cosmogony with the periods of geology will force one, may be seen in the case of Keerl. This author maintains (p. 123) that the day is the time of immediate activity, the night of silent development; and that (p. 191) the earth is night as distinguished from the surrounding photosphere, which is called day. The physical and moral night on earth are to be placed in the same category, and have the same cause, viz., the Devil and his angels.

interval occasion any difficulty to one who did not look upon that order and interval as necessarily determined by the relation of the earth to the sun.

The *hypothesis of ideal construction* still remains to be very briefly noticed. According to Reusch,¹ this theory understands the six days of the Mosaic cosmogony "not as six successive periods, but as six chief elements, logically distinguishable, of the creative activity of God." "Six divine thoughts or ideas" are thus actualized in creation. This principle, although combined with certain elements of the theory of concordance, is substantially adopted also by F. W. Schultz, who endeavors to show (§ 33) that the "analogy of prophecy" must be appealed to in order to understand the use made in Gen. i. of the term "day." This analogy is the more exact, according to Schultz, because in the case of the cosmogony alone do we have what purports to be an historical account, but what must be, if correct, wholly dependent upon revelation. It is, then, not the consciousness of the prophet, — for in this case the writer is a true seer looking backwards, — but the spirit of revelation, which must have given the form to his words. That the ideal elements of the Mosaic cosmogony are indeed, to a large extent, the essentially true and permanent conceptions of revelation, must be faithfully maintained; but that those very elements of time and order which occasion the conflicts with science are derived from the historical tradition of the Hebrews, and from the consciousness of the writer of Genesis (unacquainted with and mistaken in matters of science), must also be conceded. The ideal theory, then, fails to account for precisely those conceptions of the author of Gen. i., which are the causes of contention and the sources of difficulty.

We conclude, therefore, from our entire survey of the Mosaic cosmogony, that the complete reconciliation of its details with scientific truths has never yet been accomplished. Nor do we hesitate to conclude further, that its future accomplishment is by no means probable, or even possible. For the case is not one of those where the candid mind requires delay, and increase of light from either side, before forming an opinion. The more the light comes from both sides, — that is, the more faithful the exegesis of Gen. i. 1–ii. 3 becomes to the plainest requirements of hermeneutics, and the more time geology and palæontology

¹ See *Bibel und Natur*, fourth edition, p. 256 f. In the second edition of the same work, the author maintains a modified form of the theory of concordance.

have to strengthen their conclusions, already sufficiently valid, — the more plain appear the contradictions in details of form between the biblical and the scientific account of creation. And the history of the controversy they have occasioned confirms the conclusions of our critical investigation. The course of this history has in the main accorded with the prevalence of each one of the four hypotheses of reconciliation, in the order in which they were named above. But this order itself leads to the reconciliation of the conflict in the only possible way. "By all these (later) views," says Diestel,¹ "it is indirectly admitted that the contest with geology is to be given up." The pure literary quality and noble religious doctrine of the Mosaic cosmogony, its agreement with science in certain fundamental conceptions of the nature of the universe and of the course of natural development, are more than ever apparent; but its pardonable deficiency and even error in the details of scientific form are without hesitation to be conceded.

In the light of the foregoing facts and truths we are prepared to ask this question: Does, then, the narrative of Gen. i. 1–ii. 3 contain a divine revelation? The answer to this question will depend on the conception which we attach in this case to the term "revelation." That the Mosaic cosmogony was not placed by divine inspiration within the mind of its writer, devoid of historical connections, faultless in form and details of conception, we may affirm without a doubt. Its historical connections with other national cosmogonies, and with preceding traditions of a cosmogony among the Hebrews, are made evident by its internal structure and by the external proofs of comparative history.² With the other cosmogonies the Mosaic has points of correspondence, and more important points of difference. "The *Tohu-va-Bohu* of the Bible," says the Roman-Catholic theologian Reusch, in reliance upon the concurrent statements of Lüken, Stiefelhausen, Dillmann, and many others,³ "has its counterpart in all the heathen mythologies. . . . The dark night and the mass of water are universally the principal features in the more definite description of this chaos. The six days or six creative acts are found in several cosmogonies, from China in the East to the Etruscans in the West, and in essentially the same succession as in Genesis. Man is with-

¹ *Geschichte des Alten Testaments*, p. 727.

² Compare G. L. Bauer, *Hebräische Mythologie*, I. p. 67 ff.; Wuttke, *Kosmogonien d. heidnischen Völker*; Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, pp. 37–57.

³ See *Bibel und Natur*, p. 146.

out exception rated as the last creature; most of the heathen mythologies recognize his formation out of the earth's soil, and some also recognize the formation of woman out of one of the bodily members of man." Exceedingly suggestive are those relations which exist between the biblical account and the fragments of Assyro-Babylonian cosmogony as brought to the attention of scholars by the lamented George Smith.¹ And, indeed, each ancient cosmogony has features in common with the others, and at the same time peculiar national or tribal characteristics. Into each, two classes of elements, observations of external nature and reflections concerning God, enter prominently, and by their mutual or antagonistic working shape the whole conception of creation.² The conception, for example, of a world-egg, as it is found in India, China, Egypt, Phœnicia, Greece, and even among the Finns, is taken from the appearance of the heavens in the form of one-half of an immense open egg; while at the same time the handling of this conception in the cosmogonies of the different peoples where it appears, corresponds to the philosophy and religion of these peoples. The Indian cosmogony as found in the Law-book of Manu (i. 5 ff.) begins, like the Hebrew, with darkness and indistinguishable chaos; then the All-Spirit rouses himself, and scatters the darkness with the beams of the first light; water is the first being which he brings forth from himself. But this cosmogony goes on, with an utter lack of order in the subsequent creations, to mingle spiritual beings and powers with material substances, gods, genii, virtues and vices with the Vedas, and with all the objects of sense. The Persian cosmogony agrees with the Hebrew in the significance which it assigns to the word of God, and in its division of the different creative works into six periods of time, but differs from the latter most in the impressions made by its philosophy of dualism. A detailed examination would show that it is in those great religious truths, and in the conceptions of nature and God cognate to them, that the superiority of the Mosaic cosmogony appears. The traditional basis which the cosmogony had among the Hebrews was, then, itself so far the result of revelation as it was permeated and shaped by the peculiar religious conceptions of the Hebrews.

Moreover, the Mosaic cosmogony contains a revelation, in that the author of that form which it bears in Sacred Scripture received from God by inspiration, and conveyed by his narra-

¹ In his *Chaldean Account of Genesis*.

² See Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, p. 3 ff.

tive, new and important religious truth. The traditional cosmogony of the Hebrews preceding this account, probably told of eight or more separate works of creation. But this author has fused and moulded the ideas of the traditional cosmogony according to the idea of God which entered into his own exalted monotheism, and as well according to the sabbath-idea. He seems also to have intended a symmetrical arrangement of the two groups of three days, each group closing with a day that contains two works; and to have designed to place the fourth, fifth, and sixth in parallelism with the first, second, and third (so Tuch, Delitzsch, Dillmann, and others); although the latter feature of his plan is somewhat a matter of doubt. It is certain, however, that in and through the narrative of Gen. i. 1-ii. 3, the Leader and Lord of Israel gave to the nation and to the world a new, lofty, abiding, and effective manifestation of truth. The revelation of truth concerned himself as Creator and Lord of the universe, and as the Redeemer of the people, whose acknowledgment and service he required, for their good, in the sabbath-rest. The narrative of the Mosaic cosmogony contains, therefore, a divine revelation in a twofold manner. The cosmogonies of the other nations originated in their observations of nature as interpreted by philosophic and religious conceptions. They contained an element of revelation in the most general and lowest sense, because even they are not wholly devoid of that knowledge of himself which God has vouchsafed to all mankind. The traditional Hebrew cosmogony, upon the basis of which the Mosaic was constructed, contained special elements of revelation; because it was shaped by the truth which God constantly made known to the nation. The Mosaic cosmogony in its present form contains yet other and higher elements of revelation; because its truths and conceptions are those which belong to a more advanced stage of revelation, and because those truths and conceptions were received by one spiritually illumined, by an inspired mind.

The same principles of revelation which are evinced in the relations of the Mosaic cosmogony to the conclusions of the physical and natural sciences, will secure a correct understanding of all the seeming conflicts between the Bible and those sciences. In the narrative of the Noachian Deluge, elements of religious doctrine, and of conceptions which concern the relations of God to nature and to man, are made dominant over other elements derived from ancient tradition; and the same

naïve disregard and ignorance of those considerations on which science most fixes the attention pervades the shaping of the narrative. This narrative differs essentially, however, from that of the cosmogony of Genesis, in that it appertains to an event in human history. The discussion of the relations which it bears to the myths and traditions of floods which abound among other nations belongs rather to the criticism of the historical contents of the Old Testament. This flood is in origin,¹ progress,² result,³ and entire intent, thoroughly ethical; it is a divine transaction in judgment and mercy. Moreover, the adoption of the ancient tradition of this event, as the Hebrews possessed it in common with several of the surrounding nations, and also the shaping that the tradition received by the author of Genesis, are in accordance with the ethical and religious purpose which this author follows throughout his entire history. What particular ones of the numerous national myths and traditions of great floods so far accord with the narrative of Genesis that they may be brought into comparison with it, is a matter of great doubt. To these myths and traditions Dillmann⁴—it would appear correctly—assigns two chief sources; viz., the attempt by a subsequent generation to account for the almost “trackless” disappearance of various lost races from the earth, and the dim recognition of the fact that certain lands in Asia had been frightfully devastated by water.

The difficulties which the sciences of geology and palæontology find with the Noachian Deluge arise almost wholly on the supposition that its apparent intent to describe a universal submergence of the earth corresponds accurately with the event itself. The Bible ascribes the Flood not simply to the divine action, but also to two great classes of second causes: the opening of the windows of heaven by Jehovah causes the rain to descend; the breaking-up of the fountains of the great deep (בְּרִיחַ) lets the flood burst forth upon the earth. That no great geologic change could at this time have taken place in the crust of the earth, is manifest both from scientific observations and from the tradition itself. When the earth is dried,—

¹ Gen. vi. 5-8, 12-18, vii. 1. ² vii. 1, 15 f. ³ vii. 20 f., ix. 1 f., 8-17.

⁴ See *Die Genesis*, p. 143. The Arabs, according to Dillmann, have no tradition of this flood; and the Phœnician myth of the contest of Demarus with Pontus belongs to a different circle of conceptions. Many witnesses, although for the most part recent, seem to show the remnants of the same tradition among the Syrian peoples. But of all the others the Babylonian tradition, as derived through Berosus, is the most accurate and worthy of consideration in this connection.

a process for which a few months, reckoning from the time that the mountains first appear, is sufficient, — no considerable changes in its surface are noted. The mountains and hills stand in their places as usual (vii. 19 f., viii. 4); a freshly plucked olive-leaf can be found not far from the ark (viii. 11); and the procession of vegetation in its accustomed forms is resumed in the subsequent history. That both the tradition itself, and the author of Genesis, who seems to have composed his narrative from two or more substantially accordant forms of the tradition, supposed the submergence to have been universal, is manifest from Gen. vii. 19, 21, 22, 23 (compare vi. 17 and viii. 17). But the difficulties thus occasioned as to the supply of water, the effect of the Deluge upon the lands submerged, the accommodation and care of the animals in the ark, and especially their collection by Noah, are enormous; they require for an answer nothing less than the assumption of a series of most stupendous miracles. And, further, these required miracles are just such in the sphere of meteorology, physical geography, astronomy, and biology, as are to be admitted only with the utmost caution and on the highest order of evidence; they are also plainly not contemplated by the biblical narrative. Nor are any of the usual attempts to mitigate this demand upon the miraculous at all successful. For instance, the assumption of Reusch¹ that only those animals which could not otherwise be rescued were received into the ark, virtually asserts the inaccuracy of the view taken of the Flood by the author of Genesis (compare vi. 17, 19, "to destroy all flesh wherein is the breath of life from under the heavens;" vii. 4, "every living thing which I have made"): it does not, however, have the advantage of satisfying in any degree the scientific objections. But that the "earth" in the thought of the author was not the earth as known to modern geologists and geographers, the entire narrative makes evident. As Dillmann has pointed out,² the fact that less than twice the time (viz., about two and a half months) required for the water to subside fifteen cubits, so as to uncover the tops of the mountains, is then required for it to subside from that point downward, so as to leave the earth dry, seems to indicate that very high mountains could not have been known to the writer (compare viii. 5 and 14). Moreover, there are mountains more than two miles higher than the highest peaks of Ararat, which, even on the assumption that these are

¹ Bibel und Natur, p. 319.

² Die Genesis, p. 144.

the highest points of land intended by the narrative, are themselves regarded as covered only to the depth of fifteen cubits.

If, however, such matters of geographical and biological information may be regarded as wholly unknown to the tradition and to the author of Genesis alike, the substantial accuracy of the narrative, as well as its moral significance in the place which it occupies in Old-Testament history, may be maintained. And upon the occurrence of this great and memorable deluge in Armenia, as well as upon its significance in the development of the race, the considerations of ethnography, geography, and biblical criticism agree. At least, the scientific objections do not then hold against whatever biblical criticism may determine to be the truth in the case.

The scientific questions that concern the origin, unity, and antiquity of the race, are the remaining questions which have most numerous and important points of contact with the representations and doctrines of the Bible.¹ These questions are all

¹ The question of the length of life in antiquity is scarcely one upon which the Old-Testament chronology and science can be said to be in conflict. For, on the one hand, physiology is not likely to make out a case either against the physical possibility of so great length of life in man, or against its moral probability, if the interests of the divine kingdom should seem to require such a prolongation of the term of years now deemed *natural*. And, on the other hand, the historical nature of these genealogies and their attendant dates must first be established; not to mention that theology has in all ages been relatively ready to concede the inaccuracy of the earlier Old-Testament chronology in the form in which it has come down to us.

The question of the relation of death to sin in the human species is much more a religious and ethical doctrine than it is a question of zoölogy and physiology. That man is, as an animal, naturally subject to accident, disease, and death, these sciences can demonstrate; but in doing this they concur with the representations of Gen. ii. 7, 19, vi. 3. The doctrine of man's mortality which asserts that as a consequence of sin he lost the *posse non mori*, which would otherwise have belonged to him, these sciences neither teach nor refute. The command of Gen. ii. 17 does not necessarily mean that, if man did not sin, he should never die. But iii. 22 seems to annex the possibility of immortality to a continued life in paradise. Nor does the declaration of iii. 19 assert the impossibility of man's immortality, but only the naturalness and inevitableness of death in the unchecked course of nature. Man, who is by nature mortal, had by sin cut himself off from that immortality which would have been his in obedience through partaking of the tree of life (ii. 9; see Dillmann, *Die Genesis*). The exact execution of the divine threat of ii. 17 did not require that the penalty of death should be immediately consummated; for, as Oehler says (I. p. 242), the issue is placed foremost in the threat after the manner of prophetic proclamations. Driven from the garden, and so cut off from the tree of life, man is henceforth in the realization of those penalties, the consummation of which is actual death (Dillmann). The doctrine of the connection of physical death and sin is asserted in the declaration concerning man, that "on account of his erring he is flesh," — i.e., mortal, perishable (Isa. xl. 6; compare Ps. lxxviii. 39). But after the narrative of Genesis the connection of physical death with sin in the race is, as a doctrine, almost entirely overlooked in the Old Testament. In Num. xvi. 29 f. and xxvii. 3 the violent

so intimately interwoven that they cannot be considered apart. They are so related to each other as to relieve the teachings of Scripture from the charges of ethically important error upon any one of them. They are also so related, that those views concerning the origin and unity of the race, which are elements of Scriptural doctrine, are precisely the views which are either most defensible by, or least clearly opposed to, any valid conclusions on scientific grounds.

The origin of the race is a religious doctrine. That the form of this origin which the Bible teaches only contrasts with, but does not contradict, the established conclusions of geology and biology, we have already seen. We are, then, forbidden to foist the hypothesis of Darwinian evolution into the Mosaic cosmogony;¹ we are also not called upon to show how any complete theory of evolution is compatible with the biblical conceptions, because science has as yet given us no such theory.

The unity of the race is also a religious doctrine. Mosaism in its list of the nations (Gen. x., compare i. 26, ix. 6) preserves the consciousness of that blood-relationship to which an appeal is made in Acts xvii. 26 (*ἐξ ἐνὸς αἱματος*), and which is to be ideally consummated in a spiritual union of all nations within the kingdom of God (compare Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18).² This religious doctrine is alone of chief importance to our conception of Sacred Scripture; the ethnological exactness, from the modern scientific point of view, of the genealogies of Genesis (compare Deut. xxxii. 8 f.), is relatively unimportant. The doctrine of the unity of the race is, however, highly favored, rather than contradicted, by the researches of modern science.

The antiquity of the race is not a religious doctrine; or, at least, the length of time which man has been upon the earth, be it more or less, is a matter relatively unimportant to the religious teachings of the Bible. We have little reason, on the ground of the necessary assumptions of faith, to expect from the Old Testament an accurate knowledge of the time when the history of the race began upon the earth, especially since Christ himself declares his own lack of knowledge as to

death of individuals is ascribed to their heinous transgressions; and in Ps. xc. 7-10 the brevity of life in a single generation is referred to the Divine anger at sin.

¹ As is done, for instance, by the author of *The Bible and the Doctrine of Evolution*, London, 1873; who even discovers that Gen. i. 20 is designed to teach the truth of an evolution of birds through the ichthyoid reptiles.

² See Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament*, I. pp. 81, 215.

the time when one of the great aeons of this history shall close (Matt. xxiv. 36; Mark xiii. 32). The interpretation of Gen. iv., v., x., xi., and the discussions of biblical chronology in general, are historical and critical inquiries. And until biblical criticism has prepared its results from these inquiries, the testimony of scientific researches to determine the antiquity of man cannot be satisfactorily compared with the statements of Scripture. The question as to the meaning and substantially historic character of the biblical chronology precedes the question as to the possibility of adjusting that chronology with the claims of modern science. It cannot be denied, however, that a distinctively biblical system of chronology — be that system the so-called “long,” “short,” or “rabbinical” — seems to make the advent of man upon the earth not longer ago than from four thousand to six thousand years before Christ. What, then, are the objections, urged by the discoveries of recent times, against so “short” a chronology as the longest of these? The answer to this question can, of course, be only very briefly and imperfectly discussed. In considering the evidence we should constantly keep in mind this truth: the unity and the antiquity of the race are connected in such manner that to maintain the former seems to require a great modification of the Old-Testament view regarding the latter. But the unity of the race is an important ethical and religious doctrine: the antiquity of the race is a question of chronology. This relation between the two questions is thus asserted from the scientific point of view by Sir Charles Lyell: “So long as physiologists continued to believe that man had not existed upon the earth above six thousand years, they might, with good reason, withhold their assent from the doctrine of a unity of origin of so many distinct races.”¹ The view of this author is undoubtedly the one prevalent among those competent to form an opinion.²

The various lines of proof which unite upon the question of the antiquity of man may be classified as the historical, the ethnological, the philological, the more purely archæological, and the mixed archæological and geologic.

The dates in history which can be fixed with confidence are comparatively recent; and yet they are too remote to make tenable the view, that the various nations of antiquity were

¹ *Antiquity of Man*, London 1863, p. 386.

² Compare Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, V. p. 552 f.; *Genesis of the Earth and of Man*, p. 117; Lubbock, *Pre-historic Times*, p. 385 f.; Argyll, *Primeval Man*, p. 97 f.; Foster, *Pre-historic Races*, p. 353 f.

descended from one ancestor, and then distributed from one centre in Armenia, or to the east of Babylon, within the few centuries between the oldest historical date and the earliest calculated date of the Noachian Deluge. In Greece the era of the Olympiads, 776 B.C., is the most ancient trustworthy date. Only a century or two previous to this did the gods, according to Hecataeus of Miletus, cease to intermarry with mortals. The oldest date among the Toltecs is given by Foster,¹ on the authority of the Abbé Brasseur, at 955 B.C. In the great nations of the remotest antiquity the dates accepted by the students of their histories are much more remote from our time. The date of the Chou-King places the reign in China of Hoang-ti in the year 2698 B.C.; the authentic records of the Chinese Empire are believed to reach back to the twenty-fourth century before our era. George Smith thought he found in Assyrian history a veritable date which lies as far back as 2280 B.C. The great emigration of the Zend Avesta is believed by M. de Saint Martin to have taken place more than two thousand years before Christ. The dates of Egypt vary greatly, according to the estimates of different Egyptologists; Lepsius and Bunsen placing the fifth dynasty about the fortieth century before our era, and the very moderate estimate of R. Stuart Poole assigning the beginning of the Pharaohs to about 2800 B.C. But even this date is more than four centuries before Usher's date for the Flood. Moreover we have, in the peoples of so remote antiquity and so widely distributed, evidences of varied, distinctive, and elaborate civilizations, which must have required a considerable time for their previous history.

The ethnological proofs for the antiquity of man are such as not only to convince those whose views upon ethnology are fixed after the type of Darwinian evolution, but also to make it seemingly impossible to maintain the unity of the race, and yet account by second causes for the divergencies of the races within the time allowed by the biblical chronology. Either, then, the unity of the race must be abandoned, or the variation of its different races assigned to supernatural agency. The different types — African, Asiatic, and European — seem to have been as strongly marked in the remotest antiquity as they are now. They appear upon the Egyptian monuments of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and perhaps earlier centuries, before Christ. The negro who kneels at the feet of Sethros I. is the

¹ Foster, *Pre-historic Races*, p. 342.

same as the negro of to-day. But the so-called Negroid race seems to have been in existence previous to "immense geographical changes" which are connected with its wide and otherwise unaccountable distribution.¹

In close connection with these ethnological inquiries stand the philological, which present the proofs of the very ancient and widely extended development of man, as shown in cognate languages. And although it is far from being true, as Max Müller has asserted,² that the evidence of language "is the only evidence worth listening to with regard to ante-historical periods," we have in philology strong corroborative evidence for fixing within certain movable limits the probable age of man.

To the same effect is the impression derived from the comparative studies of the antiquary. The implements, architecture, and other relics of human art, when compared with one another and classified in that loose and uncertain fashion of which alone the case admits, seem to imply an indefinitely long period of previous growth, of attempts and failures, of successes and improvements. Especially impressive is the fact that the different types of art, which are found in the remotest times and regions of the world, seem each one to have undergone a long period of indigenous development. According to Wilkinson,³ the art of Egypt was of native growth; but scarcely less so the art of Assyria and Greece. The same thing is true of the art of Central America, if we accept the testimony of Stephens and Foster, the latter of whom says,⁴ "We seek in vain for any analogies of art which would connect the civilization of this country with that of the Old World." The attempt to classify the different implements of stone, bronze, and iron, or the pieces of ruder and more finished ancient pottery, is, however, far from successful. It is clear that the periods in which each kind of implement was in use overlap each other to an extent upon which antiquarians are not agreed among themselves; it is not yet clear to all that any marked and definite "periods" can be shown to have existed. The antiquities of Derbyshire show conclusively to Fergusson "how mixed the contents of a single group of tombs are," and "how little de-

¹ See Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, p. 387.

² *Chips from a German Workshop*, I. p. 62; compare 10 f.

³ See Note in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Book II. chap. 155.

⁴ *Prehistoric Races*, p. 330; compare Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America*, II. p. 311.

pendence can be placed on any one class of objects to fix the age of these monuments."¹ And Lyell, although speaking of a "first stone period," and concluding that it must have been of long duration, also avers the inability of geology to tell the limits of its beginning or end.²

A most impressive and conclusive and yet most indeterminate form of this evidence is that derived from the combined studies of archæology and geology. Among the various items of this proof are the following: The antiquity of the tumuli of the Ohio and Mississippi river-valleys can be calculated only by the estimated growth of the forests which have covered them. But an age of eight hundred or one thousand years will suffice for the growth of the oldest of the present trees, and there is no means of knowing how many successive forests have perished before the present began.³ Little reliance can be placed upon the calculations which have for their basis the examination of the delta of the Mississippi, or of the alluvial plain of the Nile. The skeleton said to have been found near New Orleans by Dr. Fowler, at the depth of sixteen feet under four buried forests, was assigned by its finder to an antiquity of fifty thousand years. The estimates adopted by Lyell,⁴ which relegate the potsherd found in the Nile mud at a depth of sixty feet to a period twelve thousand years since, and the "fragment of red brick," found at a depth of seventy-two feet, to a period thirty thousand years since, are confessedly built upon inadequate assumptions, and would seem much better calculated to satisfy the geologist who proposes them than to convince any student of Egyptology. And yet Ebers regards them as warranting the assertion that civilization existed on the Nile a hundred centuries before our era.⁵ The calculations of M. Morlot, based upon an examination of the remains found in the cone of silt deposited by the Tinière, are indeed more moderate, but scarcely more convincing.⁶ M. Morlot obtained for the age of bronze in Switzerland an antiquity of at most four thousand two hundred years; for that of stone, an antiquity extending backward from four thousand seven hundred

¹ *Rude Stone Monuments*, pp. 10 ff.

² *Antiquity of Man*, p. 378.

³ See Lyell, *Ibid.*, p. 41; Foster, *Ibid.*, p. 371 f., and especially the note (373 f.) containing the communication of Dr. I. P. Lapham on the Age of Forest Trees in Wisconsin.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37 f.

⁵ *Ägypten und die Bücher Mose's*, I. p. 23.

⁶ See Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, p. 137; Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, p. 389 f. Dawson (*Story of the Earth and Man*, p. 293) would reduce the age of the entire cone to four thousand or five thousand years.

years to seven thousand years. But it has even been argued by M. Uhlmann that the bones found in the lower layer of this cone are not such as belong to the stone age. A like uncertainty attaches itself to calculations based upon the examination of deposits of peat or of forest mosses, whether these deposits are found in the *skovmose*s of Denmark, the peat-bogs of Ireland, or the deposits of the valley of the Somme. The *skovmose*s, or formations of forest mosses in hollows that have been excavated in quaternary clays, are thought by Steenstrup to have been at least forty centuries in accumulating; and the fact that the amorphous peat at their bottoms shows remains of arctic plants, and that the lower layer of their forest-moss is composed of pine, undoubtedly indicates considerable geographical changes since the formation began. Proofs of those changes in physical geography which have occurred during the formation of the shell-heaps (*Kjökkenmødding*) of the Danish Isles, in the Baltic, have led to estimates of their antiquity varying from four thousand to seven thousand years;¹ of about the same order is the calculated antiquity of the buried lake-dwellings of Switzerland, as determined by the deposition of neighboring silt. All these kinds of research tend to confirm the belief that great geographical and climatic changes have occurred since man dwelt in Europe: they thus lead downward and backward to the conclusions derived from the finding of fossil man.

The influence of the caution of Cuvier was so great as quite to discredit the earlier alleged discoveries of human fossils. But man has now been connected by indubitable proofs with post-glacial flora, fauna, and geographical conditions. Of such proofs not even an adequate mention can here be made.² The relics of human skeletons, like those of Cro-Magnon, the Neanderthal cave, the remains in the cavern near Liège, and perhaps that of Mentone, serve to connect man with the so-called reindeer period. Other remains in deposits of the later, and probably also of the earlier, Champlain period,³ make man to have been contemporaneous in Northern Europe with species now

¹ See Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*, p. 372 f.

² The drawings of extinct animals prove, of course, that the artists were contemporaneous with the animals themselves. Such drawings are the mammoth found by M. Lartet, carved upon a plate of mammoth-ivory; and the cave-bear found by M. Garrigou, traced upon a pebble (see Quatrefages, *Ibid.*, p. 146).

³ See Dana, *Manual of Geology*, p. 576 f. A human fibula was found in a cave of Yorkshire with the remains of several species of these extinct animals: "at the mouth of the cave there is a bed of stiff glacial clay, with scratched bowlders."

long since extinct; such are the cave-bear, the cave-lion, the cave-hyena, and even the mammoth, the rhinoceros, and the hippopotamus. The river-border deposits of Amiens and Abbeville seem to confirm the testimony of the caves and peat-deposits as to the presence of man at the close of the glacial epoch. The evidence of his contemporaneous presence in North America is much less conclusive: it may be said, however, to be increasing. Recent researches in the post-glacial gravels of New Jersey appear to furnish evidence connecting him with that remote epoch in this continent also.

But, if man existed upon the earth when the glacial ice was slowly retreating northward from its most southern limits, how remote — we must still inquire — is this period of his early remains? To this question the researches of scientific investigators are unable to furnish a definite reply. The results arrived at from the study of surface-geology vary immensely; from those of Dr. Andrews upon the raised beaches of Lake Michigan, which Dawson accepts¹ as enabling him to calculate that not more than from five thousand five hundred to seven thousand five hundred years have elapsed since North America "rose out of the glacial waters," to those which assign a score of thousands of years for the relatively recent accumulation of some bed of forest-peat.² Nor are the astronomical calculations for the date of the glacial epoch any more, but rather less, satisfactory. The causes, so far as they are astronomical, which M. Adhémar would place only somewhat more than eleven thousand years ago, Lubbock and Croll would place not less than two hundred thousand years since; to which estimate Lyell, notwithstanding his usual capacity for immense numbers, has consented to reduce his original preference for eight hundred thousand years.

The question as to whether any traces of man's presence upon the earth reach back into the tertiary age is disputed amongst geologists; the more conservative and accurate judgment awaits the proof of affirmative claims, which have not as yet been satisfactorily sustained.

It should not be concluded, however, from this indefiniteness

¹ Story of Earth and Man, p. 295.

² M. Forel, by making his assumptions favorable to a great antiquity, has concluded from the rate at which the sediment of the Rhone fills up the Lake of Geneva, that the post-glacial epoch was begun one hundred thousand years since. But M. Arcelin, by use of the deposits of the Saône, has calculated the age of the quaternary clay at the minimum of 6,750 years.

upon positive dates, that any considerable room for doubt as to the general testimony of such researches is left within the thought of scientists themselves. Professor Gray¹ does not overstate the case when he alleges the agreement of all experts in the opinion that the length of man's existence is not measured by the generations of the biblical chronology. But, according to the conclusions already reached as to the relations of science and the Bible, the doctrine of Sacred Scripture is in no wise to be so conceived as to make its defence dependent upon the accuracy of its writers in scientific matters. These conclusions apply with more force and ease to the question of the antiquity of man, because this question is so loosely connected with the organism of revealed truth, is so purely scientific.

On the general subject of this chapter we reach, then; the following items of doctrine. There are, strictly speaking, no purely scientific contents which can be recognized as entering into the composition of Sacred Scripture. The intention of the Bible is to teach us "how to go to heaven, and not how the heavens go." In this sense we may declare that the Bible is not scientific, for the revelation upon which its writings rest is not one of scientific information; it does not concern primarily the discovery and concatenation of second causes. The statements of Scripture have, however, many most important connections with the subjects of scientific investigation; and it is inevitable that points of contact and coincidence, or of conflict, should arise between science and the Bible. The Bible considers all effects of second causes in their relations to the primal Cause, as expressions of his will, wisdom, and love. It is, therefore, in the sphere of the relations which exist between the natural and the supernatural, that the most important of its contrasts and conflicts with science arise. The doctrine of Sacred Scripture is, that the second causes are called into existence and sustained in being by the First Cause; they are dependent upon God, and interpenetrated by God. This doctrine also, to a certain extent, includes the manner in which the relation of second causes and First Cause is maintained. Upon these subjects a special revelation was made to ancient Israel, and through her thinkers and writers to the entire world. This revelation is accepted by Christianity as a basis laid in the doctrine of the supernatural; the revelation is as

¹ Science and Religion, p. 7.

valid and potent in all its essential features, to-day and in the presence of modern science, as it has ever been.

Moreover, we find in the Hebrew Scriptures certain conceptions of the order of creation and of nature in her relations to God and man, which are far beyond the age of their origin; and these conceptions correspond in a wonderful degree to those which modern science has only recently attained. The deductions of religion, the constituent elements of revelation when unfolded into particulars, correspond with certain of the latest and highest inductions of science. The ethical and religious purity, which the Hebrew traditions of the cosmogony and of the Flood exhibit in the narratives of Genesis, is a proof of the action of divine self-revelation upon those traditions. A book which, while being of such an age, nevertheless opens its narrative as does the Book of Genesis, makes upon the mind the impression that its origin is in divine revelation. In general, the elevating effect of the ethical conceptions which shape the Old-Testament narratives of natural events can be ascribed to revelation alone.

But we cannot deny that many errors of fact and faults of conception are to be detected in the same portions of Sacred Scripture. The ethical conceptions of Scripture are not to be thought of as necessitating a scientific accuracy in all its other conceptions. Even the masterpiece of the Mosaic cosmogony is in its details at variance with several valid conclusions of modern astronomy and geology. But the points of variance are not such as have an organic connection with the religious doctrine. They rather originate in the faulty and unscientific conceptions of the authors; for these authors, like the rest of the men of their time, saw the material heavens and earth like children. The spirit of revelation ordained the praises of Jehovah out of the mouths of those who were sucklings and babes in science. The separation of the substance of revealed truth from the human form which it took to itself, from the inferior formal elements which grew out of erroneous human conceptions, is not particularly difficult in the above-mentioned cases. It is not a thing from which a Christian scholar, with the helps of modern biblical criticism and modern natural science, needs to shrink.

As to the kind and degree of inspiration which attaches itself to this class of the contents of Scripture, we have little direct information. The writers of the Mosaic cosmogony, of the nar-

rative of the Flood, of the ethnological tables of Genesis, — whether original compilers or redactors, — give no sign of direct claims to prophetic insight. The traditions from which their accounts were drawn up were manifestly only so far forth inspired, as we may use the word “inspiration” in a loose sense to indicate that peculiar spiritual insight which pervaded all the best minds of the Hebrew nation. But the shaping of these traditions, as they appear in their final form within the biblical narrative, is due to the power of revealed religious truth: it therefore merits a more special use of the word “inspiration.” That the Spirit of Jehovah moved the final author of these contents of Sacred Scripture to leave them upon record, and bestowed upon him the revealed truths they contain, and the spirit of insight which apprehended and set forth these truths, is a supposition of which the contents themselves are not unworthy. And the fact that this supposition involves a doctrine somewhat like that of an *impulsus ad scribendum* and *assistentia divina* for the biblical writers is not negatived by a frank admission of their ignorance and error in scientific matters.

CHAPTER III.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE MIRACULOUS CONTENTS OF THE BIBLE.

IN no other class of the contents of Sacred Scripture are the prepossessions with which their consideration is approached so important and even decisive as in its history and doctrine of miracles. These prepossessions concern, in part, the acceptance or rejection of certain central doctrines of the Bible. To the critic who denies the infallibility of Jesus Christ in morals and in religious doctrine, who rejects the view of his person, incarnation, resurrection, and divine offices, which is taught by the New Testament and by Christian consciousness, and who discredits all the claims to supernatural characteristics made by revelation itself, there remains, of course, no ground for admitting the possibility of a miracle: there is, on the contrary, an overwhelming presumption, in the mind of such a critic, against the credibility of every alleged miraculous event. But with one who must examine all evidence by the light of the affirmation of the above-mentioned doctrines, the case is far different. This affirmation has already been made as furnishing appropriate postulates for our entire work. The main intent of this chapter is, then, simply to inquire: What views as to the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture are derived from an examination of its admitted miraculous contents? It might seem that the abstract possibility and, to a certain extent, the historical credibility, of the Scriptural miracles should be taken for granted by us. The effect of prepossessions is, however, so peculiarly decisive in every subordinate inquiry touching the miraculous contents of the Bible, that no writer can treat intelligibly even such an inquiry without making clear his proposed point of view. Moreover, the abstract possibility of miracles, and the historical credibility of the different classes of miracles in Scripture, or of any individual miracle of each class, are two very different questions. They are not, however, so different as not to be mutually dependent.

Of those prepossessions which most influence the critical examination of the miraculous contents of the Bible, two principal kinds may be distinguished. The first refers to the general conception of the supernatural; the second, to the more special conception of the miraculous. Every investigator, that is to say, will approach the evidence for the miracles of Scripture in an attitude that depends upon the manner in which he conceives of the reality of the supernatural, and of the relation between the natural and the supernatural. He will also approach this evidence in an attitude that depends upon the manner in which he conceives of the miracle in its relations to the so-called course of nature. The evidence for the biblical miracles will inevitably appear different to the supernaturalist and to the mind which can take only the naturalistic point of view. But among supernaturalists themselves a further difference of prepossessions arises; inasmuch as some insist upon considering the miracle as a breach or suspension of the laws and forces of nature, while others find no difficulty in conceiving of miracles as consistent with its laws and forces.

We begin, then, by affirming again our complete confidence in the claims of a true supernaturalism. This supernaturalism does not admit even the possibility of regarding the physical universe as a self-contained whole, or the course of nature and history as at any step explicable solely by enumerating its material substances, and physical forces and laws. It is the false postulate of the physical universe as a self-contained and self-developing whole which in a special manner precludes the candid examination of all evidence for the miraculous. Nor does it make any essential difference with the logical result, in what particular form this false postulate is held. The conceptions of the world which materialism and pantheism maintain are not more unfavorable to the biblical miracles than are deistic conceptions of God. Indeed, in some respects the latter are more unfavorable, as they certainly are more unphilosophical, than the former. The mind which admits that the so-called supernatural interpenetrates and gives conditions to the so-called natural, even though it refuse to distinguish the two by substantial differences, is readier to admit testimony for a miraculous event than the mind which looks upon the supernatural as having retired from the universe, and left all its events to the self-induced combinations of natural forces and substances. It is only as the miracle is conceived of in its general relations to a

supernatural order, that it becomes tolerable to reason. To admit the constant presence and power of the supernatural in the physical universe, predisposes us to regard favorably that evidence which seeks to evince its presence and power in the particular form of the miraculous. The miracle, then, in order to be believed, must be brought into relations to a supernatural system, it must be one event which is to be ascribed to an agency recognized, in some form of conception, as the cause of other events. The miracle must not be an isolated event with respect to its rational ground, if it is to be accepted upon any supposable amount of documentary evidence. The suggestion made by an English writer¹ upon the doctrine of chance is, therefore, perfectly tenable: "It might even be more easy for a person thoroughly imbued with the spirit of inductive science, though an atheist, to believe in a miracle which formed a part of a vast system, as the Christian miracles may be supposed to do, than for such a person, as a theist, to accept an isolated miracle."

The postulate of the existence of a personal God is not, then, sufficient of itself to create a favorable predisposition toward the evidence for miracles. That predisposition can logically exist only in the mind, which, in addition to the bare belief in a personal God, also accepts the true doctrine as to the relations of the natural and the supernatural. To say after the manner of Paley, "Once believe in a God, and miracles are not incredible," is not an adequate statement of the difficulty; for we must still inquire, — What are the relations in which this God stands to the physical universe, — before we can admit even the abstract possibility of miracles. In other words, the question of the relations of the supernatural to the natural precedes the question of the possibility of the miraculous; and only on the supposition that a special doctrine of those relations is adopted, can we properly go forward to discuss this possibility. Instead of the claim of Weisse, that faith in a personal God is suffering from no other circumstance more than from being coupled with faith in miracles, we must make the opposite claim: faith in miracles, as well as in the general reality of revelation, is suffering from having been separated from faith in a *living God*.²

We have seen in the preceding chapter, that the Bible so

¹ The *Logic of Chance*, by John Venn, London, 1876, p. 460.

² Compare Wegscheider, *Instit. Theol.*, § 12: "*Persuasio de supernaturali et miraculosa eademque immediata Dei revelatione conciliari nequit cum idea Dei aeterni, semper sibi constantis.*"

teaches the doctrines of supernaturalism as not to separate God, at any step of the world's physical processes or of its course in history, from any physical or moral event. The supernatural underlies and penetrates the natural; God is the logical *Prius* and primal Cause of the world's original substances, forces, and laws; the Creator of each new form of matter and life; the Preserver whose eternal force maintains in real existence all the second causes; the Lord of life; the co-ordinating force, or Ruler and Disposer of all beings and events in history and in the physical universe. It is no strange thing, then, for the natural to be moulded by the supernatural; it would not be unlike the past, if new creative and organizing activities of the divine will should at any period make themselves manifest. Moreover, we have seen that the interests of God's moral kingdom, and his activities in its behalf, are considered by the doctrine of the Bible as giving the key to the relations of God to nature. And this consideration brings before us certain manifestations of the supernatural which are more closely allied to the miraculous than any of the preceding. The term *revelation* covers, in the biblical doctrine and in our thought, one entire class of these manifestations. The order of nature constitutes one means of the divine self-revelation: in so far as this order cannot be fully explained by the second causes manifest in itself, it reveals, or makes manifest, "an inner nature," "an immanent reason," "a plastic power of organization." But above and beyond this order of nature in the strictest sense, there is another form of the manifestation of God: this form is that of making known new divine truth by personal communion within the human soul. But why, we may ask, should it be held objectively impossible that physical events, which are manifest in the order of nature but do not originate within it, should be made the instruments of revelation? There may, then, be distinguished two possible ways of revelation which are not simply in and through the usual course of nature. It is an indispensable postulate derived from the right doctrine of the supernatural, that the divine activity in self-revelation is not exhausted, nor excluded, by the original creation and subsequent preservation of the physical universe. There have been repeated acts of divine self-revelation which were somewhat more than events produced in the physical universe by new combinations of second causes. These repeated acts may be so arranged as to constitute a system of

revelation, which is itself, as a system, not to be referred to a combination of second causes. That this self-revelation may come by way of immediate communications of truth to the soul, we have no reason for denying. But why should they who reject miracles, flatly deny that it may also sometimes take the form of events occurring in the physical universe, which manifest the truth to be revealed, and at the same time cannot be accounted for by summing up the second causes which have entered into them? For, to make this unqualified denial is only to affirm that nature must be regarded as a self-contained whole; that the reality and supremacy of the supernatural cannot be admitted; that the divine activity is exhausted by, or excluded from, the world it has produced. It is, in fine, a complete denial of the reality of the supernatural within the natural.

The close connection of a true doctrine of the natural and the supernatural, especially in the form of revelation, with faith in miracles, is evinced by a rational theology. Thus Dorner maintains¹ that revelation is necessarily, as to its form, both internal and external; and that the two forms are reciprocally dependent and interacting. The internal form is inspiration, which is the subjective miracle; the external form, or manifestation, is revelation penetrating the established order of nature, and is called *miracle* in the special sense. And Beck,² with truth and yet not with full accuracy, considers miracle and prophecy only two ways in the working of one and the same cause; the miracle in the domain of action, prophecy in that of knowledge. Miracles are, then, to be defined as "single manifestations of that new-creative organizing activity which belongs to the immanent principle of revelation."³ Rothe⁴ even goes so far as to declare that "God cannot otherwise make himself manifest than by miracles and prophecy;" and the same writer agrees with Martensen in alleging, "The concept of sacred history is inseparable from the concept of the miracle."⁵ The prepossessions against the truthfulness of the alleged miraculous contents of Scripture, so far as those prepossessions concern the abstract possibility of finding a source or ground for miracles, give way before the true doctrine of the supernatural, and especially of the supernatural in the process of moral and religious self-revelation. Granted not only that

¹ Glaubenslehre, I. p. 577 f.

² Einleitung in das System der christlichen Lehre, Stuttgart, 1870, p. 168.

³ Ibid., p. 174.

⁴ See Zur Dogmatik, p. 82.

⁵ Martensen, Dogmatik, 2te Aufl., p. 33.

there is a personal God, but granted also that this personal God constantly manifests himself as the supernatural in nature, and that he further manifests himself in a process of self-revelation in history; and then we find no reason at all in him for pronouncing miracles impossible. The rather do we establish prepossessions favorable to accepting the historical proofs of miracles. These prepossessions reach, however, only those cases where the miraculous appears as a legitimate part of the entire supernatural order, and especially of that order as it manifests itself in a system and course of self-revelation. In this way it may even become true, that the knowledge of the miracle in revelation, and of its religious significance, rests upon the same ground as the knowledge of God in the world in general.¹

To taking the above-mentioned point of view, only a thoroughly materialistic or pantheistic philosophy can offer any sufficient obstacle. To it science, when confining itself within its own sphere, has nothing whatever to oppose. The criticism which begins its work upon the Bible with an opinion already formed against the abstract possibility of the miracles, is born of pure naturalism. Such is the point of view from which Strauss,² Zeller,³ the author of "Supernatural Religion,"⁴ and

¹ Compare Beck, *Ibid.*, p. 171 f.

² The *animus* of Strauss upon the subject of the miraculous contents of Scripture may be judged by this prominent sentence: "*Wer die Pfaffen aus der Kirche schaffen will, der muss erst das Wunder aus der Religion schaffen.*" (*Das Leben Jesu*, für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet, p. xix.) Strauss endeavors to conceal his real philosophical point of view, which is pantheistic, and accepts from Hume the argument for the historical improbability of the miracle. See *Ibid.*, p. 149 f.; and compare Steinmeyer, *Die Wunderthaten des Herrn*, Berlin 1866, p. 2 f.

³ Zeller makes, indeed, a show of declaring in good faith that the position of the school to which he belongs does not call in question the metaphysical or theological possibility of miracles, but rather discusses the historico-critical inquiry, whether we have in the New Testament evidence, sufficient and of the right kind, to prove their occurrence. And yet he soon proceeds to announce his belief in the impossibility of the miraculous on the grounds of the Kantian philosophy. "The miracle, and the historical consideration of affairs, exclude each other." "Between faith in miracles, and historical criticism, there is no middle ground possible." See Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1861, VI. pp. 363 f., 370 f.; 1862, VIII. pp. 108, 111, 116.

⁴ This author, under the pretence of a candid critical inquiry, conceals the predeterminations of the baldest naturalism: it is criticism guided by the conclusions of agnostic philosophy, which is really manifest in the whole discussion (see especially Vol. I. pp. 61-77). The critical value of much of the discussion may be judged of by the note found on p. 28 of the first volume, in which the author cites various passages from the works of Ewald to prove that "the great majority of modern German critics reject the miraculous altogether," while those who have not openly expressed this view "either resort to every linguistic device to evade the difficulty, or betray, by their hesitation, the feebleness of their

other critics approach the New Testament; from the same point of view do Kuenen and the modern Dutch school almost uniformly regard the Old. From such critics we cannot, of course, expect a candid and yet searching examination of evidence; concerning them there is no reason to reverse the declaration of Müller, that theology will refuse to tolerate them (*respuit, respuetque*) so long as she desires to be worthy of her name.¹

A consistent doctrine of supernatural revelation has, then, nothing *a priori* to oppose to the evidence for miracles: indeed, it rather creates an expectation of the occurrence of actual miracles, if only they may be regarded as manifestations of the truth of revelation within the sphere of the physical universe. But does not our knowledge of this physical universe interpose an objection from experience which amounts to asserting the impossibility of miracles? Does not the modern scientific conception of the course of nature contradict the theological conception of a miracle? It is evident that the answer to this question must depend largely upon our conception of a miracle. For we may admit the abstract possibility that God will manifest within nature his purpose of self-revelation, and yet reject such a conception of the manner of that self-revelation as seems to contradict the truest and highest conception of nature. That such a conception of nature involves accepting the presence and power of the supernatural in various forms of activity, we have already seen; but whether it admits of accepting that form of activity which is represented as a violation or suspension of the course of nature, or of some of the laws of nature, remains to be discussed.

belief." The repeated uncritical *lumping* together of the names of just those German critics whose views upon the question of the supernatural most nearly approach those of this writer may without doubt have convinced him that his general statement corresponds with facts. The long and equally trustworthy list of modern German critics who accept the supernatural in historical Christianity need not here be cited in reply. But when the author asserts that Ewald in his latest work, "Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott," "eliminates all the miraculous elements from revelation," he may fittingly be invited to consider a passage from this same book, Vol. III. p. 197: "There are learned fools in these days, who so little understand the meaning of the biblical miracles that they wish to deny them altogether, and would then logically be compelled even to blot out the word 'miracle' from all ancient and modern languages. But the divine order of the world, and its progress to which all the biblical miracles refer, is itself the highest and finally the only true miracle." This is the avowal of the supernatural as inclusive of the miraculous in all nature and history; to deny which is, as Ewald immediately adds, "to have lost the best part of one's own spirit."

¹ De Miraculorum Jesu Christi natura et necessitate, Particula I. p. 4 f.

It cannot be denied, that the modern conception of the course of nature has modified the older orthodox conception of the manner in which the supernatural passes over into the miraculous. The doctrine of Augustine (in one of its forms, at least) allowed no substantial existence to the physical universe, and made all events in nature in a certain sense miraculous, as being alike the work of God.¹ All events were also regarded by him as alike natural; and no miracle was regarded as absolutely *contra naturam*, but only *contra naturam quae nobis est nota*. According to Thomas Aquinas, those things which are done by God "beyond the order of nature," or "beyond the causes that are known to us," are called miracles. But the later orthodox doctrine made the essential element in its conception of a miracle, a certain contradiction, violation, or suspension of the laws of nature.² The turning-point of the modern doctrine as to the relation of miracles to the laws of nature, Dorner³ places in the person of Schleiermacher, who, together with Rothe, prepared the ground for such a treatment as shall satisfy the demands both of faith and of scientific knowledge. The same writer speaks in this connection of Löscher as the last important defender of the old Lutheran orthodoxy, and pronounces unsatisfactory the conception of this orthodoxy. But not a few writers in English still cling tenaciously to the same obsolescent conception.⁴

Because the conception of the relation which such events sustain to the course of nature is difficult to define, it cannot therefore be concluded that the alleged miracles of Scripture are not in fact events belonging to the supernatural order as manifested within the physical universe. It belongs to the very

¹ See Dorner, *Augustinus*, Berlin, 1873, pp. 70-80; and *Glaubenslehre*, I. p. 588 f.

² Buddeus, *Instit. Theol. Dogmat.* XI. 2, cap. i.

³ *Glaubenslehre*, I. pp. 594 f. and 588.

⁴ The basis for Aquinas' view of miracles is laid in his treatment of the relation of God to nature: *Summa Theol.*, quæst. vi., art. 3, and quæst. xxv. The nature of miracles is discussed, quæst. cv., art. 6 f. Höpfner defines: "*Miracula sunt opera Dei præter et supra naturæ ordinem facta.*" Löscher, however, insists that the event must also be *contra naturæ leges*, in order to be a true miracle. For this form of conception, substantially the same, although modified in forms of expression, see Mozley, *Bampton Lectures* for 1865, especially pp. 143-166; Canon Liddon, *Lent Lectures*, 1870, p. 74 f.; article on Miracles in the American edition of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. For statements which either decidedly or partially reject from the conception of the miraculous that element which makes it *contra naturæ leges*, see Trench, *Notes on the Miracles*, p. 20; *Aids to Faith*, article on Miracles, by Mansel. For an admirable discussion of the nature of the miracle, see Fisher, *Supernatural Origin of Christianity*, Essay XL.

nature of the miracle, as a species of the supernatural, that it shall be obscure on the side of the order of nature: it is, however, a portion of revelation itself, and therefore a manifestation of truth on the side of a higher order. But the precise conception of a miracle, which was formed by the old orthodoxy, is not favored either by a scientific theology, or by a science that concedes its due place to theology. Thus Pfeleiderer, arguing from the philosophical and theological point of view, rejects the conception of the old orthodoxy as unworthy of the doctrine of God; although he maintains firmly the supernaturalistic view of the physical universe. In his opinion, to suspend or contradict any portion of the order of nature is not simply to do violence to nature: it is to contradict the divine idea of the world.¹ The oppositions of science, falsely so called, are especially eager to come to a definite issue with theology upon the terms of this inadequate conception. From the time of Spinoza² to the present, this view is the one which the opponents of biblical miracles have been best pleased to contest. And Weisse is not more certain, as a critic of the philosophy of religion, that no interruption of the steadfastness of the order of nature can occur, than is Apelt as a scientist, that physics has long since decided against the possibility of a miracle.

The conception of the old orthodoxy must be pronounced untenable, however, not so much because philosophy and science have proved it to be an absolute *a priori* impossibility, as because it is itself inadequate to express either the doctrine of Scripture or the teachings of a comprehensive theology. It is, moreover, unnecessarily offensive to a true scientific knowledge of the physical universe. That a momentary suspension or contradiction by Divine Power of certain of the laws of the universe, if kept within the limited sphere of a single event, would destroy, or seriously interrupt, the whole order of nature, is the figment of an extravagant imagination. The idea of the order of nature expressed in such a figment is itself one which excludes the supernatural. On scientific grounds, even, we have no right to set up the idea of the natural order of the universe as an eternal, self-contained whole. For, as Lotze³

¹ See *Die Religion*, Leipzig, 1878, I. p. 400 f.

² Spinoza himself taught the relative nature of the miracle: miracles exceed or contradict all *known* laws. Compare *Tract. Theol. Polit.*, cap. vi.; and *Ep. ad Oldenburgium*, XXI., XXIII.

³ *Mikrokosmos*, Leipzig, 1858, II. p. 48.

has maintained, we cannot argue from the present condition of orderly development back to the perfect regularity in form and movement of the earliest substances and forces. And, moreover, within human experience new increments of forces have been constantly introduced to modify the course of nature, and make it different from what it would be were it really a system of perfectly rigid physical forces and laws. Such new forces enter into the sphere of the physical universe with every triumph of thought in invention and discovery; and, indeed, the birth of every rational being is such a force. Should the law of gravitation be suspended or violated throughout, we might indeed expect that the entire physical order, and the moral as dependent upon the physical, would be changed. But if force from the supernatural source of all forces, even those which are physical, should so suspend the action of gravitation for a time in the single case involved, as that Jesus (for instance) might walk upon the water, we have no right to infer that the physical universe would fall a wreck. Nor can we even maintain that the confidence of human minds in the uniformity of nature would be at all disturbed. "The concluding words of the *Te Deum*" are no less likely, after such an event, to be "abundantly fulfilled in the experience of the astronomer:" "He has trusted in God, and he has never been confounded."¹ So also would the violation of the laws of physical death in the case of all men, or of any species of the animal kingdom, seem to involve an indefinite change in the order of the physical universe, but the raising of Lazarus by Christ does not necessarily more disturb this order than does that act of will on the part of any sick man which may turn the scale to life or to death through its direct effect upon the bodily system. And yet we are abundantly warranted in rejecting that misleading and inadequate conception of the miraculous which finds the essential element in a *contra naturae ordinem*, or a suspension or contradiction of the laws of nature.

And first of all, must we concede the truth which is insisted upon by Schenkel² and many others, that no events can come to pass in an absolutely supernatural way. The miracle is, therefore, always limited by conditions derived from nature: it is necessarily *in* nature, and to a certain extent, even as to its causation, *of* nature. The miracle, as a species of the super-

¹ See *The Unseen Universe*, New York, 1875, p. 54 f.

² *Grundlehre des Christenthums*, p. 79 f.

natural, and as a form of divine self-revealing, partakes of the conditions which belong even to creation and revelation. After that first act of absolute creation by which God brings into first being the original substances, forces, and laws of the physical universe, all subsequent creative acts must take into account the foregoing; creation is, then, in all its acts after the first act, conditioned upon nature. Revelation involves the existence of a supernatural principle in history, but revelation is itself conditioned upon nature. To maintain, then, that the miracle is accomplished in a wholly supernatural fashion, and without the co-operation of second causes, is to separate it from all human experience; it is, moreover, to deprive it of all service to faith, of the possibility of realizing its own final purpose. If, for example, the miracle of our Lord at Cana was not wholly docetic, the wine which he made had the chemical and physical constituents of other wine; even if we suppose its elements to have been wholly new creations, they were conditioned upon preceding and existing laws and forces of nature. But we are assured that the water was, so to speak, the physical basis of the miraculous wine (John ii. 9, τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγενημένον). No event in history can even be conceived of without the co-operation of all the preceding forces and laws of the physical universe. Moreover, the epideictic value of the miracle depends upon its conformity, within certain limits, to the order of nature; only thus can it be a manifestation of God and divine truth in the external sphere, and cognizable by the senses. It is not more true, that miracles must originate with God for purposes of revelation, than that they must be conditioned upon the existing course of nature. This prevents us from adopting the view which seems implied in much of the language of Rothe, as, for instance, when he declares without qualification that nature has absolutely nothing to do with the effect produced in the case of all proper miracles.¹

That conception of the miraculous which makes its essential element consist in a violation or suspension of the laws of

¹ Zur Dogmatik, p. 102. Much fault has justly enough been found with Rothe, rather because his statements concerning the relations of the miraculous and the course of nature are unguarded, than because his conception of the miracle is essentially false. Among such statements are the following: "The concept of *this* miracle (that in the strictest sense) is categorically this, that in it God produces an effect without the intervention of any created secondary causation whatsoever" (pp. 101 and 96). "From the miracle in the strict sense, every succession whatsoever is, according to its conception, excluded" (p. 98). The miracle is something wholly magical: "Gott zaubert in ihm."

'nature, is to be rejected, because it is also utterly inadequate: the conception is either too wide or too narrow, according to the interpretation put upon the term "nature." "We manifestly say less than we mean by the word 'miracle,'" says Lotze,¹ "if we see in it only that which is unaccustomed, but still in its origin calculable: we say more than we should ourselves be willing to say, when we find in it a complete violation of the laws of nature." But besides the difficulties started by the term "complete violation," even when applied to a single law of nature, we have to consider the more insuperable difficulties which arise in the effort to form any idea of nature itself which shall justify such a definition of the miracle. Indeed, it is just the deistic conception of nature which most invites that conception of the miracle which was formed by the old orthodoxy. For if we look upon all the visible universe, man included, as being in its accustomed course a self-contained and independent machine, we may most easily form the conception of some violation or suspension which comes upon it from without. But if we restrict the term "nature" to the substances, forces, and laws of the purely physical universe, then the laws of *nature* are suspended and violated by every act of human free-will; that is to say, the supernatural in man is not specifically distinguished from the truly miraculous.² If, however, we include human nature and all free finite spirits under our term "nature," we have then another alternative. We may hold that all effects, not producible according to the natural working of the forces and laws of free finite spirits, are *violations* of those laws; and then all divine communion with the human soul, in revelation and by the act of regeneration, becomes miraculous. If, on the other hand, God may be said to produce effects, in a supernatural way and for purposes of revelation, upon the spiritual realm of nature, without violating its laws, it is difficult to maintain that he must violate the laws of the other and physical realm of nature, whenever he produces an effect for the same purpose there. Indeed, this whole conception of the miracle seems to grow out of a false and misleading view as to the relations of natural and supernatural.

¹ Mikrokosmos, II. p. 52.

² Schenkel truly asserts that every free spirit has an unintelligible, or absolute and unconditioned, element in itself (*Grundlehre des Christenthums*, p. 86); but this must not be identified with the miraculous. The miraculous must rather be distinguished from the mere general dependence of matter on spirit. See Beck, *System der Christlichen Lehre*, p. 169 f.

This conception also injures, if it does not destroy, the power to connect miracles in any way with our valid conceptions either of nature or of revelation. The biblical view represents one entire class of miracles as supernatural co-ordinations and exaggerations, so to speak, of physical forces.¹ Such are the Flood, the plagues of Egypt, the deliverance at the Red Sea, and probably also some of the miraculous healings of the New Testament. Moreover, as we shall soon see more clearly, the biblical view favors that conception of the physical universe which regards it as an organism, every part of which is not only sensitive to changes in every other part, but also open to the action of the divine will as a co-ordinating force. What we call a law of nature is, then, from the supernatural point of view, a divine method of sustaining and co-ordinating the natural forces. The true view of the laws of nature regards them as abstracted from the functions of the natural powers, — formulae or co-efficients for the activities of these powers.² This view, however, utterly forbids our speaking of miracles as violations of the laws of nature. The functions and co-efficients of these activities remain the same during the miracle, and after it, as before. There has simply been added by the divine will to the production of a single event an element which does not come from the activity of these powers. To speak, then, of the miracle as a violation of the laws of nature, seems to be — even when so explained as to escape the accusation of introducing a complete overturning of nature — like arraying one divine method against another. And while he who denies effects in history which are *praeter* or *supra naturam* can do so only on the ground that he does not believe in revelation and the supernatural at all, he who is most intelligent in his supernaturalism will be least likely to affirm divine contradictions or violations of the laws of nature. That is true which Köstlin,³ as an opponent of Rothe on this point, has maintained: the belief in

¹ See Müller, *De Miraculorum*, etc., p. 7 f. In these supernatural acts the divine will operates through the natural forces, and not merely as having its activity in a measure conditioned upon them. ("Sustentat, adjuvat, nec mutat," p. 40 f.)

² So Köstlin and Lotze: according to the latter, the miracle may be conceived of as an event due to the divine will, which does not change any of the qualities of the elements of matter or any of the functions of its forces, but only those specific co-efficients which enter into the miraculous event (*Mikrokosmos*, II. p. 49 f.). "The law, the order of the world," says Schenkel (pp. 20, 85), "is the presence of the divine reason in the world, on its natural side." Compare Müller, *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³ Die Frage über das Wunder, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*. 1864, p. 236 f.

miracles must adjust itself to the true contents of our idea of the world. It is the lack of this adjustment, which, according to the same writer, has caused the older conception to be universally abandoned.

The above-mentioned conception neglects, moreover, those very elements, derived from the idea and history of revelation, which it is most important to preserve. Such elements, in accounting for the origin of a miraculous event, do not emphasize the manner in which it is brought about as a violation of natural forces, but rather the fact that the event *is not due* to such forces, and *is due* to the divine will. Moreover, such elements require us especially to emphasize the final purpose of the miracle as an event designed to form one factor in a scheme of self-revelation. But the conception of the old orthodoxy lays the emphasis upon a violation or suspension of the laws of nature; it thus regards the whole subject from an unbiblical and an entirely inferior point of view. What is important to the miracle is this, that God should be recognized as its source, and that it should serve as a factor in the divine self-revelation. What is relatively unimportant, even if ever actualized, is this, that a single event should stand in a seeming antagonism to the other forms of the divine activity, to the other kinds of supernatural action.

We derive, then, from the foregoing discussion, these elements of a true conception of miracles. The miracle is a species of the supernatural, and as such it conforms to all the general laws which control the manifestation of the supernatural. The miracle is an event in nature, and is, therefore, conditioned upon the substances and forces of nature, and is visible to the senses.¹ The miracle is an event which serves the divine purpose of self-revelation: it belongs, therefore, to a certain place in the historic process of divine self-revelation. The miracle is an event which is caused by divine free-will for manifesting God's grace; it is an act of divine condescension.² It is not an event produced by nature, although within nature. It is not, therefore, calculable; and it is incalculable, not because it is an event caused by unknown forces of the natural order, but because it is pre-eminently an act of free-will. If, therefore, there are events that occur, as factors in the historical process

¹ See Müller, *De Miraculorum*, etc., p. 17: "Id quidem ante omnia probe constituendum est, miraculum proprie esse factum aliquod in natura sensibus subiecta."

² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

of revelation, within nature and so visible to the senses, and that must be referred to the will of God for their cause, and regarded as external manifestations of the truths of revelation, then there are miracles. And there is not only no sufficient antecedent presumption against such events, but there is rather a presumption in their favor.

We now examine the biblical view of miracles in the light of the foregoing observations. We cannot, however, expect to find a complete correspondence between the view of the Bible, and that conception, which, while resting upon the biblical view, and being in every essential particular confirmed by it, is nevertheless the product in part of a developed scientific idea of the physical universe. Those elements of the true conception of the miracle which most certainly follow from an adequate doctrine of God and of revelation are pre-eminently scriptural. But other elements of this conception are derived more directly by observation and experience: they must therefore recognize the validity of that form of knowing the relations of God and the world, that idea of the cosmos, which belongs to modern times. The biblical conception makes no attempt to adjust itself to any idea of a fixed course of nature, for it is unconscious of the very ground upon which such an idea has been built. Indeed, in all antiquity there is no question raised concerning the possibility of reconciling any conception of a miracle with such an idea. "The entire Old Testament," as Schultz forcefully declares, "presupposes the miracle as something self-intelligible."¹ The insight of piety sees the proofs of divine wonder-working in that which science regards merely as the effect of natural forces (Ps. xcvi. 1, cvii. 8 f., lxvi. 3, 6). And, since all events are results of divine will, miracles are often distinguished from ordinary events, only as being more surprising exhibitions of that will. In both the positive and the negative elements of the biblical conception of miracles, the nature of that idea of God which had been revealed to the writers is the formative and controlling influence.² The relations of God to his people are those of a free, all-powerful, and gracious personality. This point of view, as furnished by faith, determines the manner in which the biblical writers

¹ *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 536 f. Perhaps the nearest approaches to the notion of a fixed order of nature are found, Job xxxviii. 8, 10 f.; Ps. civ. 9, cxlviii. 6.

² God, as the Creator and Ruler, is the Author also of miracles; see Ps. lxxxix. 5; Exod. viii. 19, xiii. 9; Job v. 9.

conceive of the divine relations to the physical universe; but, on the other hand, no point of view is reached which requires an attempt to adjust the difficulties that arise on comparing their view with the one derived from a scientific study of nature. The God of Israel is Jehovah, who will keep his covenant with his people: in the keeping of his covenant he is not restricted by any thing physical which lies beyond himself, but is continually evincing his moral purpose in and through nature. He is the source of miraculous signs and wonders, because he is Jehovah keeping the covenant with his people (compare Joel ii. 26 f.; Jer. xxxii. 17-21). From the same point of view the connection between the miracle proper and prophecy — the inner miracle — becomes clear; and as well, the reason why prophets are represented as workers of miracles. The same will which sends the prophet rules the world; the confidence of the prophet, if fully developed as his mission demands, leads him to expect that Jehovah will work any wonder which is necessary for the accomplishment of that mission.¹ So confident is Isaiah of the divine power and willingness to testify to the truth of revelation and to the mission of the prophet, that he invites (vii. 11 f.) Ahaz to ask a "sign," and make it deep as Hades or high as heaven. The fulfilment of such confidence is found when the shadow of the king's dial is carried back ten degrees in proof of what the same prophet had spoken (xxxviii. 7 f.). Prophecy itself is a miracle of inspiration and foreknowledge. Both the strenuousness of biblical supernaturalism, and the fact that the writers of the Bible had no scientific idea of the order of nature, conspire to prevent the attempt to adjust the conception of miracles to such an idea. The purely ethical purpose of revelation prevents the same attempt.

We find, then, certain elements of a scientific order conspicuously lacking in the biblical conception of the miraculous; but we find the great ethical and religious elements generously and uniformly inwrought into this conception. To this conception, as in general found in both Testaments, belong these three following truths. It is implied, (1) negatively, that a miraculous event *is not* one of ordinary experience; and positively, (2) that it *is* the product of immediate divine activity; and (3) that it is a sign, proof, or reminder to men, which has an ethical and religious significance.

¹ Even Moses, the greatest of the prophets, is blameworthy for lacking this confidence (see Num. xx. 10 f.).

The biblical conception does not proclaim the miracle as a violation or suspension of the laws of nature: on the contrary, although not concerned with adjusting any apparent conflict between God's ordinary working in nature and his extraordinary working in the miracle, it is rather decidedly opposed to the terminology of the old orthodoxy. The most general titles for the miracles of the Bible do not reach farther than to proclaim them as unaccustomed and astonishing events.¹ The Old Testament has no name for a miracle which is not as readily applicable to events that are plainly natural, in our sense of the word, as to those properly miraculous. It unhesitatingly regards extraordinary natural processes as divine signs (compare Ps. lxxxix. 6-14, Job v. 8-16). Symbolical transactions (as, e.g., Deut. xxviii. 46; Isa. xx. 3, xxxvii. 30), or symbolical names and persons (as, e.g., Isa. vii. 14, viii. 18), are indicated by the same title (אֵימָה) which is given to the miracle proper. The latter, as a sign (so the Greek *σημεῖον*), points to the supersensual world which is revealed by the miracle to the beholder. Even the term מִוֶּפֶת (prodigy or wonder) is not restricted to the miracle proper² (Ezek. xii. 6, xxiv. 24). The prophet declares (Isa. viii. 18): "I and the children whom Jehovah hath given me are for signs and portents to Israel." The plagues of Egypt, the passage of the Red Sea, the manna and quails in the desert, are not considered as any more truly supernatural, certainly not as any more truly opposed to nature, than ordinary sickness, journeys by sea, and daily sustenance, when these latter are looked upon as effects of the divine will.

We should, however, be quite astray from the truth, were we to maintain that the writers of the Old Testament made no distinction between miraculous and other providential events; much more, were we also to maintain that the failure to make the very distinctions which are rendered necessary by the modern idea of the world vitiates their testimony as to the occurrence of the events themselves. These writers go only far enough in setting the miracle apart from ordinary experience to consider it as somewhat extraordinary, separate, and distinguished (נִפְלְאוּת); it is an expression of unusual power, a great deed (גְּבוּלָה); it is calculated to inspire terror (נוֹרָאָה). The miracle is, then, conceived of as making an impression by its

¹ Compare Bender, *Der Wunderbegriff des Neuen Testaments*. Frankfurt 1871, p. 3 f.

² See Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 250 f.

contradiction of those expectations which are the result of ordinary experience, rather than as opposed to any abiding natural laws, or fixed order of nature.¹

The writers of the New Testament received their designations for the miracles which they narrate, as formed by the Old Testament in accordance with its fundamental conceptions. The titles and descriptions of the New Testament, even when its terms are most closely defined, are ambiguous as to the relation of a miraculous event to the laws and fixed order of nature.² The miracle is, in this regard at least, something beyond ordinary experience, — a wonder (*τέρας*) and therefore a "sign." (Compare Mark vi. 2; Matt. xxiv. 24; Acts ii. 19, v. 12.) These writers do not surpass their predecessors of the Old Testament in their attempts to adjust the events they describe to the ordinary events of experience, regarded as parts of a closed and self-contained system. They could not have made such attempts unless the modern idea of the physical universe had been supernaturally communicated to them. That this idea was thus communicated, we have no proof. If, therefore, all our confidence in the testimony of apostles and prophets is to be made dependent upon their philosophic and scientific adjustment of the relations of natural and supernatural, we are indeed in a desperate case. But the assumption that the positive religious elements of their conception are untrue, and that they must be ruled out of court on the ground of inability to give scientifically valid testimony, without even so much as an examination of that testimony, is none the less an assumption of surpassing impudence. The fact that they do not attempt to give what we are called upon to attempt, and yet find so difficult, — viz., a statement of the relations of God and nature which shall satisfy both the religious consciousness and a scientifically valid conception of the physical universe, — is less to their discredit than to their credit as trustworthy witnesses. And surely critics who stand ready to declare that they would not believe their own eyes if they saw Jesus Christ raise one from the dead, are on their own showing utterly in-

¹ The argument of the Bampton Lectures for 1865, as contained especially in chapters ii. and vi., seems to overlook the fact, that the proof of miracles is not opposed simply to the instinctive confidence that the future will correspond to the past, but rather to the idea of the world as a self-contained and self-regulated system.

² See Acts ii. 22, vi. 8, viii. 13; Matt. xvi. 1, xxi. 15, xxvii. 42; Luke xi. 16; John ix. 3. The conception which the Apocrypha have of natural events as miraculous may be seen, Sir. xlii. 17, xliii.

competent fairly to consider the evidence. However unskilled in scientific matters they may have been, it manifestly was not a matter of indifference to the eye-witnesses, whether the body of Jesus went upon the top of the water, or, like that of Peter, sank beneath it; whether, again, it passed through the open or the closed door. The fact that the ancient Hebrews referred the phenomena of meteorology and of animal and plant life to the divine activity did not prevent their writers from holding a more specific conception of the miracle, which regards it as differing strangely from the ordinary sequence of affairs, and as being designed and accomplished by God for a token and medium of revelation.

We must, however, consider chiefly the positive elements of the biblical conception of miracles, as elements which are important and decisive. According to this conception a miraculous event is to be thought of and accepted as a positive product of divine free-will. It is to be ascribed to the power of God; it is the work of God. The idea of the immediateness of the divine activity is brought out in the title *נִרְאָה* (Num. xvi. 30), which likens the miracle to the divine work of creation (compare Exod. xxxiv. 10). It is always a manifestation of the presence and power of Jehovah. The primary and common cause of all the New-Testament miracles is the divine volition, — *δύναμις θεοῦ* or *κυρίου* (Luke v. 17). God is declared (Acts ii. 24, x. 40) to have raised Jesus from the dead; that is, to have wrought the crowning miracle of sacred history. Believers are represented as having their resurrection *διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ* (sc. *θεοῦ*); for it is God who raises the dead.¹ To the same divine power the miraculous and other gifts of the Christian community are alike ascribed.² Jesus ascribes his own miraculous works to the same source: they are wrought in the name of the Father (John x. 25), and originate *ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς*; they are, in brief, *τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πατρὸς*, — divine acts of free-will.³ His miracles are wrought, so we are told by Jesus (Luke xi. 20), *ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ*. He refers the sick to God for help (Mark v. 19 and Luke viii. 39). Yet this divine power to work miracles is represented also as having its seat in the personality of Jesus:⁴ it is conditioned, however, on his spiritual communion and union with the Father (see Mark ix. 29; Matt. xiv. 19, and compare Luke xvii. 5). So also are the miraculous works of the apostles ascribed to the same source

¹ 2 Cor. i. 9, iv. 14, xiii. 4.

² Compare Col. i. 11; 2 Tim. i. 7.

³ See also John v. 36, ix. 3 f., x. 32, 37, xi. 40 f. ⁴ Mark iii. 10 f.; Luke vi. 19.

in the divine will.¹ Again, miracles are conceived of as wrought by God through Jesus,—by the primary cause through a cause secondary, and yet personal and divinely commissioned and endowed.² The conception of the Old-Testament writers attaches this miraculous power to the personality of certain divinely appointed messengers of Jehovah; there even appear cases in which one worker of miracles is represented as having imparted his power or gift to another (see 1 Kings xix. 16; 2 Kings ii. 9, 14, 15). It cannot be denied, moreover, that elements of a lower conception of miracles appear in the Old Testament, and also to a very limited extent in the New; such as would tend to co-ordinate it with mere thaumaturgy and magic. But the Old-Testament conception of miracles in general—and with this alone are we now concerned—evinces its dignity and trustworthiness in that it rejects the merely thaumaturgic view of alleged miraculous events.

The foregoing claim is especially shown to be true by an examination of the second group of positive elements in the biblical conception of miracles. It is the teleology of miracles in which this conception excels; it is this excellence which especially justifies the claim that the miraculous contents of the Bible are Sacred Scripture indeed. The most ancient distinctively biblical view of miracles connects them with the holiness and grace of God (compare Exod. xv. 11). Events considered miraculous are items in the process of divine self-revelation; they are parts of a great scheme, and, as manifestations in that realm of divine activity which is cognizable by the senses, they are both the supplements and the correlates of inspiration and the spirit of prophecy. The miracles of the Bible have, then, in general an ethical significance which sustains important relations to the kingdom of God. They signify that which, as a moral truth, is to be revealed to the soul of the individual or to the world at large. This purpose in the progressive manifestation of God is indicated by the title "sign" (σημεῖον). From this general fact several important particulars follow. A miracle cannot—of itself, and considered apart from the character of him who works it, and of the truth which it is designed to teach—authenticate doctrine. We are expressly informed that:

¹ Compare Acts iv. 19, xiv. 27, xv. 12, xix. 9.

² Acts x. 38, and compare iii. 12, iv. 30, xix. 11, 17. The view that miraculous works belonged to the divine nature of Christ was held by the Formula Concordiæ, and by Gerhard, Teller, Buddeus, Baumgarten, Calvin, and many others.

xxiv. 23-25; Gal. i. 8 f.) and errors of life (Mic. iii. 11; Zeph. iii. 4; Matt. vii. 15 f.) limit and even exclude the convincing force of the wonders wrought by evil teachers: how much truer, then, is this in cases where both kinds of error prevail! (Compare Matt. v. 18 f.) According to Matt. vii. 22, 23, the claim to work miracles in the name of Christ is not to be listened to when it comes from those who work iniquity. This attitude toward the "wonder," when it is not also a "sign" set in its true place in the progressive scheme of divine redemption, shows the intimate connection which necessarily exists between the two correlated forms of divine self-revelation.

In the same direction of thought is the fact, that the New Testament regards the office of the miracle as unfulfilled unless it has an influence within the spiritual realm.¹ Faith in miracles is of little worth unless it become faith in Christ.² Miracles call upon those who witness them, to repent, and give thanks to God.³ The mere wonder, the miracle regarded as a spectacle, Jesus deprecates, and refuses to lend his power to produce.⁴ The faith which is a mere faith in miracles and the miracle-worker cannot be regarded as true faith (compare John xii. 37). Hence there were only a comparatively small number for whom the works of Christ served as means to that holy spiritual union which the works, as well as his teachings, were designed to effect. It is, however, the declaration of real faith, rather than the miracle regarded as a means to produce the declaration, that displays the true *δόξα θεού*.⁵ Even in those cases, such as occur especially in the Gospel of Matthew, and in the Book of Acts, where the conceptions of the writers are least developed from the Jewish form, and where the miracle is regarded chiefly as a witness to Messiah in fulfilment of prophecy, the ethical characteristics of this testimony are not lost in mere epideictic display.⁶

The importance which the biblical conception attaches to the

¹ See especially Matt. xii. 22-37.

² John ix. 24, 25, 31-34.

³ Mark v. 19, 20, vi. 12; Luke x. 13.

⁴ Mark viii. 11 f.; Matt. xvi. 1-4, 5-12; Luke xi. 16, 19, xxiii. 8; John vi. 30, 32.

⁵ Compare Matt. xiv. 33; John ii. 11, xi.

⁶ See Matt. xii. 17 f., xxi. 4, Acts ii. 24-36. Steinmeyer (*Die Wunderthaten des Herrn in bezug auf die neueste Kritik betrachtet*, Berlin, 1866) finds a fourfold teleological motive for the miracles of our Lord: (1) They are "tokens" from which to draw a conclusion as to somewhat not perceivable by the senses; (2) they are symbols (compare 2 Cor. xii. 12) which testify to the nature of the Messianic work—such are especially the works of healing; (3) they are witnesses, as in Matt. xii. 28, John v. 20, xi. 25, 26, 41; and (4) they are prophecies, as in the case of the stater and the fish, the stilling of the storm, the cursing of the fig-tree, etc.

teleology of miracles is further seen in the history of the development of this conception itself. As Köstlin has declared, miracles have their law pre-eminently in the teleological connection of the history of salvation.¹ For this conception, like that of prophecy, separates itself, as it becomes more and more transformed by pure religious ideas, from all admixture of lower conceptions. The same influence is felt in producing the relative paucity of miracles in the Old Testament, and in connecting their more frequent occurrence with the several great epochs of Old-Testament history. Apart from the personality and era of Moses, and again of Elijah, the occurrence of miracles is sporadic in Hebrew history; although the supernatural in general is conceived of as constantly accounting for the course of that history. It is the apparent demand for the miraculous in the work of founding the kingdom of God, and not the demand of vague curiosity for the marvellous, which controls the distribution of the Old-Testament miracles. And it is the teleology of the miracle which gives it its place in the rational order of nature, and in the order of human affairs regarded as subject to the idea of divine redemption. Weiss² justly argues, that it is the great fact of sin in the world, and the correlated fact of a divine plan of salvation, which makes us expect that God will enter human history in a special manner in connection with the coming of Jesus Christ. Finally, it is the distinction between the miracle which is wrought for the purpose of manifesting spirit and truth upon the earth, and the simulations of the kingdom of evil, that underlies the accusation of Christ against the Pharisees (Matt. xii. 24-27 and Luke xi. 15-26). They who wilfully ignore this distinction show that they have destroyed their susceptibility for divine truth.

We conclude, then, that the general conception of miracles as held in the Bible has no valid presumption against its own actualization in history. For it does not assert that a miracle in any way violates or overturns, even temporarily, the order or laws of nature, but simply that it is an event so extraordinary as to be distinguished from the events belonging to that order. It asserts positively, that the miracle is the product of divine free-will, and is designed as a sign or token, or embodiment of divine truth: it is an act of God manifesting himself as keeping his covenant of salvation. To such a conception — although it is confessedly not adjusted by the biblical writers

¹ *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1864, p. 246. ² *Leben Jesu*, I. p. 191 f.

to the scientific idea of the world — this idea can make no valid objection. Nor can we summarily reject the testimony of these writers because they were not possessed of this idea. The rather should we be justified in discrediting an event witnessed and testified to as "*violating*" all their notions of the order of nature, by an entire academy of modern scientists, than in rejecting on *a priori* grounds the miracles which constitute an integral part of the Christian scheme of revelation.

Next to the question of the abstract possibility of the miracles of the Bible, the question of their general credibility must be considered. And upon this point there has arisen much discussion which has proved little better than useless. The effort has been made, over and over again, to establish by a discussion of the laws of evidence the impossibility of proving miracles on testimony. But it is only by admitting in full force the presumptions which come from false scientific and philosophic notions of the world, and of the course of nature, that this impossibility can be reached. And these presumptions are the very opposite of those which we have shown to be valid in an examination of evidence for the biblical miracles, when looked at from a supernaturalistic point of view. So that those who begin the discussion of the question as one of *historic probability* are usually fain to decide it by declaring a *scientific* or *philosophic impossibility*. Thus Zeller¹ proposes simply to discuss the possibility of proving miracles by historic testimony. The question, when thus discussed, becomes in his opinion one of conflicting probabilities; and the critic has to consider whether the probability of error in the writers, or of the occurrence of all the things they narrate, is the greater. The conclusion at which one must arrive is this: that it is impossible to prove a miracle from merely historical sources, which must themselves first be shown to be genuine and trustworthy, and which can never establish their own genuine and trustworthy character in any other than an historically probable form. Historical sources can never, then, authenticate events which by their very nature are opposed to all the results of other concurrent human testimony.

But this manner of argument simply introduces by the back-door in disguise the very presumptions which it has, with politeness and in deference to the wishes of an opponent, just dis-

¹ See Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1861; article, *Die historische Kritik und das Wunder*.

missed from the front. In fact, the question of the credibility of testimony, in the case of alleged miraculous events as of all other events, cannot be discussed as an abstract question of probability.¹ In deciding a question of evidence upon improbable events, certain presumptions are necessary, even to the fair consideration of the question: it is the presumptions, indeed, which largely make up the question. The probability of miracles is itself a complex question which involves many elements; the credibility of any narrative of an alleged miracle is a still more complex question, and involves all the elements of the foregoing question, and many other additional elements. Certain sets of prepossessions make the miraculous extremely probable, certain others, extremely improbable. Is it probable that Jesus rose from the dead? Who shall say a word in answer to the question unless he know who Jesus is, and what is meant by his rising from the dead? Is it probable that John and Paul tell the truth in asserting his resurrection? Who shall say, unless he know, not only the truth as to the person of Jesus, but also the truth, in all its complexity, as to the value of the testimony of John and Paul? As for us, with our views of the person of Jesus and of the moral and intellectual character of John and Paul, the resurrection of the former upon the testimony of the two latter is incomparably more probable than scientific investigation is able to render any one of the unusual past events upon the occurrence of which it relies. In fine, the question of the probability of miracles, as a matter of testimony rebutted by alleged uniform experience, is an empty and indeterminate question. Both parties in the discussion must agree, indeed, upon certain elements which may be used to define the general question yet further. such, for example, as the comparative rarity of the alleged miraculous event, the possibility of error, the influence of religious credulity, the impossibility of proving false doctrine by miracles, the impossibility of accounting for a miracle by the mere co-operation of second causes. By discussing these subordinate questions we do not, however, possess ourselves of all the elements for deciding the general question of credibility: the discussion of certain superior questions must enter yet more largely into this general question of credibility. Among such superior questions, besides the presumptions already considered, are the following: the reality of divine self-revelation in history; the probability

¹ Compare Venn, *Logic of Chance*, pp. 445 f. and 457 f.

that the course of nature will be taken into the service of this revelation; the divine mission and ethical and rational characteristics of those who are claimed to have wrought miracles; the nature of the testimony rendered in proof of different miracles; their relation to the scheme of Christian doctrine and the development of Christian life; and, indeed, numerous other similar questions. Unless we admit the force of the presumptions upon either side which result from the decision of these preliminary inquiries, we are utterly unable to say whether the falsity of the testimony to any particular alleged miraculous event, or the reality of that event, is the more probable. The critic who makes a show of critical candor in order really to forestall, with the assertions of a bald naturalism, the discussion of all the evidence, is speaking as a dogmatist, and not as a faithful critic. Nothing, for instance, can be less scientific than the determination to discredit that picture of Jesus which the accredited sources of the history present, on the ground that this picture does not correspond to preconceived notions of possibility.¹

It would appear that the force of such preliminary inquiries must have made itself felt upon the mind of that author who gave currency to the view that testimony cannot prove a miracle. The change in the phraseology of the different editions of Hume's essay indicates such feeling. When we are told in 1750, "Upon the whole, then, it appears that no testimony for any kind of miracle can ever possibly amount to a probability, much less to a proof," we are treated to a speculative dogma, which is easily refuted for a mind whose prepossessions are entirely different from those of the speaker. But when we are told in 1767, "Upon the whole, it appears, then, that no testimony for any kind of miracle has ever amounted to a probability, much less to a proof," we are treated to an opinion upon an historical subject which the author of the opinion had never examined, and was, indeed, prevented by his speculative prepossessions from examining with genuine candor. It may be said plainly, that Hume's entire discussion of the subject of miracles is not creditable to his intellectual honesty; while his proposal to subtract one probability from another, and his final caution, — that, although there may possibly be "violations of the usual course of nature," "a miracle can never be proved, so as to be the foundation of a system of

¹ Compare Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, I. p. 185 f.

religion," — show how utterly he misconceived both the laws of evidence, and the nature of the biblical religion and the biblical miracles.

The foregoing considerations cannot be expected to convince those who hold to the *a priori* impossibility of miracles, whatever evidence for them may be offered; and who base their position upon scientific and philosophic presumptions, or upon fictitious probabilities as to the nature of history and of human testimony. But they do prepare a mind, which is favorably disposed to the doctrine of a divine historic self-revelation, for examining the direct evidence for the biblical miracles, and for estimating the effect which miracles have upon the general doctrine of Sacred Scripture. We present now a brief classified statement of several of the most important lines of evidence to show the general credibility of the biblical miracles.

The chief evidence for the miracles of the New Testament, and, within certain limits, for those of the Old, is the existence and inherent nature of Christianity itself. We have been told that miracles furnish the chief obstacle, not only to belief in a personal God (Weisse), but also to faith in the person and doctrine of Christ. It has even been proposed that the Church accept such meagre faith as it can get from the cultured and scientific opponents of a supernatural religion, and so abjure the necessity of confidence in the miraculous.¹ And that there is a certain strong moral perfume which flows off from Christianity, and which can be scented with delight without embracing its substance, we do not deny. Far be it from us not to welcome and praise the benefit which any one may derive from the scent of this moral perfume, although it reach him through the mist and from afar. But none the less must we insist that the supernatural contents, inclusive of the miraculous, belong to the very essence of Christianity, and can no more be separated from it than can the principle of life from the living organism. One may, indeed, construct a certain somewhat, which shall represent to one's mind what this great historic religion would be, if the most important facts of its history were disproved; and what its doctrine would be, if the historic conception of the personality and mission of its founder were totally changed. But this somewhat would not be Christianity as it has existed in history and in the doctrine of the Church. It would not be

¹ See sermon on Law and Miracle, by Rev. D. J. Ferguson, "Scotch Sermons," 1880.

Christianity as it was announced by Jesus, and understood and promulgated by Paul. For the complete renunciation of the miracles of the Bible, on the ground of their impossibility or extreme improbability, involves the acceptance of a totally different way of looking at the world, God, the human soul, the moral law, the redemption of humanity, and, indeed, at nearly all ethical and religious subjects. Nay, more: this different way concerns the very essence of doctrinal Christianity, and the life-blood of its life. For instance, the rejection of supernatural acts of divine free-will involves the denial of the doctrine of regeneration; it confines the spirit of the individual within the limits of a purely natural process. It is not as wholly subject to nature, and cut off from communion with the supernatural, that man recognizes himself as a moral being; it is not from the self-inclusive process of nature that he expects relief by answer to prayer, or salvation on condition of faith. The impossibility of constructing a history of the origin of Christianity or of the life of its Founder, which shall wholly leave out the miraculous elements, will be made clear in other connections. At present, we may simply assert again the conclusion of Martensen and Rothe: "The conception of sacred history is inseparable from the conception of the miracle." It is, then, as "wise men" looking out for "beacons," and not as "fools" terrified by "scarecrows," that we pause before the consequences of wholly rejecting the miraculous contents of Christianity. For the act of rejection is simply equivalent to a surrender of the essential truths of Christianity.¹ And, moreover, we affirm that the argument against the general denial of the miraculous contents is as weighty as the proof derived from the very nature of the essential truths. Instead, therefore, of admitting the scornful conclusion of Hume,² that faith in the Christian religion "subverts all the principles of the understanding," we are forced to conclude, rather, that this faith carries with it those principles which must be taken account of by the understanding when examining the evidence for miracles.

Of the above-mentioned course of argument, one form is especially cogent and conclusive. The evidence for the miracles of Scripture is inseparably and organically connected with

¹ See this great truth presented with admirable force and clearness in a *Vortrag*, published in tract form, by Professor Beyschlag, and styled *Ueber die Bedeutung des Wunders in Christenthum*. Berlin.

² At the close to the essay, *Of Miracles*.

the person of Jesus Christ. His personality is the central miracle of Scripture; his testimony is that of the chief witness; his ethical and intuitional trustworthiness is the guaranty of their reality. It is the personality of Jesus which completely turns the scale of probability in the case of the New-Testament miracles; for this personality, as the actual realization of an ideal humanity, is itself the absolute miracle. It cannot be explained from the development of the factors which belong to the regular course of the history of humanity.¹ Once admit the divine reality of the fact that God has entered into union with humanity in this personality, and a different class of presumptions with regard to the relations of Christ to nature will obtain from those which must control our examination of ordinary matters of historical evidence. The question of the actual occurrence of any alleged miracle which is connected with this personality will then become a mixed question of probabilities derived from the nature of the evidence offered, and from the conception held regarding the worker of the miracle. Evidence which is valid for any historical event is valid for any miracle wrought by Christ, unless the miracle itself be of such nature as to conflict with a true conception of Christ.

In the effort to carry into details the truth of a connection between the evidence for miracles and the personality of Jesus, we are met at once by the fact, that the ethical integrity of this personality is pledged in support of certain of the New-Testament miracles. This is a fact from the thorough discussion of which unfriendly critics naturally shrink back. Thus Zeller² wishes to have the claims of Jesus left entirely out of the account, on the ground that they were not made by himself but by his biographers, — the very men by whom also the narratives of his actual miracles were constructed. "They form a part of that manner of picturing his life which belongs to the Gospels, and cannot be used in proof of the truthfulness of the same manner." And the author of "Supernatural Religion"³ tries entirely to obscure the personality of the chief actor in the stories of the Gospels, by referring to the superstition and ardent partisanship and disputatiousness of the narrators of these stories. But we are anxious first of all to have the inquiries answered: Did Jesus claim to work miracles? and, if he made this claim, was he self-deceived as to his own powers, or was he

¹ Compare Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, p. 186 f.

² See Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1864, VIII. p. 112 f.

³ Vol. I. p. 193 f.

a wonder-worker and miracle-monger like one of the superstitious and not over-scrupulous rabbis whom the latter critic takes pains to describe? Now, it is certain that the claims of Jesus to be the Supernatural One, and to work miracles, are so interwoven with his own conception of his own mission, and with all that we know of his life, as to defy all efforts to separate the two. Such claims are implied in his doctrine concerning himself, in his conduct, and in his promises to his disciples. They are not only indirectly put forth in such connections as might possibly suggest a foisting of unoriginal pretensions into the narratives: they are also artlessly woven into the very substance of narratives which are as nearly original as any that we possess. As Holtzmann¹ has pointed out the truth, the beginnings of the oldest records of the life of Jesus assume that the people were attracted to him by an abiding gift of working miracles (compare Mark i. 45, ii. 2), they prove that Messiah was designedly exercising his Messianic office, and accepting as true that verdict of the people which pronounced his claim to the office legitimated in part through his miracles (compare Matt. ix. 38 and Mark ii. 10). If any thing is historical in the Gospels, it is, as the same critic asserts and even Strauss admits, the argument of Jesus with the Pharisees, Mark iii. 20-30 (compare Matt. xii. 24-32, Luke xi. 15 ff.); and yet this argument pledges the moral character of him who makes it, to his claim to be a worker of miracles. Moreover, it is plain from Luke xiii. 32, and Matt. xi. 2 f., that he considered it his daily work to perform miraculous cures.

The connection of such cures, both in his own mind and in reality, with the supernatural and superhuman personality of Jesus Christ, regarded as a true and adequate cause, is as plainly made out as any thing well can be. It is true, on the one hand, that the words for these miracles of healing do not of themselves assert the miraculous nature of the cure.² It is also true that the nature of these cures is most favorable to attempts at physico-psychological explanations of the causative agency of Jesus in effecting the cures. To the latter reason must we attribute the eagerness of those who would deny miracles, and yet make a show of saving the moral character of Christ and the essential contents of Christianity, to resolve all the credible narratives of the Gospel miracles into narratives

¹ Die Synoptischen Evangelien, Leipzig, 1863, p. 509.

² Such words are θεραπεύω, σώζειν, ἰάσθαι, χαρίζεσθαι.

of such cures. According to their view of these cases, we have in the miracles attached to the personality of Jesus only more wonderful instances of that power over the body which the mind habitually exercises. The Saviour, then, worked miracles because he had a great talent, amounting to a unique genius, in doing that which many others have done and are constantly doing. But against this view of saving the morality of the worker of miracles, and accounting for the popular faith in him, without allowing him any strictly superhuman power, the following objections obtain.¹ He is represented as curing manifold cases of such a nature as present insuperable difficulties to the art of healing, even when its utmost physico-psychological resources are taken into the account. Such cases are the hopelessly maniacal (Mark v. 1 f., ix. 14 f.), the deaf-mutes (Mark vii. 31 f.), those born blind (John ix. 1 f.), those leprous (Luke xvii. 12), the paralytic prostrated upon beds (Matt. ix. 1 f.; Luke v. 18), those lame or maimed with permanent and organic changes (Matt. xii. 10; John v. 5). He is represented as healing all diseases alike, at once; and not as a physician, or worker of wonders, but as the Messiah of God. It is, therefore, not the physiological benefit of *faith*, but an ethical necessity, which makes faith connected with these cures.² The simple word of Jesus is the only customary means of cure (Luke vii. 7): for him to forbid disease (ἐπιτίμησε τῷ πυρετῷ, Luke iv. 39) is sufficient; his command restores the sight of the blind (ἀνάβλεπον, Luke xviii. 42). But the word is not more to be regarded as a second cause, or true means of the result, than is the spittle or touch of his finger (Mark vii. 32 f., viii. 23), or the wet clay (John ix. 6), or the oil (Mark vi. 18), or the more customary grasp from his hand (compare Matt. viii. 15, ix. 25). The will of Jesus accomplishes the effect of cure even upon those at a distance (see Matt. viii. 5 f.; Luke vii. 2 f.; John iv. 46 f.). Indeed, so much is this power of healing regarded as the normal product of his personality,

¹ Some of these objections to the physico-psychological theory of the miraculous healings are given by Bishop Douglas: *Criterion, or Rules by which the True Miracles recorded in the New Testament are distinguished from the Spurious Miracles of Pagans and Papists*. London, 1807. See especially Bender, *Wunderbegriff*, p. 17 f.

² Unbelief is represented as a hinderance to miraculous cures, but faith as a help or even pre-requisite (οὐκ ἰδύνατο, Mark vi. 5, compare ix. 14 f.; Matt. xiii. 58, ix. 28, viii. 13; Mark vii. 29; Luke vii. 9, xvii. 5). The faith requisite to work these cures is a subject of prayer (Mark ix. 29; Matt. xxi. 22; Luke v. 16) it is faith in God (Mark xi. 22; John xi. 23-42).

that it is represented—in a manner which departs from the customary type of the biblical conception—as flowing unconsciously forth, or as being extracted from his person and garments by contact.¹ All these miraculous acts of pity are, however, alike considered as constituting one stream of supernatural influences, which has its unfailing spring in the supernatural and superhuman person of our Lord. These acts are never mere wonders: they are ever intensely spiritual and religious. And when we mark how the New-Testament conception and narratives of the miraculous attach themselves, as a perfectly normal and legitimate development, to the very roots of the ethical and spiritual being of the divine Redeemer, we feel how much of the entire bulk of the argument for their validity is drawn from the sources of this being.

And when we further note that the promises and spiritual communications of this same Redeemer to his messengers form a guaranty of their derived power to work certain miracles in his name (see Acts iii. 6), and that the conception of the apostolic miracles and miraculous gifts of the apostolic churches corresponds in its principal elements to the same idea as that which controls the miracles of Jesus; then we are made aware how large a portion of the miraculous contents of the New Testament are taken under the protection of his unique personality.

Having once admitted that the miraculous healings of Christ are the natural result of his superhuman power, and therefore products of the divine free-will which is regarded as having its seat of power in his person, we are ready to reject the merely physico-psychological theory of these healings, and yet also to conceive of them in such a manner as to do no violence to the course of nature. We find in the divine personality of the Redeemer the sufficient cause of all such results. But we are not compelled to represent the manner of reaching the results as being without regard to, and as receiving no conditions from, any of the so-called second or natural causes. We have in the same personality, moreover, a sufficient cause for other effects in the mixed realm of nature and spirit; although these effects, still more than the miraculous cures, fail of explanation by natural causes. The power of the spirit in Jesus Christ to work miraculous changes in his own bodily organism, and to make possible bodily acts and functions which do not belong

¹ Compare Mark v. 25 f., vi. 56; Luke vi. 19, viii. 44.

to the bodies of men in their so-called natural condition, is the expression of his personality: it need therefore occasion no special difficulty or offence. The observation is true, whether we apply it to his transfiguration (Mark ix. 2; Matt. xvii. 2, *μετεμορφώθη*; Luke ix. 29, *εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἕτερον*), or to any one of his appearances after resurrection,¹ or, indeed, to his disappearance from mortal sight (see Acts i. 9). To the same *natural* working of this permanent cause may be referred his walking on the sea (Mark vi. 48 and parallel passages), or his escape from the angry crowd (Luke iv. 30).

In still higher degree is the quality of this same personality displayed in the power which Jesus showed over nature, even when it lay beyond immediate connections with his own body or the bodies of others. This power is certainly implied in the miraculous stilling of the sea (Mark iv. 39); and in still higher degree, approaching if not fully realizing creative energy, in the miracles of John ii. 1 f.; Mark vi. 40-44, viii. 1 f., and parallel passages. The miraculous draught of fishes (John xxi. 6) is, however, probably to be regarded as an act simply of miraculous knowledge. The unwonted phenomena in the sphere of nature, — such as are narrated Mark xv. 38 and Matt. xxvii. 51, — which accompanied the death of Christ, are appropriate to his mission and personality: they are to be referred to the divine will as acting, it matters not whether mediately in the form of providential coincidence, or by direct volition. The climax in the exhibition of this wondrous power of the person of Jesus over nature is reached in his raising the dead to life; the three instances recorded in which this power was exercised being Mark v. 35 f.² (compare parallel passages), Luke vii. 11 f., and John xi. 1-46.

In the case of the only vision attributed by the New Testament to Jesus (see Mark i. 9 f.), both the subjective impression and a certain divinely caused objective ground or occasion of this impression, are to be distinguished; the latter of these elements we cannot, however, describe with confidence on account

¹ Matt. xxviii. 9; (compare Mark xvi. 12, *ἐν ἑτέρῃ μορφῇ*); Luke xxiv. 16, 31, xxvi. 51, *ἀέσθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν*; John xx. 19, 26, xxi. 1, *ἐφάνησεν ἑαυτὸν*.

² Concerning this miracle the author of "Supernatural Religion" is so utterly uncandid as to assert (I. p. 178): "The raising of Jairus' daughter has long been abandoned, as a case of restoration to life, by all critics and theologians except the few who still persist in ignoring the distinct and positive declaration of Jesus." This view, as Meyer declares, does not simply contradict the view of the Evangelists, but also violates the moral character of Jesus.

of the discrepant modes of narrating the event by the different Evangelists.

Besides this general connection of the miracles of the Gospels with the personality of Jesus,—a connection which pledges his moral character for their actual occurrence, and also fully accounts for this occurrence by attributing the miracles to his personality as their sufficient cause,—we may indicate other subordinate connections. For example, the working of miracles is closely connected both with the development of his consciousness of a divine nature and mission, and also with the historic manifestation of the Messianic office.

The argument which has been used by Nitzsch, Ritschl, Dorner, and others, to set forth the *a priori* necessity of "external revelation," or a manifestation of divine power and grace in the order of second causes, applies to the inner and outward life of Christ.¹ The necessity for miracles in the progress of God's kingdom upon earth is much profounder than that indicated by declarations like the following: "And certainly, if it was the will of God to give a revelation, there are plain and obvious reasons for asserting that miracles are necessary as the guaranty and voucher for that revelation."² It is true that the doctrine seems to be taught, especially in passages of the Old Testament like Exod. vi. 7; Deut. xiii. 1 f.; Judg. vi. 17; 2 Kings xx. 8 f., that supernatural communications of truth must have supernatural attestation; but even in the first two of these passages the truer and profounder connection of the doctrine and the miracle is not overlooked. We have already seen that the miracles of Scripture are not to be considered as exterior attestations of revelation so much as integral parts of revelation itself. The true miracle is a divine self-revelation, a manifestation of God's power and grace, within the sphere of visible things. It is the true correlate of inspiration and prophecy. The power to work miracles comes, then, to sustain the closest possible relation to the great leaders and chief media of revelation in Scripture. Miracles are designed and adapted to awaken within these leaders the consciousness of the fact that God is with them, and will use them for his gracious purpose of revelation; they are also designed and adapted to call the attention

¹ See Dorner, *Glaubenslehre*, I. p. 578 f.

² So Mozley, *Bampton Lectures*, 1865, p. 6 f.; and compare Butler's *Analogy*, Part II. chap. vii.; *Aids to Faith*, Essay I.; J. H. Newman, *Two Essays*, etc., p. 6 f.; Bishop Atterbury, Sermon on "Miracles the most Proper Way of proving the Divine Authority of any Religion."

of their contemporaries, and of all who accept the records of their lives as well as the truthfulness of their doctrine, to the same fact.

That the miracles wrought by our Lord bore an important part in the development of his own self-consciousness, we cannot doubt. In the development of all human self-consciousness the awakening and growth of a recognition of the power which belongs to each personality is the factor of greatest importance. The effect of his first miracle upon our Lord's consciousness of what he was, and was to accomplish, must have been incalculable. The influence which all his miraculous acts had upon the manifestation and public recognition of his divine nature and mission may be considered in the four following ways: (1) as expressing to the people his claims to a Messianic mission;¹ (2) as attracting men to his person;² (3) as expressing the divinest qualities of his personality; (4) as demanding and cultivating faith, and so proving a means of grace. That Jesus distinctly intended to connect his claim to be Messiah with his claim and power to work miracles, there can be no doubt;³ and thus in another way does his moral integrity become committed to the miracles of the Gospels. That he suffered this connection of these claims to continue in the minds of the people, commits this integrity still further to the proof.

Indeed, it may be affirmed with perfect confidence that the only tenable conception of the person of Jesus Christ includes the sufficient general evidence for those miracles which can be attached historically to him. Moreover, the utter impossibility of rendering any satisfactory historic account, not only of this person but also of the origin of Christianity, without admitting the validity in general of the Gospel miracles, is a strong argument in their behalf. It is true, as Zeller has claimed, that the critic should not be compelled to show in detail what was the real basis of fact or idea underlying the narratives of the miraculous, if only he can make out in general that the miraculous cannot be admitted in any case as an element of the history. But the critic who denies miracles is at least bound to give us some intelligible and consistent account of the historic per-

¹ See Mark x. 47 f., xi. 9 f., xiv. 61, xv. 18, 32; Matt. xv. 22, xx. 30, xxi. 9, 15; Luke ix. 18-22, xviii. 38, xix. 38; John x. 24-26, xii. 13.

² See Mark i. 27, 84, 45, iii. 8, vi. 56, ix. 15; Matt. xi. 2, xii. 23, xiv. 2, xvi. 13, xxviii. 8; Luke iv. 37 f., v. 12-15, vi. 17; John iii. 2, vii. 26, 31, 40 f., xi. 32.

³ Compare Matt. ix. 2-7, xi. 1-6; Luke vii. 18-23; John v. 36, x. 25, 37, xi. 4, 5, 42, xiv. 10.

sonality called Jesus Christ; and to show in general how the narratives of his life could have arisen in the form in which we have them, without admitting the reality of their alleged facts. Neither of these things, however, has ever been accomplished by criticism. We desire to know: If Jesus was not a person of pure morality and divine mission and superhuman characteristics, claiming to work miracles, and actually working them, then what manner of person was he? If the expectation that the Messiah would work miracles was so prevalent and strong as to account for the fact that the later writers of these stories concerning him introduced, as a matter of course, miraculous elements into them, what was the effect of the same influence upon Jesus and the men of his generation? Shall we say that Jesus complied with the expectation of thaumaturgic displays, and was therefore accepted as Messiah? To say this, however, involves not only a low estimate of his morality, but also a total disregard of the fact that he is represented as deprecating this expectation, and refusing to comply with it (see Mark viii. 11; Matt. xii. 39; Luke xi. 29; John vii. 37, 41, 42, 52); to say nothing of the other fact, that scarcely any of the narratives of miracles in the Gospels fail, by their very form and flavor, to bear witness against the idea that Jesus ever consented to make displays in thaumaturgy. The impossibility of rendering any true historic account of this historic person, without admitting into our conception of him the miraculous elements of his life, is a positive argument in favor of the objective validity of those elements.

The same argument obtains with regard to the New-Testament conception of the miraculous. This conception itself demands some historic explanation. That it cannot be regarded as something which was originated later than the historic events themselves, is clear from the fact, that, as we have already seen, the events are in their original essence regarded as supernatural. The historic substance of the Gospels is miraculous: to such a degree is this true, that, if we attempt to separate the miraculous from the historical, and then regard the former as superimposed upon the latter, we lose all historic shape and consistency from the narratives in general. The declaration of Weiss¹ is not one whit too strong: "Our evangelistic tradition is full of the miraculous, and no criticism of the sources is in a condition to exclude the miraculous from

¹ *Leben Jesu*, I. p. 193.

this tradition." According to Holtzmann,¹ the connection of the doctrine and miracles of Jesus, and the pre-eminence of his doctrine, together with the reality of his miracles, are understood and set forth in the oldest source (A) of the oldest Evangelist (Mark²). From the ancient apostolic source, the memoirs of Peter, Weiss finds it impossible to exclude numerous narratives of miracles in the strictest sense of the word. This conception, then, dates from the very first, and must have an adequate explanation. Shall the explanation be found in the self-deceit or imposture of the person with whom the power of working miracles is connected? Or shall it be found in the general and vague tendency to believe in the miraculous, and to consider all wonderful leaders in religion as workers of wonders? But this conception is not the kind of product which admits of such an origin. The conception of a teacher who refuses to be considered as a worker of miracles, and yet claims the most stupendous powers to work them; who exercises these powers daily for purposes merely of instruction and grace, and then refuses to display them in order to convince gainsayers; who is willing to be accused of imposture rather than make the most ordinary exhibitions in thaumaturgy, and yet himself accuses the Pharisees of the most dreadful crime in refusing to recognize the reality and spiritual exaltation of his own miraculous deeds,—this conception is not accounted for by reflecting upon the general and vague tendency of the human mind toward the miraculous.

And, moreover, the conception is not to be adequately explained by any more definite and well-known connections with similar ideas in the history of its own era. It is entirely unlike the view of a wonder-working Messiah, as that view might be evolved from rabbinical notions, and from the thaumaturgic instinct and expectation of the Jews.³ It is unlike the related view of the Apocrypha. It is not even derivable by natural development from the Old Testament. It has itself, rather, the power to penetrate and purify by its own nature all the specimens of alleged miracles introduced in the New-Testament narratives from those of the Old.⁴ This is true of the lowest form of the conception, as held by the writers of the New-

¹ Die Synoptischen Evangelien, p. 505 f.

² See i. 38, 39, iii. 14, 15, vi. 2, 7, 12, 13.

³ Compare Bender, Wunderbegriff des Neuen Testamentes, pp. 99-123.

⁴ See Luke iv. 25 ff., xvii. 27, 29, 32; Matt. xii. 40; Acts vii. 30, 36; and compare Josephus, Bell. Jud. VII. 6, 3.

Testament, even when it concerns that subject upon which the likelihood of crass conclusions was greatest. The subject of demonology is purified from many of its most objectionable features by the power of the New-Testament conception. The general abhorrence which the New Testament has for magic is clearly enough expressed.¹ Instead, then, of its being true, as the author of "Supernatural Religion" coarsely asserts, that "the Gospel miracles . . . were substantially mere repetitions of similar wonders well known amongst the Jews;" and, as the same writer even more coarsely hints, that the picture of Jesus is, so far as its miraculous elements are concerned, only that of a Jewish conjuror and rabbi,—the very reverse of all this is true. The difficulty of rendering any satisfactory historic account of the origin of the New-Testament conception of its own miraculous history, without admitting certain miraculous events, is a positive argument in favor of the reality of those events.

The general argument given above may be applied in detail to the narratives of the New Testament. Granted that we cannot justly require of destructive criticism that it shall explain every part of these narratives without admitting any miraculous elements; nevertheless, it should be required of all historic criticism to show at least how the more important narratives originated. In the case of the resurrection of Jesus, it is indeed impossible to harmonize all the details of the different accounts, and so render an accurate and complete description of the whole event. But the difficulty of accounting for admitted facts, both of ideal and of historic certainty, without assuming the one central fact that Jesus did indeed rise, is of all difficulties most insurmountable. Even the most ideal form of the conception of this resurrection demands the actual fact as its true cause. There is a great and obvious difference between the conception which shapes the Gospel narratives, and any which could be framed of a resurrection of Messiah on the basis of the Books of Wisdom, Enoch, and the Fourth Ezra.² Nor is the mere belief of ardent disciples, that they have seen their departed Master appear from beyond the grave, at all adequate to give rise to stories of his having been upon the earth in *body* for a definite time, and of his having then been taken from

¹ See, besides the passages already cited which bear upon this point, Acts viii. 9, xiii. 6, xvi. 16, xix. 13; 1 Tim. i. 4, iv. 7.

² See Köstlin, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1864, p. 219 f.

before their very eyes to be upon the earth no more. The same difficulty of accounting for the early belief without admitting the principal facts, which belongs in marked degree to the narrative of the resurrection, belongs in less degree to the narratives of the New Testament throughout.¹ The general failure to render any adequate account of the person of Christ, of the evangelistic conception of him and his works, of the history as a whole and in its separate parts, without accepting the main fact, that this person was the supernatural One, and did things corresponding to his supernatural character, is itself a strong argument for the general credibility of the New-Testament miracles. And this claim is as secure and just as ever, even after historical errors in details and admixtures of mythical elements have been shown to exist. Moreover, the critical arrogance which begins with a boastful defence of the principle of causation in history, and ends with an utter failure to account for historical Christianity, merits no *a priori* preference with thoughtful minds.

And finally, concerning the nature of the positive evidences offered by biblical revelation in proof of its miraculous contents, we consider the direct testimony of contemporaries and eye-witnesses. It is important to notice here, what will concern our discussion more particularly at another point, that we can ourselves have only mediate and indirect testimony. The question, how much of the record of miracles has been received substantially at first hand, is a question for Biblical Introduction and Biblical Criticism to determine. For few of the Old-Testament narratives of miracles come to us from eye-witnesses; and the amount of evidence which the New Testament furnishes us for its miracles, substantially at first hand, depends upon the authorship and manner of the composition of its books. These questions of authorship and composition will be considered with their appropriate critical apparatus, and in their due place. Some of the more prominent considerations, which belong to the general inquiry as to the value of the biblical evidence for its miraculous contents, will suffice in this connection.

Certain common narratives of miracles, and groups of such narratives, in the Synoptic Gospels, furnish the evidence of contemporaries and eye-witnesses to the general fact that Jesus Christ was well known to have accomplished in the physical

¹ Compare Holtzmann, *Ibid.*, chap. v.; and Steinmeyer, *Die Wunderthaten des Herrn*, *passim*.

realm effects of an extraordinary character. Thus far we have credible and unshaken testimony. Concerning the interpretation given by these witnesses to the facts witnessed, each critic will, of course, accord such credence as belongs to the presumptions with which he approaches the examination of the evidence. The presumptions by which *our* criticism, as well as our faith, is compelled to abide, if we adopt a correct view of revelation in general and of the person of Christ in particular, are precisely those which favor the apostolic interpretation. The modern criticism of the Synoptic Gospels has not, then, destroyed their testimony as that of contemporaries and eye-witnesses to the miracles of Christ. It has, however, greatly modified our conceptions of the nature of this testimony. How greatly the ground has shifted, and how largely changed are the critical difficulties belonging to the subject, we may judge by contrasting the present conflicting points of view with that maintained by Bishop Douglas in 1807: "It would be extremely impertinent in me to enter upon a proof that the books, in which we have an account of the miracles of Jesus, are as old as the time they claim to." And yet none of the subsequent changes of view, necessitated or favored by modern criticism, prevent us from maintaining the assertion admitted in 1866 by Keim:¹ "The picture of Jesus, the worker of miracles, as it is given in its common features by the Evangelists, and so standing in strong contrast with the picture of John Baptist (compare John x. 41), belongs to the first believers in Christ, and is no invention." This picture has, then, the meaning and force of a concurrent testimony from many eye-witnesses. That the testimony concerns, for the most part, only one of the two classes of miracles distinguished by Keim, Holtzmann, and Weizsäcker, — viz., the miraculous cures of our Lord, — is indeed true. This fact is accounted for by the other undoubted fact, that most of his miracles belonged to this class naturally, and in accordance with his divine mission. But that the most ancient testimony is not confined to this class of miracles, we may cite in proof, the examples of Mark iv. 35-41; Matt. viii. 23-27; Luke viii. 22-25, and Mark v. 21-43; Matt. ix. 18-26; Luke viii. 40-56; and especially of Mark vi. 30-44; Matt. xiv. 13-21; Luke ix. 10-17. To the same most ancient group of narratives belongs also the miracle wrought by God in the resurrection of Jesus.

¹ See *Der geschichtliche Christus*, Zürich 1866, p. 121 f.

We have also in the First Gospel the witness of the Apostle Matthew. That this witness is not given in the manner formerly supposed, — that the present Gospel is neither directly from the apostle's hand, nor a mere translation of a work of his hand, — criticism has abundantly established. But the same criticism is still bound to find in the present Gospel such signs and fruits of the work of this apostle as commit certain portions of its miraculous contents to the care of an eye-witness. Thus Hilgenfeld — whose declaration, "That an eye-witness should have told the history of Jesus without miracles, would be, considering the extent of the credence given to miracles in that time, far more miraculous than the miracle itself," has been used to discredit the Gospel testimony for the miracles — has himself referred considerable contents¹ of the present Gospel (including ix. 32-34, x. 1, xi. 5, xii. 24) to the Apostle Matthew. But this reference commits not only the trustworthiness of Matthew, but of Christ himself, to these miraculous contents. And Holtzmann,² while assigning to Matthew the one source of the present Gospel (viz., Δ) which contained only discourses of Jesus, nevertheless asserts that these discourses themselves were either directly induced by the miracles, or at any rate recognize in "the most pronounced manner" the miraculous power of the speaker. The witness of the Fourth Gospel can, of course, be cited as immediate and direct, only upon the assumption that it is to be ascribed to the Apostle John. This assumption is originally based for the believer of to-day upon the claims of the book itself, is still to be firmly held, and held in the expectation that criticism will more and more confirm its validity. That the author of Revelation, whom the same criticism which denies the Johannean authorship of the Gospel is most ready to identify with the Apostle John, believed with full faith in miracles, there is little reason indeed to doubt (see xiii. 13, xix. 20). The school of Baur has always been only too eager to make out that this Book of Revelation is the only genuine writing of the Apostle John, and even of the entire New Testament.³ In fine, that double-dealing which accounts for the admitted testimony of eye-witnesses by the superstition of the age and their own large ignorance and easy credulity, and then accounts for the record of the testimony by

¹ Namely, Matt. iii. 13-iv. 11, viii. 1-4, viii. 14-ix. 34, xv. 21-29, xvii. 1-27, xviii. 1-10 and 16-20, xx. 29-34, xxi. 17-22. See Evangelien, pp. 106 ff., 115.

² Die Synoptischen Evangelien, p. 504.

³ See Hertwig, Tabellen zum N. T., Berlin, 1872, p. 82.

denying that it is even indirectly from eye-witnesses, and by asserting that it must have been accumulated by those who had little or no knowledge of the facts, evinces its own need of trustworthy historical resources.

As the contemporary witness whose testimony is, according to Keim,¹ entitled to the first rank, we may turn with confidence to the Apostle Paul. And this testimony may be taken as it is found in his most undisputed writings. There can be no doubt that this apostle believed in the continuance of the miraculous power which Jesus had possessed. He even regarded the possession of this power as a requisite of the apostleship and as a distribution of divine charisms to the Church (compare 1 Cor. xii. 9, 28-30; 2 Cor. xii. 12; Rom. xv. 18 f.); although, as we see from 1 Cor. i. 22 f., he would not make the gospel depend for success upon gratifying a desire to see wonders worked. That Paul meant to speak of supernatural deeds in 1 Cor. xii., Zeller himself admits. But this being admitted, we have not dismissed the testimony of Paul by asserting that he was peculiarly well fitted to be deceived, and moreover had never himself seen the miraculous works of our Lord. For the claims of Paul are such as to demand confidence in his veracity; otherwise we must make the odious assumption that he was completely lacking in moral integrity. For Paul, unlike Augustine and others of the better witnesses to the ecclesiastical miracles, claims to be himself empowered by the Spirit of Christ to accomplish these supernatural deeds. And, moreover, how does it happen, that without any trustworthy knowledge of facts he has given to us (1 Cor. xv.) more instances of the appearance of Jesus Christ as the Risen One than all the Evangelists taken together? One would suppose that by the time of his writing, the principal circle of myths, gained by repeating stories of the supposititious appearance of Jesus, would have taken some definite shape, and that we should discover elsewhere in the records traces of these new wonders narrated by Paul. Has he, then, wholly invented these new instances of the appearance of the risen Jesus by his own fertile imagination? And, besides all these considerations, we may point to the fact that no form of the so-called "vision-hypothesis" has made intelligible Paul's appeal (1 Cor. xv. 6) to the more than five hundred witnesses; unless we admit that they were indeed eye-witnesses of bodily appearances of our Lord after his death.

¹ *Der geschichtliche Christus*, p. 131 f.

It is true, that at various times in history considerable numbers of people have given their united testimony to having witnessed portentous phenomena, the occurrence even of which we do not hesitate to deny. But neither the conjectural basis nor the direct evidence of any such visions in the early Christian Church can be established. When Strauss is asked for the proof, that, in direct contradiction to the narratives, there existed among the disciples immediately after the death of their Lord any such expectation as could occasion a story of his rising from the dead, he is fain to say with a sneer that we can know no more of "the cooling-off of the early Christian consciousness" than of that of the planets.¹ With the exception of the vision alluded to, 1 Cor. xv. 8, there exists in the New-Testament history no hint of any such glimpse of Jesus Christ after death. The visions of Peter, of the dying Stephen, and of Paul himself (2 Cor. xii. 1), are of an entirely different order. And the difficulty which the claim of Paul, that he had himself seen the Lord after his ascension, seems to have found in gaining the acceptance of a portion of the early Church, shows how ill-suited their whole experience and temper were to supposititious and ecstatic visions. The testimony of Paul, and his appeal to the five hundred witnesses, make it simply impossible to account for accredited historical facts by any so-called vision-hypothesis.

In brief, we may confidently affirm, that none of the results arrived at by the so-called destructive criticism have made any less certain the fact that the first disciples — the Apostles Matthew, Paul, and John included — believed themselves to be credible eye-witnesses of miracles, both of those wrought by Jesus and of those wrought by themselves in his name.

From this indestructible centre of Gospel history may we proceed to construct the historical evidence for the miracles of the New Testament, and in a measure for those of the Old. This work of construction is not, however, a pure work of faith and of the assumptions of faith. The work does indeed involve in inextricable folds many truths concerning the person of Christ, the nature of revelation, the abiding characteristics and claims of Christianity: it is not, then, in all respects a pure work of criticism. We cannot apply the canons of criticism to the entire miraculous contents of both Testaments, without

¹ Compare Keim, *Ibid.*, p. 139, note; and Strauss, *Die Halben und die Ganzen*, p. 60 f.

regard to the influence of dogmatic considerations. But, on the other hand, we cannot assume to exclude criticism from any of these contents. Even the narratives of the miracles of our Lord appear to criticism of different degrees of validity, according to the purity and originality of the sources in which they appear.¹ As the whole course and temper of the previous argument must have made apparent, we cannot assume that the mere presence of a narrative of miraculous events, in either one of the Testaments, is a sufficient guaranty of the events themselves. For the truths of revelation and the miracles of Scripture we may claim, not simply that the former are proved by the latter, nor even simply that each is proved by the other, and that they, to a large extent, stand or fall together: we may rather claim, that it is a distinctive element of a veritable and trustworthy biblical miracle to be in some way an integrant part of revelation; and, conversely, that the biblical idea of revelation includes, as a necessary part, the miracle proper. But there is a very plain distinction — a distinction which is, indeed, becoming more plain and important with every new step of our whole investigation — between revelation and the record of revelation. There is just as plain a distinction between a miracle and a record of a miracle. The miracle is by its very nature a supernatural event; the record is presumptively only an ordinary event. The record cannot of itself give an unfailing guaranty to the miracle it records, without being itself a kind of universal miracle. If the Bible, as a record of miraculous events, were such a miracle, it could be proved such only after a thorough criticism of the historic testimony; and of such testimony there is none to examine beyond the very claims and phenomena which the induction of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture must undertake. The miracle of infallible inspiration in writing narratives of miracles cannot guarantee the miracles themselves. Even should the Scriptures assume to withdraw all their narratives of miracles from detailed examination, and authenticate them in one body by the simple fact that the narratives are in Sacred Scripture, they could not possibly make good their assumption. For that assumption could never rest on so good evidence as belongs to the miracles of revelation in general. It is revelation, then, and the connections and influences of revelation, which guarantee the miracles that constitute a part of it; the record, even though it be con-

¹ See Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, I. p. 195.

tained in Sacred Scripture, does not of itself give the guaranty it only seeks. We must, therefore, conclude — to use the words of Dorner¹ — that “the historico-critical investigation of the trustworthiness of the individual accounts of miracles is clearly to be distinguished from the dogmatic question whether miracles are possible, and whether Christ possessed the power of working them.”

It is this “historico-critical investigation of the trustworthiness of the individual accounts of miracles” which more definitely fixes the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, in so far as it is dependent upon the miraculous contents of the Bible. And for this investigation we propose the following criteria, by which the relative value and trustworthiness of the individual accounts may be estimated, and the right understanding of the real nature of the events they record may be attained: (1) the closeness of organic connection with the central truths of revelation; (2) the purity of the conception of the miraculous, as evinced by comparison with the genuine and permanent idea of a miracle; (3) the amount and kind of evidence, and especially its freedom from any manifest admixtures of myth or popular tradition; (4) the correspondence with, or divergence from, the analogies which reveal the methods of the divine will in the ordinary course of nature.

In discussing the evidence for certain of the Gospel miracles, the influence of dogmatic considerations is confessedly, and with justice, exceedingly strong. For these miracles are integrant parts of Christianity itself. It is superfluous to discuss, what the religion of Christ would be without the miraculous events of his incarnation and resurrection and constant supernatural and superhuman relations to nature and to humanity. In historical and dogmatic Christianity these supernatural factors are indispensable elements. We do not as yet feel ourselves either compelled or frightened into the effort to discover whether other tenable positions will remain when once the Church shall have been dislodged from these ancient strongholds of faith. But it certainly cannot be claimed that all the alleged miracles of both Testaments hold the same close organic relations either to Christianity or to revelation in general. With certain miraculous events our confidence in the moral integrity and divine mission of Jesus Christ is, as we have already seen, inextricably interwoven. Certain other mir-

¹ Glaubenslehre, I. p. 594; compare Rothe, Zur Dogmatik, p. 84 f.

aculous events of the Old Testament seem most intimately connected with the progress of divine revelation in Israel. We cannot fail also to note how few miracles appear anywhere in Scripture that can possibly be regarded as sporadic wonders, which might be rejected on the very ground of their lack of connection with the system of scriptural truth. On the other hand, nothing but the falsest and most dangerous conception of the nature of Sacred Scripture can make the believer willing to risk all the miracles alike by binding them in a common bundle with one doctrine of the infallibility of their record. The validity of the stories of wonders in the lives of Samson, and of that swarm of prophets which surrounded Elijah and Elisha, cannot be made to test the validity of the Gospel narratives of Christ's divine works. It is this consideration of organic connection which enables us in large measure to determine the epideictic value of the miracle. This value is in direct proportion to the closeness of the organic connection which exists between each miracle and the truths of revelation. If such value is established at all by appropriate evidence, it remains perpetual; miracles which are in the relation of organic connection with the truths of revelation as much display and evince those truths to-day as they have ever done. But miracles which lack this relation lose by age whatever evidential value they may seem to have had to those who first witnessed them. And if we may make a distinction, which seems to be needed, between the epideictic value and the evidential force of any alleged miraculous event, we may say, the former is tested by its organic relations to truth, and, once established, is enduring: the latter is a vanishing quantity, even if it be at first of large apparent force.¹

¹ The distinction of Aquinas between miracles "*quae sunt ad fidei confirmationem*" and those "*de quibus ipsa est fides*" (compare 2 Tim. ii. 8; Rom. i. 3) is, indeed, to be affirmed; but the question how far the former can have any permanent evidential force without acquiring close connections of faith with the latter is one about which theological opinion has diverged widely. (Compare Steinmeyer, *Die Wunderthaten des Herrn*, p. 23 f.) Buddens held, that not only the truth of the Christian religion, but even the existence of Deity, could be indisputably demonstrated by the miracle. But, according to Gerhard, "*per miracula non possunt probari oracula*:" the miracles he likens to the seals of a letter, which when torn away prove nothing. "*Praedicatio per miracula confirmatur, miracula autem per praedicationem*" (Theophylact). Rothe, who will not go with Schleiermacher, and say that the miracles of Christ are perfectly superfluous for our faith (see *Der Christliche Glaube*, I. pp. 106 ff. and II. p. 236 f.), nevertheless rejects the apologetic value of the miracle. Others go so far as Weiss, and declare that a miracle, if witnessed by their own eyes, would have no evidential force; and still others continue to strive in vain to impart such force to all the miracles

Those miracles of Scripture, other things being equal, are best attested which conform most closely to that pure conception of the miraculous which is itself, in its characteristics and in its growth, one of the important elements in proof of the inspiration of Scripture. The inner miracle of inspiration, and the outward form of revelation, the miracle proper, act and re-act in evidence each upon the other. But we have already seen,¹ that the conception of prophetic inspiration and of the nature of prophecy underwent a process of purifying, which separated it more and more widely from the heathen mantic of antiquity. The same process is apparent in the biblical conception of the miracle proper. The wonders wrought by Moses are avowedly like those wrought by the Egyptian magicians; they are manifestly unlike those wrought by Christ. From all the analogies involved in the case, we have nothing else to expect than that such a change in certain unessential elements of the conception of miracles should result from the general changes in religious ideas wrought by the process of divine self-revelation. The New-Testament conception, as it attaches itself to the personality of Jesus Christ, is as truly higher and purer than the conception of many of the wonders wrought by prophets in the Old Testament, as the law of the Gospel is higher and purer than the Mosaic Torah. Especially difficult do we find the case when the ascription of lying miracles and wonders is made to false divinities, which are thus represented as having authority over the forces of nature. Nor can it be denied that this conception invites a stricter scrutiny of the probable origin and nature of narratives involving the conception (see *Exod.* vii. 11 f., 22 f., viii. 7, ix. 11; compare *Deut.* xiii. 1-8). There is undoubted force, moreover, in the assertion of Schultz,² who makes the apparent extravagances of the Book of Daniel, and of some of the Apocrypha, depend upon the general change undergone in the conception of God and his relations to his kingdom. Nor can we deny the declaration of the same author to the effect, that many narratives of the Old Testament — such as those which place the miraculous strength of Samson in his unshorn hair (*Judg.* xvi. 16 f.), make the mantle of the prophet divide the waters, whether used by himself (2 Kings ii. 8) or by another (14), heal the waters with salt (ii. 20), make the

of the Bible even when considered apart from their closeness of organic relation to truths accepted on other grounds.

¹ Part I., chap. iv.

² See *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 786, for confirmatory passages.

iron swim by casting a stick into the water (vi. 5 f.), and render the poisonous pottage innoxious by pouring in meal (iv. 40 f.) — make decidedly the impression of thaumaturgic displays. We have, however, to remember that some of the above-mentioned narratives are intimately connected with the biblical doctrine of unseen spiritual agencies; and that this doctrine, in purified and modified form, is apparently maintained in the teachings of the New Testament, and even in the declarations and conduct of Christ. In this connection, the healing of the diseases attributed to demoniacal possession particularly demands attention. These miracles of Christ, then, and to some extent also certain miracles of the Old Testament, receive help for their acceptance and understanding from the first of our four criteria: that is to say, they have acquired certain connections with biblical truth which serve to confirm them, and to place them in their right relations to other contents of revelation. The same remark holds true with respect to miracles like those of Matt. xiv. 36 (Mark v. 25 f.); Luke vi. 19; Acts v. 15, xix. 11 f. Representations which are so much like the promiscuous curing of certain kinds of disorders by relics, or by articles of clothing from the persons of those supposed to possess this peculiar virtue, undoubtedly savor of a different and lower conception of miracles. They lose much of the strength of argument which enforces most of the New-Testament narratives of miracles by the supreme and unique beauty of that very conception which they involve. They also lose much through the suspicion that the narratives themselves could not have originated otherwise than in mere popular expectation that cures would be wrought in this manner, and in the ordinary experience that such expectation in many cases actually works the expected cures. If, however, we receive that doctrine of the person of Christ, and that picture of the apostolic age, which alone will account for the facts of Christianity, these sweeping declarations of miraculous effects flowing from Jesus and his disciples receive a certain dogmatic support. It cannot be denied, on the one hand, that these effects are possible; nor, on the other hand, that they fall short of the most conclusive evidence from the various sources. In general, we may claim for the miracles of the New Testament, that they evidence their own truth in the light of the New-Testament conception. This conception is a proof of the reality of the events which correspond to it.

Different narratives of miraculous events, as given in the Bible, present wholly different claims to acceptance on the ground of the amount and kind of direct evidence involved in the narratives. In certain cases we have evidence which is substantially at first hand, is corroborated by many trustworthy witnesses, and concerns facts of which the witnesses were most capable of giving convincing testimony. Such are those miracles of our Lord which have the concurrent testimony of two or more Evangelists, and which therefore belonged to the narratives of his life most frequently testified to by his contemporary disciples. Such is also the miracle of his resurrection. Other alleged narratives of miracles come to us from the dimmest and remotest antiquity, and are, moreover, manifestly the records of popular beliefs, or current stories which had originated and maintained themselves in changing form long before they were recorded in Scripture. Of some of them it must be said, that we can only conjecture what historic fact lay at the base of the original narrative. The utter inadequacy of any combination of theories of myths, legends, and popular stories, to account for the alleged supernatural origin of Christianity, is an assumption of faith, and is more and more becoming a verdict of criticism. Such theories are also far from being able to account for the miraculous contents of the Old Testament. Nor need we resort to the less radical conclusions of Keim, and suppose certain narratives of miracles, like that of the demoniac swine, to have originated wholly in popular fable, and others to have grown up from some germ of a saying, or figure of speech, by repetition from mouth to mouth and Gospel to Gospel.¹ But, on the other hand, certain narratives of wonders in portions of the Old Testament have originated in such a way as to make it impossible to derive from them any direct evidence for their content of miracles. For example: on being told (Judg. xv. 19) that Elohim clave a hollow place at Lechi (or split a tooth in the jaw: so Luther), and thus opened a miraculous fountain for the refreshment of Samson when he was weary with the slaughter of his enemies, we are far less certain as to what historical fact underlay this statement than we are that the statement itself did not originate in any first-hand testimony to such a miraculous fact.

¹ Thus the history narrated Matt. iv. 18 and the parable xlii. 47 f. might, Keim supposes, have given rise to the narrative of the miracle Luke v. 4 f.; and the parable of Luke xlii. 6 f., to the miracle of Matt. xxi. 19.

We have already seen, that the so-called laws of nature can be used, neither as an idea nor as a congeries of associated scientific facts, to discredit the miracles of Scripture; and, furthermore, that the validity which these miracles possess as elements and signs of revelation is not dependent upon their being violations or suspensions of those laws. It is true, however, that the entire course of nature furnishes certain analogies in the light of which we must examine each alleged miracle. Inasmuch as the very idea of the miracle requires that there shall be both a course of nature to whose events it may stand in contrast, and also certain natural conditions which limit it as an event happening in the course of nature; the substances, laws, and forces which form the complex of this course must be taken into the account of every miracle. The miracle has not its origin in second causes: it must be referred for its causation to the divine will. But it cannot be referred to the divine will without taking the second causes into the account. We affirm with the utmost confidence, that God will not repeatedly overturn the physical universe in order to reveal his power; and in affirming this conviction we are only viewing the divine self-revelation in the light of its own idea. Moreover, the biblical narratives in many instances decidedly invite the attempt to interpret them by analogies taken from so-called natural events. We have seen that the Bible makes no sharp distinction between such events as we might possibly account for wholly by second causes, and such others as we could not thus account for: in biblical language, a miracle is an event which is looked upon as extraordinary, is referred to the divine will, and connected teleologically with the divine spiritual kingdom. The biblical usage favors, then, the familiar distinction between the relative miracle and the miracle proper. Some of its miraculous events are to be conceived of as divinely arranged coincidences of nature and the spiritual kingdom.¹ The supernatural element in such events consists in this, that the divine will operates to co-ordinate the second causes for marked ethical purposes; the forces of nature are providentially brought into a particular conjunction, perhaps in greatly exaggerated degree, and with a more manifest tendency to further the interests of God's kingdom. These extraordinary natural phenomena thus serve to make the divine will known, and are justly referred to it as the element which religion necessarily recognizes in

¹ Dorner, Glaubenslehre, I. p. 606.

them. In this way we may render an account of the events which an historical criticism of the narrative of the plagues of Egypt confirms as accepted facts. On the one hand, we cannot remain true, not only to the spirit and general outlines of this narrative of divine deliverance (see Exod. vi. 6 f., vii.-xii.), but also to that view of the whole transaction which is woven into the very thought and life of the delivered nation (compare Ps. lxxviii. 43, cvi. 21 f.), and yet regard the result as due to "the most extraordinary exertions and most noble activities" of the people themselves in their struggle for freedom (so Ewald). On the other hand, we cannot deny the very plain connection of all these so-called miracles with the natural conditions and events of ordinary life in Egypt. The people were not, in any sense of the words, their own deliverers: they were led out as a horde of cowardly and abject slaves, by a leader divinely appointed and equipped for the purpose. Ezekiel (xvi. 8 f.) pertinently compares them to a new-born infant cast out to perish in its own blood. It is the historical fact, that their deliverance was accomplished by divine coincidences, which underlies the characteristic descriptions of a contest over them between Jehovah and the heathen divinities and worldly power of Egypt.¹ And yet even the succession of the wonders which wrought their deliverance is connected, as Eichhorn was the first to show, with the natural progress of the Egyptian year from the overflow of the Nile in June to the following spring.

Considerations like those mentioned above must affect our judgment of many of the visions of the Bible. To give them, so far as is possible, an explanation in the analogies of the ordinary and law-abiding operations of body and mind, does not necessarily prejudice the existence also of a supernatural element. That God can act immediately upon the human body and soul to produce impressions which shall serve the purposes of revelation, is not to be denied. That he does also serve the same purposes by co-ordinating the second causes according to the laws of body and mind, there is as little reason to deny. Thus the visions of Acts viii. 26, ix. 10, xviii. 9, are not so to be interpreted as to resolve all the phenomena into myths which were caused as the reflex of mental impressions and emotions. Neither are we to reject the explanation which may be derived from analogous physico-psychological phenomena,—an explana-

¹ Compare Exod. xii. 12, xv. 11, xviii. 11; Num. xxiii. 4; Ps. lxxviii. 12, cvi. 7 f., cxiv.

tion which is as clearly suggested in the cases of Acts x., xvi. 9, xxii. 17, xxiii. 11, xxvii. 23, as it is inadequate in the cases of Acts v. 19, xii. 7, and xvi. 25 f. The analogies derived from the same class of physico-psychological laws are worthy or unworthy to be brought into connection with the miraculous cures of our Lord, according to the manner in which we make use of them. To explain these cures by any known or conceivable combination of the second causes, which is possible to human nature, we have found to be wholly inadmissible. But that the natural supremacy of mind over body, and the ordinary relations of the divine mind to nature, and the constitutional subordination of all spirits to the spirit of purity, furnish analogies in the light of which we may consider these miracles, there is abundant reason to maintain. The very idea of the miracle introduces the necessary element of divine free-will, and thus makes the event not wholly explicable by second causes; but the fact that each miracle is an event in nature, also makes possible certain partial explanations of it as related to ordinary events.

And that the difficulties interposed by a consideration of the course of nature may become insurmountable by any given or even conceivable amount of testimony in history, we are forced to assert by the nature of the case. No event which overthrows its own logical foundations can be established by tradition or by written records. It is for this reason, that those deny all miracles who can conceive of the world only as a self-contained whole, rigidly excluding every form of the supernatural. But even for the mind which most heartily accepts all the great scriptural ideas of revelation, there are supposable cases where the testimony of Scripture itself could only be looked upon as in apparently hopeless contradiction with the necessary ideas of revelation as derived from the course of nature.

The bearing of this fourth class of considerations may be illustrated in the case of the narrative of Josh. x. 12 f.; although in this case, as elsewhere, the foregoing three criteria must also be taken into the account. What impresses us with regard to this alleged miracle of Josh. x. 12 f. is, then: (a) the stupendous character of the miracle itself; (b) the uncertain character of the historical evidence; (c) the apparent lack of due moral motive and of organic connection with the truths and facts of Scripture.¹ All attempts to depreciate the plain meaning of

¹ Other instances, in which Jehovah is conceived of as punishing the enemies of Israel with hail-stones, are found Exod. ix. 19, 25; Job xxxviii. 22, 23; Isa.

the narrative, and thus relieve it of this stupendous character, are rebuked by the integrity of devout criticism. The command of Joshua, Be silent! or, Stand still! (יָסַד), and the corresponding statement, the sun was silent, or stood still (יָסַד), in the midst of heaven, and did not haste to go down for a day long,—are quite incompatible with any lengthening, by an hour or two, of the usual twilight.¹ That the author of Joshua understood his source of information to speak of a miraculous arrest of the sun and moon,—which are ordinarily seen moving across the heavens and “hasting” to their going down,—in mid-heavens, and for a time equal to that from sunrise to sunset, we have no right to deny. And that he narrated a fact, until the rise of the Copernican theory of the solar system there was no sufficient reason to question. But since that time various explanations of so difficult an assertion have been deemed necessary. Among them we need only note the following: The author spoke of a miraculous retardation of the earth’s motion (Lilienthal, Mosheim, and others); or of an extraordinary refraction of light (Grotius, Clericus, Dathe); or of lightning following the hail (J. D. Michaelis); or of a great shower of meteors, and an accompanying disturbance of the earth’s course (Volck in Herzog and Plitt). But all such explanations contradict the historical accuracy of the narrative without at all accounting for the alleged miracle. More decidedly reprehensible still is the subterfuge of Keil,² who supposes that the day was *subjectively* lengthened, in that Joshua and the Israelites were so busy killing their enemies, and so without accurate timepieces, that the work of this day seemed like the work of two days without miraculous aid. We have also to consider that the historical ground of the narrative is very insecure.³ The picturesqueness of the scene shows, indeed, that a description of this battle had been left on record by an eye-witness.⁴ But the “song praising the great deeds of that day” (Keil), and

xxx. 30, xxxii. 19; Ezek. xiii. 11. The standing-still of the sun, however, finds its closest analogy in the Greek classics, where Agamemnon prays that Zeus will not let the sun go down until he has destroyed Priam’s dwelling (Iliad, II. 413 f.): similar events are narrated in the Odyssey as occurring in the behalf of Ulysses (see xxiii. 241 f., and compare Iliad, xviii. 239 f.).

¹ The author of Sirach lengthens the time so as to make two full days out of one (xvi. 4); but Josephus softens the narrative into a lengthening of the day (Ant. V. 1, 17.)

² Commentary, *in loco*. To this remarkable explanation Keil adds the quasi-scientific one, that, if we *must* accept the narrative literally, still all the movements of the heavenly bodies are merely phenomenal.

³ Compare Bleek, Elnl., p. 130. ⁴ So Ewald, History of Israel, II. p. 250 f.

contained in the Book of Jasher, — a work apparently not completed until after the time of David (compare 2 Sam. i. 18), — furnished the basis for this representation of the Book of Joshua; and the representation itself seems to have been gained by misunderstanding the figurative speech of poetry as though it were a narrative of veritable history. We find ourselves, then, compelled to take the following position. The author of the Book of Joshua, in taking his account from the ancient poetic source of the Book of Jasher, misinterpreted its war-song as the statement of fact. Of the magnitude of the physical difficulties which stood opposed to this interpretation, the writer of Joshua had, of course, no adequate conception.

The illustrations already given of the relations in which the miraculous contents of the Bible stand to a true doctrine of Sacred Scripture, might be indefinitely increased. But our previous conclusions must rather be left to suggest and systematize for each reader his own attempts at illustrating the general theme. For us a brief statement of these conclusions must suffice.

The doctrine of revelation and the doctrine of miracles are closely related doctrines: the very ideas from which these doctrines take their rise are identified in the biblical representation. The fact of miracles and the fact of revelation are, therefore, correlated facts; and so does the Bible, with the greatest simplicity and yet with the most profound philosophic and religious insight, represent the case. Its conception of the miraculous, and the narratives of the miraculous which it contains, — so far as they correspond to the conception, — evince its own claim to the characteristics of revelation and inspiration. Of alleged miracles there has been in history, and there still is, an abundance; but of miracles which correspond to the loftiest and purest idea of God and his self-revelation, there are few or none outside of the Bible. The record is itself bathed in the light of a heavenly idea. The Scriptures receive, then, from their miraculous contents, that same attestation, as being sacred and inspired, which comes from all their contents of revelation. The record of the miracles of revelation which they give to us is in general a record that bears its own marks of being derived from the true idea of revelation. We may conclude: Such a conception, and such a manner of narrating alleged miraculous events, are undoubtedly the product of divine inspiration.

This inspiration which belongs in general to the biblical record

of the miracles is, however, to be derived from the influence of revelation itself. It is the spiritual insight which interprets whatever the senses behold, in its right relations to God and to the divine kingdom. To narrate the mere story of a miracle faithfully and accurately does not necessarily require or evince inspiration in the narrator. Such work may be better done by an academy of scientists than by a group of believers. But to discern the inner meaning of an event so as to declare that it is a miracle, and so as to recall human thought to God the author, and so as both to appreciate and to make appreciated the place of the event in the divine self-revelation, — this does require and evince divine inspiration. It does not, on the other hand, vitiate the trustworthiness of the witness as to his attested facts. The biblical records of the biblical miracles generally bear the plain marks of being themselves suffused with the ideas of revelation; the writers of the records show that they have received those ideas by inspiration. So far forth, then, may their record be regarded as sacred and divine.

Among the general characteristics which most difference the biblical records of miracles from all others, we have had reason to note the following: (1) a lack of that disposition to exaggerate which belongs to the stories of mere thaumaturgic display; (2) a wonderful discretion and reserve about passing beyond the limits fixed for all miraculous events by the course of nature; (3) a fidelity, for the age remarkable, in adhering to conceptions of order, law, and steadfast control; and yet (4) a constant maintaining of the position that God has not exhausted or restrained his activities by that order of nature which itself only evinces his wisdom and power; (5) a kind of holy teleology which makes the miracle not a medium of display, but a moment or element of God's self-revelation in redemption.

But that this "inspiration" of moral insight into the truths of revelation has no more secured the miraculous than the more purely scientific contents of the Bible from all error, we have abundant reason to conclude. Even in so important matters as the miracles of Scripture, inspiration has not made itself the guaranty of infallibility. In the case of the record of our Lord's resurrection, that most important of miraculous events, the details of the record are peculiarly difficult to harmonize with any claim to strict historical accuracy; and surely in this case, if anywhere, might we expect such a guaranty to be given. Moreover, certain of the miraculous narratives of

the Old Testament are — as we have already seen, and shall soon discover more fully — ancient and wide-spread, or more local, traditions, whose historical accuracy it is impossible to authenticate. What facts, in any special case, underlay these traditions, it belongs to criticism to establish. It cannot, however, be made a matter of the assumptions of faith to accept the entire accuracy of the traditions. It cannot be shown to be an element of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture to guarantee such accuracy by an assumption of infallibility.

The above-mentioned claims to inspiration for the miraculous contents of the Bible must be applied very differently to different portions of the whole. That those portions which may be traced to apostolic influence can claim to be inspired, we have the promises of Christ, the nature of the case, and the criticism of the alleged facts, to establish. That those portions which may be traced to the teachings or writings of acknowledged prophets are also inspired, we may claim from the character and mission of the prophet, as well as from the nature of the records themselves. But that those which have their rise in tradition and popular story are inspired, we can only claim in a more dubious manner, and with a much looser application of the words. Whatever marks of divine characteristics may be stamped upon them would have to be distributed, so to speak, between the tradition itself, regarded as subject to the general influence of ideas of revelation in the nation, and the work of the redactor and publisher of the tradition in purifying it by the same influence working through his own mind.

In this chapter, as in all the preceding chapters, we have come upon no proof of a special divine influence, given for the purpose of composition, and guaranteeing the ethical or historical infallibility of the composition itself. We have as yet found no claim, direct or indirect, to an inspiration which is specifically *ad scribendum* or *in scribendo*. But this examination of the miraculous contents of Scripture, like that of its so-called scientific contents, suggests, for some portions at least, the possibility of some influence resembling that which has been called an *impulsus ad scribendum*, as well as the doctrine of a certain divine assistance in the work of writing.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE HISTORICAL CONTENTS OF THE BIBLE.

"THE Bible," says Westcott,¹ "is the oldest and truest vindication of the dignity of history." Accepting this statement provisionally, as embodying conclusions from a critical survey of the historical contents of the Old and New Testaments, the final purpose of this chapter requires that we should also be able to reverse the thought, and declare: One of the oldest and truest vindications of the divine origin and nature of Sacred Scripture is the dignity of its history. The dignity of biblical history may be ascribed, primarily, to the nature of that subject which furnishes the material for this history, and which is the kingdom of God on earth in its preparation for, and realization of, the advent of the Redeemer. It may also be ascribed, secondarily, to the dignity of the form in which the history is given. For an ethical and religious consciousness on the part of the writers, as to the dignity of their subject, manifestly pervades the historical narratives of the Bible. So far do the conclusions of criticism and the impressions born of faith unite upon these views, that it might seem possible to dispense with any lengthy treatment of the relations of the historical narratives of Scripture to the doctrine of its origin and nature. It is in matters of biblical history, however, that many of the most difficult inquiries and perplexing adjustments of conflicting considerations are certain to arise. Instead, then, of dispensing with a detailed inquiry, we must the rather give to it a more painstaking consideration. Yet we cannot hope to accomplish more than to make a few clear distinctions, advance certain more or less probable opinions, and illustrate these distinctions and opinions by individual cases, selected — be it understood, with many chances of error in details of statements — from the overwhelming amount of materials at command.²

¹ Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, Boston, 1866, p. 68.

² In regard to no other part of the entire investigation does the author feel

A critical examination of the historical contents of the Bible, in their relation to the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, is made both more imperative and more difficult by two classes of prevalent opinions. On the one hand, it is the opinion of a numerous class of critics, that the history of both the Old and the New Testaments is largely fabricated and untrustworthy; that, indeed, the alleged history is not in any worthy sense historical. And, in the face of the arguments which they present, it is the shallowest folly to busy the apologetic forces of historical Christianity solely with quibbles about the possibility of justifying this or that detail of narrative, or of harmonizing this or that small discrepancy of one writer with another. The fundamental question has already become a question as to the extent to which the alleged histories of the Bible are truly what they claim to be. On the other hand, a quite numerous class — scarcely of critics, but certainly of thinkers interested in biblical inquiries — still maintain with unwavering confidence the assertion, that the historical contents of the Bible must be, not simply in the main trustworthy, but in their details infallible, in order that we may have any doctrine of Sacred Scripture at all. Between these two classes, there is danger that the cause which would unite historical criticism with true dogma, and with a rational faith in revelation and inspiration, may quite fall out of consideration and repute.

We need, then, again and constantly to raise the question which Tholuck¹ raised more than forty years since in his reply to Strauss. We need to inquire in what way and how far we may make the distinction between the shell and the kernel of truth; with respect to historical contents, as with respect to all the contents of Scripture. That the words of Westcott also are appropriate, when he says, "The history of Christ Jesus is concrete doctrine, as doctrine is abstract history,"² we have no room for doubt. We are in general ready to admit that the history of the Bible is given as concrete doctrine, and that its most precious doctrines are, as it were, abstracts from its history. But we can never allow our dogmatic confidence either to construct history, or to pervert its statements of fact. When, therefore, Westcott further asserts (p. 39), "The absolute impossibility of separating the two elements, the external more keenly the limited and uncertain nature of the result which he is able to obtain.

¹ *Die Glaubwürdigkeit der evangelischen Geschichte*, 1833, p. 430.

² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

and the internal, the historical and the doctrinal," and thus makes the letter as indispensable and faultless as the spirit; and when, moreover, he abandons the canons of historical criticism, and idealizes and schematizes the discrepancies of the Evangelists, — we must object both to his method and to his conclusions. To show how doctrinal truth, which is given by the spirit of revelation in historical form, should be distinguished from the historical faultiness of that form, may involve difficulties and dangers; but these difficulties and dangers are small in comparison with those involved in the denial of plain facts. We cannot deny, previous to examination, the possibility that the truth of revelation may be given in the form of only apparent historical narrative, and that critical inquiry may compel us to pronounce unhistorical some of the alleged histories of Scripture.

The inquiry into the relations which the historical contents of the Bible sustain to the doctrine of Sacred Scripture may, then, fitly be divided according to a difference in the *prima facie* evidence for those contents. The one inquiry will thus become twofold. It will concern, in the first place, those parts of the Bible as to the historical character of which the dispute is either most plausible or most important. The question raised will then be: How far are the alleged histories really entitled to the claim to be genuine and substantially true histories? It will be at once apparent, that the range of the inquiry will be extended or restricted according to views held upon two yet more fundamental subjects. These two subjects are, first, the validity of alleged historical accounts of miracles, and, secondly, the date, authorship, and manner of composition, of the several books of the Bible. The first of these subjects we have already sufficiently considered: it will therefore, as far as possible, be separated from the present discussion. The narratives of Scripture will henceforth be regarded as subjects of historical criticism, without any prejudice against their historical character or perfect accuracy *merely* from the fact that many of them are narratives of supernatural events. The second of these subjects will receive special consideration, as to its connection with our whole inquiry, in a subsequent chapter. But it will be impossible in the present discussion to avoid certain assumptions as to the date, authorship, and construction of the separate parts of Scripture. In many cases, to hold an opinion upon such matters of Biblical Introduction is to settle at once our opinion

upon important matters of historical trustworthiness and accuracy.

The inquiry into the historical contents of the Bible will concern, in the second place, the accuracy and infallibility of those portions which must be held to be without doubt genuinely historical. The relation of this branch of the inquiry to the inspiration of the writers of Sacred Scripture is at once apparent; for is not this the chief concern of many when the subject of biblical history is even mentioned? It does not, indeed, belong to the conditions of historical composition, as they are dependent upon the nature of the human mind and of human testimony, as well as upon the way in which events necessarily happen, to achieve infallible history. As F. A. Wolf¹ declared years since: "It is often not within human power to give a true historical narrative: the philosophical head corrupts it often just as truly as the unphilosophical." That all history of the past, even when narrated under the most favorable circumstances by contemporaries and eye-witnesses, abounds in inaccuracies of detail, and especially in numerical and chronological difficulties, is a matter of universal experience. Are, then, the histories of the Old and New Testaments exceptions to the otherwise universal experience? Could we answer this question with an unqualified affirmative, we should quickly pass to the inference, that some supernatural influence had wrought upon the minds of their authors. We should rightly be inclined to regard the influence as the more wonderful and miraculous, when we considered by how many different authors these histories were written, and under how diverse circumstances and opportunities. There are, however, only two ways open by which to reach an affirmative answer. One way is that of induction as the result of searching and scrupulous criticism. We may test each part of the historical contents by such means as are at our disposal; by comparison with external authorities, by comparison of part with part, and by all the devices of internal criticism. Or we may rely upon some general assumption of the necessities of faith as giving an inflexible law to the historic record of revelation. But that such an assumption cannot claim authority from the Bible itself, we have seen as one result of the First Part of our work. That the same assumption does not follow from the nature of revelation and inspiration, we shall subsequently see. No sat-

¹ *Alterthumswissenschaft*, III. p. 257.

isfactory dogmatic reason exists for assuming the historic infallibility of Sacred Scripture. The Bible can be regarded as being, and can really be, *Sacred Scripture*, even though it be found simply as accurate in its statements of fact as belongs (we may say naturally) to the circumstances of its authors with respect to their sources of information and their facilities of composition.

How monstrous is the counter-assumption, that, on the principle of *falsus in uno falsus in omnibus*, the critics of the so-called destructive school may quite reject the narratives which they find historically faulty, as though they were not history at all, we must feel all the more keenly when we compare the Bible with the case of profane history. He who has been styled the father of modern scepticism and criticism, — no less discerning and honest a man than Lessing,¹ — fitly asked, “If now Livy and Dionysius and Polybius and Tacitus are treated so frankly and nobly by us that we do not put them to the rack for every syllable, why not also Matthew and Mark and Luke and John?” Modern criticism, although it is fast recovering from the gross and coarse method of Strauss, still needs to remind itself, that to announce concerning Jesus the verdict of “dead without particulars,” on the ground of discrepancies in the accounts of his resurrection, is to be not simply without faith towards the Lord, but also without fairness towards his biographers.

Closely connected with the preceding distinctions is yet another, which must be made preliminary to a detailed investigation. We must distinguish between the relations sustained by the material of biblical history to the spirit of revelation and to the inspiration of the writers, and those relations sustained by the form of this history. It is indeed true that no really historical composition is possible in which the material is not itself modified by the form. Even in the case of narratives made by different eye-witnesses, the conceptions and the entire mental furnishing and condition of the narrators will impress themselves upon the alleged facts which the eye-witnesses narrate. Where the material of history comes to the historian at several stages of remove from the events, this material will have been repeatedly modified by the conceptions of those through whom it has been transmitted, and will receive yet another modification through the historian himself. We see at

¹ See among the Theologische Streitschriften, the one called *Eine Duplik*.

once, therefore, the importance of such inquiries as the following: What does the spirit of revelation furnish, whether of material or of form, to the historical contents of Sacred Scripture? What does the inspiration, which we are able to attribute to the authors of these contents, guarantee as to fulness and trustworthiness of material, and as to purity and ethical excellence of form? Were the mere facts of the past ever revealed to the writers of the Bible; or was the work of revelation confined to imparting an ethical and religious insight into the meaning of those facts which came to them as preserved in ways at once natural and providential? How far did the inspiration of the writers preserve them from accepting, from their sources, erroneous statements of fact?

In answer to these and all similar inquiries, our conclusions are best reached as the result of an inductive examination; especially since we have no answer given to us on the authority of our Lord and his apostles. At present we need only to allude to the significance of some of these conclusions.

The most fundamental of the above inquiries concerns the sources of information as to the past which the biblical historians had at their disposal. In the case of these historians the sources may all be reduced to two,—tradition and previously written records. The value of tradition depends upon many considerations, such as its purity, the nature of the subject treated, the ability to trace the tradition to its alleged source in fact, the method taken for its delivery, its intrinsic probability, and other considerations.¹ The value of previous documents depends upon equally numerous and complex considerations. And these two classes of sources interact with one another in many ways. That the historians of the Bible made use of both these sources, admits of abundant proof from their own writings; and that the sources they made use of had all the characteristics which belong to such sources, and which render them only relatively trustworthy and accurate, admits of the same proof. It is also quite plain to him who observes worthily of the subject, that the spirit of revelation which pervades the books of the Bible may to a certain extent purify them from historical error; for especially in the case of all the writings of antiquity is it a fact that many of the most extravagant histori-

¹ See the very instructive remarks of Ewald upon tradition, *History of Israel*, I. pp. 13-49; and the chapter on *Augenzeugenschaft und Ueberlieferung*, in Weiss' *Leben Jesu*, I. pp. 124-139.

cal errors are the result of false ethical and religious views. We cannot, however, on this ground assert that any degree of ethical and religious inspiration could prevent the biblical writers from receiving into their histories the errors of fact in the sources from which they were obliged to draw. The spirit of revelation will, so to speak, do the best it can to give right ethical and religious form to such material as comes to its hand. But for even inspired writers to construct history out of their own imaginings would not result in laying assured historical foundations for the record of the kingdom of God on earth. We have reason to doubt whether prophetic inspiration ever results in the clear and definite knowledge of some single occurrence which is to take place in the future. We have much more reason to doubt whether the inspiration of the historians of the Bible ever of itself gives a clear and definite knowledge of some otherwise unknown event which has happened in the past. At any rate, our conceptions, if they are formed by the inductive method, must accord with the preparation upon which the biblical writers seem dependent, and with the nature of the result which they accomplish.

With these preliminary observations, we turn to the first and most important of our proposed inquiries: Are all the apparently historical portions of the Bible in fact genuinely historical? The answer must be given in the presentation of selected examples, for a complete critical survey of the entire ground would be simply impossible. As to the vastly superior importance of this question, when compared with the question of perfect accuracy in details, there can be no intelligent difference of opinion. The examples selected will lead us to consider several books and smaller sections of the Old Testament, and — although only very briefly and imperfectly — the histories of our Lord in the New Testament.

We consider, first of all, the opening chapters of Genesis, from the third to the twelfth. These chapters are of especial value and interest to our subject; both because their original sources are undoubtedly merely traditional, and because we are here able to compare the biblical traditions with corresponding ones which grew up on other grounds. Among the early traditions common to the Hebrews and other nations of antiquity, is that of

The first pair, and their happy condition in their original dwelling-place. The view, so widely spread, that man was

formed from the soil, or from clay, does not demand a common historical origin: it is rather an easy and inevitable conclusion of the first attempt to account for his origin (compare Gen. ii. 7). The Iranian tradition of the creation of man, as found in the Bundelesh, — and, although the present version is subsequent to the Mussulman conquest of Persia, it is believed by Windischmann, Spiegel, Lenormant, and others, to have an indigenous and truly ancient character, — narrates the creation of Gayomaretan, the typical man.¹ Lenormant,² relying upon the researches of Windischmann, Roth, Kuhn, and Lassen, asserts that originally the first man was the being called by the Indians Yâma, and by the Iranians Yima; and that in the earliest legends he unites in himself the traits which Genesis separates and assigns both to Adam and to Noah. This typical man is the child of heaven, and the father both of antediluvian and postdiluvian humanity. The biblical doctrine of the creation of man involves an original distinction of sexes, and is not to be compared with the Phœnician and other myths which make the first man androgynous. This interpretation of Gen. v. 2, although advocated on the ground of the absence of the article,³ is opposed to Gen. i. 27 f., and to the teaching of our Lord, Matt. xix. 4–6: of it the remark of Dillmann⁴ is emphatically true, “Rabbinical insipidity and heathenish mythological forms of thinking lie close together.” The Chaldean account of Genesis, so far as it can be derived from the fragments preserved in the British Museum, does not comprise a narrative of the formation of man.⁵ The other related traditions besides that of the Bundelesh, having been shaped by pantheistic religious views, do not derive man from the free act of the divine will, but leave his origin to vague ideas of his having emanated from Deity by various steps of transition which extend through countless ages of time. We are at once led, then, to observe the purifying and ennobling influence of biblical monotheism upon the tradition of the creation of the first pair.

That the original condition of man was one of happy innocence, there is a concurrence of various traditions. The reign

¹ See *Les Origines de l'Histoire*. Paris, 1880, p. 50 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 68. Compare Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I., p. 519.

³ Even by Lenormant. Compare *Ibid.*, p. 55 f.

⁴ *Die Genesis, in loco*.

⁵ George Smith supposed that one of these fragments contains portions of an address from Deity to man newly created (see the New-York ed., 1876, pp. 15 and 77 f.); and according to Lenormant, who pronounces the translation of Mr. Smith “very inexact,” and that of M. Oppert “infinitely superior,” it may perhaps be the creation of man which is here referred to (see *Les Origines*, p. 45 f., note).

of the god Râ, which inaugurated the existence of humanity, was, in the tradition of the Egyptians, an age of gold.¹ The four ages of the Book of Manu, although the attempts of Ewald² and Maury to find in the Bible traces of the same chronological division must be pronounced misleading, have this in common with Genesis, that they begin with an age of innocence and happiness. So, too, is the golden age of Hesiod, the earliest of his four.³ The Garden of Eden is a traditional conception, wrought over, as it were, by the power of Hebrew religious ideas. The existence of symbolic elements corresponding to various myths of other peoples is shown by an examination of the narrative of Genesis in the light of comparative religion. Indeed, its form of conceiving God and his self-revelation seems unlike any elsewhere found in the Old Testament; which, although it frequently speaks of definite localities where divine self-revelations are made, never otherwise represents Deity as dwelling in a fixed place, and even enjoying the delights of the evening coolness (compare iii. 8).⁴ The entire picture seems not to have originated on Palestinian soil. Corresponding pictures represent those mountains of the gods to the northward, which the Indians found in Meru, and thought of as fitted out with shining gold and precious stones;⁵ where were wonderful trees (especially the tree Kalpavriksha, "the tree of desires"), and whence flowed down the streams that brought blessing with them. So also did the Iranians place the blessed abode in the mountain range Hara-berezaiti, that surrounded the sea Vourukasha; this abode had wonderful trees, among which was the tree of immortality and life. From one of the highest peaks of the mountain range, the water of life streamed down.⁶ Still more definitely like the narrative of Genesis is the representation of the Bundehehsh concerning the garden of Yima, with its freedom from night and darkness, and cold and hot winds, in which Ahura-Mazda gave to Mithra a dwelling-place. The tradition which locates this blessed region in Northern mountains is recognized in the Old Testament (Isa. xiv. 13; Ezek. xxviii. 13 f.). That the narrator of Gen. iii. believed Eden still to be in existence, is inferred from iii. 24; and especially from iv. 16, where the position of Nod is fixed as in front of Eden. Its location, which has already wandered from Scandinavia and

¹ Lenormant, *Ibid.*, p. 58.

² *Works and Days*, X. 103-199.

³ See Ritter, *Erdkunde*, II. 2, pp. 7-14.

⁴ So Windischmann and Spiegel, as cited by Dillmann.

⁵ *History of Israel*, I. p. 256 f.

⁶ See Dillmann, *Ibid.*, 56 f.

the Prussian coast to the islands of the South Sea, can never be determined;¹ and he who hesitates to adopt the opinion upon which, says Winer,² recent investigators are united, and to declare the account a "fragment of mythical geography," must at least admit with Delitzsch, "Paradise is lost, and its four rivers are therefore an unsolved riddle." Closely connected with this tradition is another; viz., that of

The temptation and the fall. After a season of purity Yima, as we are instructed in the Yesht and Bundelesh,³ sins, and is cast out of paradise, and given over to the power of the serpent.⁴ The Bundelesh relates the fall of the first man in a manner which preserves some of the most characteristic features of the narrative in Genesis. The primal sin consists, indeed, in a lying ascription of water, earth, trees, and all things fair and good, not to Ahura-Mazda but to Angro-Mainyus, the spirit of evil. A second sin consists, however, in taking and eating fruits presented by a lying Deva.⁵ This tradition also represents man as partaking of animal food only after the fall (compare Gen. i. 29, ii. 9, 16, iii. 2, ix. 3), and as then first clothed with the skins of beasts (Gen. iii. 21). The Scandinavian myths tell of a garden in the midst of the world, where was perfect innocence, and where grew the fruits of immortality; but Loki the tempter wrought evil there; and the means of his seduction were other fruits which he had discovered, as he alleged, in a wood. The records of Babylon and Chaldea, so far as now deciphered, contain no verbal allusion to the fall of man;⁶ the same is true of the fragments of Berosus. But the mysterious and sacred plants which the Assyrian bas-reliefs so frequently represent as guarded by celestial genii, suggest the trees of life and of knowledge in the Garden of Eden:⁷ as yet, however, no incon-

¹ Of the four rivers, two may be fixed as the Euphrates and the Tigris. Ebers agrees with Ewald and others in thinking that by Gihon is meant the Ganges, which is considered as uniting with the Nile (Aegypten und die Bücher Mose's, I. p. 30 f.).

² Realwörterbuch, article Eden. Compare the statement by Rüetschi in Herzog and Plitt.

³ Yesht, xix. 31-38 and 46; Bundelesh, xxiii. and xxxii.

⁴ According to the Vendidad (i. 5-8), it is the flood caused by this serpent which obliges Yima forever to quit his happy abode.

⁵ Compare Lenormant, Les Origines, p. 70 f.

⁶ The fragments which George Smith interpreted as relating to the fall of the first man are now known — so Lenormant declares, on the authority of Oppert's investigations — to have been misunderstood and mistranslated (Ibid., p. 73: compare Chaldean Account of Genesis, p. 83).

⁷ Other unmistakable traces of the mythical tree of life are given by Lenormant, Ibid., p. 76 f. According to the same author, the most ancient name of

testable interpretation of the meaning of these bas-reliefs has been discovered. According to Schrader,¹ the figure of this sacred plant appears as the emblem of eternal life upon the sarcophagi discovered at Warkah. A stone cylinder, preserved in the British Museum, shows us a man and a woman facing each other on the two sides of a tree from which hang two great fruits, while they stretch out their hands to pluck them; behind the woman is an erect serpent.² The similar representations in the fragments of Sanchoniathon and on Roman sarcophagi, as well as those of early Christian art, came from the Old Testament rather than Chaldea or Phoenicia. Lenormant considers, however, that the vase found by Cesnola, and preserved in the Metropolitan Museum in New-York City, proves an indigenous tradition of the fall among the early people of Canaan.³

It is not necessary to describe the various forms in which the serpent plays his part in that religious and cosmogonic symbolism which seems to reach back to the time before the ancestors of Egyptians, Semites, and Aryans had separated; nor to discuss the connection which he bears in other traditions with the fall of man. Mazdeism is the only ancient religion in which the serpent never symbolizes the good; and it is in this religion that we find the closest resemblance to the narrative of Genesis, with regard to the part of the serpent in the fall. In the form of a serpent does the spirit of evil descend upon the earth to corrupt it. There is thus introduced the conception of a moral temptation, and subsequent struggle between the forces of moral good and evil. Nor need we follow the many traces in Assyrian sources of those guardians of Eden, the cherubim (Gen. iii. 24); nor question the somewhat doubtful statement that the turning sword — both word and thing — is found among the Chaldean monumental records. We pause only to notice how lacking in any true ethical conception of the nature of sin and of its origin are all the other traditions than the Hebrew, — with the

Babylon is, "the place of the tree of life." This sacred plant Lenormant identifies with the *Asclepias acida*, the *soma* of the Aryans, and the *haoma* of the Iranians, the intoxicating juice from the branches of which was offered in libation to the gods. According to Schrader, however, it was a cypress. In a part of Chaldea, the palm rather furnished the type for the representations of the tree of life. Compare Ewald, *Lehre der Bibel*, III. p. 72 f.

¹ *Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie*, 1875, p. 124 f.

² Chaldean Account of Genesis, p. 90 f.

³ For the various widely scattered traces of the tree of knowledge, see Lenormant, p. 85 f., and compare Ewald, *Ibid.*, I. p. 234.

probable exception of that of Mazdeism; and how certain it appears that we have in the account of Genesis a combination of traditional and symbolic and allegorical elements, wrought over and made into an ethical and religious unity by the force of the Mosaic religion.

The various attempts made to connect the murder of Abel by Cain, and the founding of the first city, with other myths, legends, and traditions of antiquity, — whether to find a myth of the struggle between day and night,¹ or to trace the correspondence between Genesis and a confused mass of traditions, which range in subject and time from the Chaldean terminology for the months to the Roman legend of Romulus and Remus,² — are all quite unsatisfactory and misleading.

The traditions which enter into the *genealogies of the Cainites and Sethites* offer themselves for further illustration of this branch of our subject. It seems probable that these documents were originally separate, and that the one embodied in Gen. iv., being of Jehovist origin, belonged with the account of the first murder; while the one in Gen. v. (with the exception of verse 29), being of Elohist origin, was introduced as an immediate preparation for the narrative of the Flood. The parallelism between the names in the line of Adam through Cain, and the names in the line through Seth, is such that seven successive names correspond throughout, with the exception of slight changes in spelling, and the inversion of the names of Enoch, Irad, and Mehujael. It is doubtful whether we shall account for this fact by supposing that one tradition has taken two forms,³ or by supposing that there were two original traditions, — the one of the race of the godly, the other of that of the impious. In argument for the latter opinion, the difference in the two genealogies has been pointed out; the character of the genealogy of the Sethites being dry and precise, but that of the Cainites admitting more freely certain manifest elements of mingled traditions or myths.⁴ It is a probable conjecture of Hupfeld, that the former document originally contained genealogies both of Seth and of Cain; but the redactor suppressed the Jehovist genealogy of Seth, and preferred to give the Elohist in its place, inserting, however (verse 29), a verse

¹ So Goldziher, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*, p. 130 f.

² Lenormant, *Les Origines*, pp. 140-177; and an article in the *Contemporary Review* for February, 1880.

³ So Schrader, *Studien zur Kritik*, pp. 122-124 and 134.

⁴ Compare Lenormant, *Ibid.*, p. 176 f.

from the Jehovist into the Elohist account, in order to explain the name of Noah.

But, however this may be, we certainly have in Gen. iv. 19-24 an interesting example to show how much the spirit of the Mosaic religion could do with the most questionable material which came to its hand. And even if we admit that the names of the wives of Lamech (Adah — beauty or light — and Zillah — shadow) are of mythical origin, we can call attention to the fact,¹ that nothing of the myths belonging to these names has been permitted to enter the sacred narrative, and that the names themselves are possibly used to stamp with condemnation that polygamy of which they furnish the first instance in Scripture.² The traditional song of verses 23 f. is one of the most curious and ancient of the fragments preserved in the Old Testament;³ it is worthy, says Lenormant,⁴ to be placed “in the mouth of a savage of the stone age as he brandishes his flint tomahawk or the jawbone of a cave bear.” It may be understood, however, as condemning by its connection that thirst for personal blood-revenge which is contrary to the spirit of the Mosaic Torah. The sons of Lamech, all of whose names are from the same-root (לָמַךְ), are mentioned as the traditional founders of the arts of civilization, and are connected with the descendants of Cain, in order to show, if not the corrupting influence of these arts, at least the fact that they belong to the developments of an earthly life rather than to the requisites of piety. The nature of the material here used is further shown by the fact that Naamah, whose name only is mentioned Gen. iv. 22, was made by the rabbinical tradition “the mistress of mourners and singers.”⁵ Yet no admixture of detailed myths concerning the interference of gods and demi-gods in human affairs is permitted by the monotheism which controls the material of even this narrative. This fact does not prevent us, however, from seeing that personification and myth have already had a

¹ Following Lenormant in this view of the relation of the passage to the nature of Sacred Scripture.

² This explanation, while it gives an ethical character to the passage, is at best barely possible, and is made difficult by the fact that the acceptance of polygamy by the Jehovist author of this passage seems to occur in Exod. xxi. 10; Deut. xxi. 10-14, 15-17.

³ See Ewald, *History of Israel*, I. p. 266 f.; and Bleek, *Eint. in das A. T.*, p. 77.

⁴ *Les Origines*, p. 187.

⁵ For the many parallel traditions as to the primitive founders of the arts, see Lenormant, *Ibid.*, 191 f.; Goldziher, *Der Mythos*, p. 232; Dillmann, *Die Genesis*; Ewald, *Ibid.*, I. p. 271 f.

marked influence upon the names and statements introduced into the narrative. In Tubal we can scarcely fail to find an allusion to that people who sold slaves and vessels of copper in the markets of Tyre (see Ezek. xxvii. 13), who were famous in metallurgy, and who are mentioned (Gen. x. 2) among the sons of Japheth.¹ There is no doubt also that ethnic personifications entered into these early genealogies.

The traditions of the *ten antediluvian patriarchs* enforce the hints toward conclusions which have been already given. That the number of the patriarchs is not arbitrarily selected by the author, is as certain as that it does not completely represent all the steps of historical descent. The number ten, which is repeated in Genesis, may be selected as a round number to which the generations lying between great epochs are made to correspond. It is, however, traditional and not mythical. It perhaps arose in the time when the memory of man did not retain more of unwritten history than could be comprised in this number. If so, it corresponds to the idea of a long time and of a great number. This tradition of ten patriarchs or kings is widely reproduced in antiquity. The antediluvian kings of the Chaldean tradition, as given in the fragments of Berosus, were ten.² The Assyrian tradition, as given by Abydenus, made out a similar circle of generations of heroes previous to the founding of Nineveh.³ In the sacred books of the Iranians, nine generations of mythical heroes succeed Gayomaretan, making with him ten before human history begins.⁴ In the cosmogonic legends of the Indians we find nine Brahmâdikas, who with Brahma, their author, make ten; and the same number is a standard in constructing their genealogies. The term "Brahmâdikas" which Lenormant uses (p. 226) signifies "those who have Brahma for their first" ("Brahma, etc."). The passages to which Lenormant refers in the note on this page, to justify his statement that the repetitions of the number ten are frequent in the constructions of the Indians, are taken from worthless legends of the later writings, — the Pourânas, and a portion of the Laws of Manu, which may be as late as the second or third century A.D. It would, therefore, be unsafe to base any argument

¹ We have no confidence in the attempts made to find in the three sons of Lamech a triad of gods adored by the Hebrews in remote antiquity; and none in the attempt of Ewald to identify certain names of the line of Seth with the gods, Apollo, Mars, the Sun, and a god of the waters.

² Fragments 9, 10, 11, ed. Lenormant. ³ Eusebius, Chron. p. 36, ed. Mai.

⁴ Spiegel, Avesta, III. pp. lvi.-lxii.

upon them. The Chinese count ten emperors who partake of the divine nature, preceding the sovereign who inaugurates historic times. In Egypt, Egyptologists suppose that traces of ten gods are to be found who at the beginning governed men. This number and the number seven are the numbers between which the traditions seem to vacillate. And, as to the length of life attributed by tradition to these patriarchs, we are to consider the uncertainty which attaches itself to all numbers derived in this way; but we are to consider also the very favorable contrast which the biblical accounts present in this respect, when compared with the myths of other nations. This part of Sacred Scripture has, at any rate, kept entirely clear of those enormous falsehoods into which the false religions of antiquity led their devotees. After having admitted thus much as to the traditional nature of this genealogy, we are prepared to stop short of all such conjectures as that, for instance, of Ewald;¹ who believes that Enoch's life of 365 years may be typical of the renewing of the year, and who is corrected by Lenormant² with the statement that the year of the Hebrews was exclusively lunar (354 days), while that of the Chaldeans and Babylonians was only 360 days.

In the next following section (vi. 1-4), — the tradition of *the marriage of the sons of God with the daughters of men*, — we find more plainly than perhaps anywhere else in the entire Old Testament, marks of likeness to ancient heathen myths; yet even in this case the purifying effect of the spirit of revelation makes itself felt. It must be admitted that the interpretation which sees in this passage only the narrative of mixed marriages between the race of Seth and the race of Cain gives way before a critical examination.³ The more ancient interpretation of the Apocrypha, and apparently also of Jude 6 f. and 2 Pet. ii. 4, of Justin, Tatian, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, is also that of almost all modern critics. The angels, tempted by the beauty of the daughters of men, contract marriages with them; the fruit of which is the heroes whose renown filled the ancient traditions.⁴ The exaltation of these heroes is, accord-

¹ History of Israel, I. p. 265 f.

² Les Origines, p. 248.

³ This interpretation seems to have taken its rise in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies; it became through Augustine and Jerome the orthodox view for both Roman Catholics and Protestants.

⁴ This interpretation is justified by the title itself, which is elsewhere used of the angels (אֲנֹכִיָּהּ בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים: see Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7); by the lack of reasons other than dogmatic for another view; by the fact that the same word (אֲנֹכִיָּהּ)

ing to the biblical narrative, one of violence and pride: the myths of heathen nations, on the contrary, advance ideas abhorrent to monotheism, when they trace the descent of their demi-gods to a physical divine generation.

The traditions gathered up in the *ethnographic table* of Gen. x. admit of confirmation as to a certain amount of general historic validity; although all the researches of modern ethnology do not enable us either to affirm or to deny some particulars.¹ Nor does the question of Sacred Scripture depend in any case upon the decision which may be reached. As to the nature of this table, we may agree with Knobel in holding that ethnographic conclusions determined some of its divisions; and yet depart from his view, and agree rather with Tuch, Bertheau, Dillmann, Winer, Ebers, and Renan, in believing that the chief considerations are geographical. The tripartite division of the table was not original with the author of Gen. x., but was found already in existence, as is proved by its use elsewhere in Genesis (viz., iv. 20 f., xi. 27). How surprisingly wide and accurate for so early a time was the knowledge of this writer, he will perhaps admit most readily who studies the table with most thoroughness and with least prejudice. Ebers,² after examining the question whether the Egyptians once belonged, as Herodotus and classic antiquity supposed, to the Ethiopians, and came into Egypt from the South, or belonged, as Gen. x. teaches, to the Caucasian race, and came into Egypt out of Asia, finds history, philology, and anatomy confirming the biblical view.³ We cannot, however, follow Canon Rawlinson,⁴ and discover in verses 1-5 an anticipation of the Indo-European theory: these verses are only a sketch of the Northern nations, which is relatively brief because of their comparatively few relations to Israel, and which displays an amount of ethnographic information comparing favorably with that of the ancient Phoenicians.⁵

In the legendary account of *Nimrod*, Gen. x. 8-11, we have again to insist upon the fact that certain trustworthy historical information is fused with material not historic. He is neither to be resolved into the personification of some tribe, nor into

requires the same translation in both the first and fourth verses; by the nature of the offspring ascribed to such a marriage as its cause; and by the correspondence of the kindred ideas in that antiquity to which this passage is historically related. Its use as a bare historical title has no analogy in Ps. xxix. 1 and lxxxix. 7.

¹ See Ebers, *Aegypten*, etc., p. 36.

² *Ibid.*, p. 40 f.

³ The classifying of Cush and Mizraim with Canaan as children of Ham was opposed by Movers, but is rather confirmed by more recent ethnography.

⁴ *Historical Illustrations*, London, p. 24.

⁵ See Dillmann, *Die Genesis*.

the deification of a hero.¹ The remains of Babylon and Assyria have as yet disclosed no such name; so that neither the opinion of Lenormant,² who would identify Nimrod with the divine person Ninrusi, nor that of George Smith,³ who elaborately argued that we have in the hero Izdubar the mighty tyrant and hunter of Genesis, stands confirmed. The original character of the narrative as a popular legend is clear from its present form: Nimrod was a mighty hunter before Jehovah, as the people would say. Yet it has been declared that this passage furnishes us "with facts of the highest importance in the primitive history of Mesopotamia." The Cushite origin of the first Babylonian kingdom (although not necessarily by migration from Cush, or Meroe); the primeval origin of the civilization of the southern Babylonian plain, which George Smith believed to go back at the very least to 2300 B.C.; the subsequent spread of this civilization northward to Assyria (Nimrod went forth from that land to Asshur), — these all are significant statements of ancient history which seem abundantly proved by modern researches.

Of the tradition of the Flood it is not necessary for our purpose to add much to what was said in the previous chapter. We only note further, that the material which enters into the biblical narrative has evidently been derived and handled in substantially the same way as is the case with the foregoing traditions. The reality of the event which lies at the base of the two forms of tradition, as they are interwoven by the author of the entire account, is beyond doubt; and the more minute correspondences of these traditions with those of Chaldean origin admit of illustration especially by the tablets exhumed at Nineveh, and now in the possession of the British Museum.⁴ The recital of these tablets, both in general progress and in striking particulars, corresponds with the traditions of Genesis. Nor need we stop to inquire as to the relation of the Chaldean stories of "The Tower of the Tongues" to the biblical account of Babel. The moral connections and purposes which appear in the biblical narrative of the Deluge are, how-

¹ The former view is that of Oppert. Sir H. Rawlinson would identify him with the god Nergal (Herodotus, I. p. 632, and compare *Ancient Monarchies*, I. p. 136); Sayce, with Merodach (*Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Archaeology*, II. ii. pp. 243-249, and compare Josef Grivel, *Ibid.*, III. i. pp. 136-144).

² Berosus, p. 425.

³ Chaldean Account of Genesis, p. 173 f.

⁴ See the translations of George Smith, *Ibid.*, pp. 283 ff.; and compare Lenormant, *Les Origines*, pp. 391 ff.

ever, quite unique. And it is in them that we see another exhibition of the effect which the spirit of revelation causes, even when it has only matter of mingled and remote traditions ready for its use.

The following results seem to be gained from this brief survey of the very earliest of the alleged historical contents of the Bible: They have a certain significance which reaches beyond themselves, and influences our entire conception of the nature of revelation, inspiration, and Sacred Scripture. These results concern both the nature and the origin of the material which is given (Gen. i.-xi.) in apparently historical form. As to its nature, this material appears to be of a peculiar kind. It does not consist largely of pure myths, although certain fragments of ancient myths in the form of names and alleged ethnographic relations, and in other forms, may have entered into it. The spirit of Mosaic monotheism has rigidly excluded all those forms of myths by which, according to its true conceptions, the Deity would have been degraded; of gods and demigods, and personified powers of nature, the religion of Jehovah cannot take account. But, on the other hand, it cannot be claimed that this material is of pure and impregnable historic character. Such a claim would be inconsistent with the facts which are educed both by a comparison of these chapters with corresponding ancient accounts, and by internal criticism. The comparison shows, that the biblical narratives are the results of a long previous process of growth and of the blending of various forms of material; the internal criticism shows us, in certain instances, the different forms which the material has assumed, and has blended or left standing in contrast. The nature of *tradition* must above all be understood in order to comprehend the nature of this material which the writer of Gen. i.-xi. found ready for his use. For this material consists most largely of the growths of tradition: much of it, however, had become fixed in writing previous to the work of the final author. As to the primal elements of the earliest traditions, it is impossible in all cases confidently to conclude. The difficulty is made the greater from the obvious fact, that the power of imagination in symbolism and in allegory has been exercised both to originate and to shape some of the elements. This remark applies especially to passages like Gen. ii. and iii. The effect of such symbolism and allegory is always to make the tradition approach, if not completely take on, the form of

myth. If, then, certain passages should be called mythical by any investigator, the granting or the withholding of our assent to the term will depend upon what is intended by it. The view which makes the narrative of the creation of woman from man, of the placing of the first pair in the Garden of Eden, and of their intercourse with God therein, of their temptation by the serpent, fall, and expulsion from paradise, symbolic and allegorical, does no damage to the right doctrine of Sacred Scripture. The history of Christian dogma may safely undertake to show this to be true. That other minor portions of these chapters are of the same general nature, the evidently symbolic nature of the names employed in them tends to prove. And the fact that such conclusions as to the presence of symbolic narratives in Scripture may be carried to pretentious and ridiculous extremes, does not invalidate the conclusions themselves. Moreover, few students are now inclined to deny that the earliest so-called genealogies of Genesis are to a certain extent rather symbolic than purely historical in their origin. These early narratives are, then, of such nature that we must recognize in them elements of fact and of reflection, of symbolism and of allegory,—all more or less changed, and all somewhat inextricably mingled by the traditional form in which they came to their author's hand. "Tradition," says Ewald, "has its roots in actual facts; yet it is not absolute history, but has a peculiar character and a value of its own."

As to the origin of their material, it may be said in general, that the biblical traditions, and those of some of the surrounding nations of antiquity, are so alike as to prove a common root. Especially true is this with respect to the Chaldean traditions. It has been thought not unlikely that the family of Abraham brought them westward when they migrated from their ancient seat.¹ And, if we raise the inquiry as to their

¹ See Lenormant, *Les Origines*, p. xvi. f. It is claimed that philology furnishes minute verbal proofs of the common origin of the biblical and the Chaldean traditions. The name of Cain (קַיִן) is not derived, as Gesenius conjectured, from קַי, "a lance," but rather from קָן = קָנָה, "creature," and is so found in the Sabeian inscriptions of Arabia. The derivation of the name Abel (Hâbel) from אָבֶל, "breath," on account of the shortness of his life, is incorrect. Ewald denied it, and substituted a derivation from אָבֶל; and Assyrian inscriptions have since shown that Hablu was the customary Assyrian name for "son." The conjecture of Lenormant, that the play on the word אָבֶל (sign or monument and name), Gen. xi. 4, has its source in the Assyrian language, where Zikru signifies "souvenir" or "sign," and Zikurat "tower," appears at best doubtful.

remoter origin, it can only be replied: Some of these traditions had their rise in facts of history, and others of them in the reflections which men made upon the course of nature, the probable past of the race, or the concerns of morals and religion. In precisely what measure facts and reflections were blended in any given case, we shall never be able to say; nor, indeed, does it greatly concern us.

The foregoing statements of fact enable us to discern the relations which existed between early revelation, inspiration, and Sacred Scripture, on the one hand, and, on the other, the material with which the history of the kingdom of God on earth must deal. That this material was itself matter of direct revelation, it would contradict all the facts involved to suppose: on the contrary, we can determine historically with sufficient definiteness, how these narratives came to the writer of Genesis. The question before this writer practically was, whether he should accept the ancient traditions of his people, or should make no effort whatever to discover to his nation and to all posterity the ethical and religious truth revealed to him. For no other material than that which he used was at his command. As to the spirit of revelation which wrought in him, we may say, and with perfect reverence, that the divinely wise choice was made to embody the truth of revelation in such foundations of tradition as were already laid. For the investigator who rejects this view of the case, it remains, after he has settled his dispute with the plain facts of history and the conclusions of criticism, to answer the question, Why may not the Spirit of all truth communicate moral and religious verity to men by infusing human traditions with such verity? Must the only choice be, either to withhold such truth, or in a purely miraculous way to communicate the exact facts of a lost antiquity? The Rock of Ages is not the less well founded because it arises out of the mists of that antiquity. For positive proof that this manner of inspiration is apparent in these earlier historic contents, we may point to the truths already evinced. Mosaism put an end, in the Hebrew nation, to those tendencies toward wild myth-making which influenced the surrounding heathen peoples.¹ It clothed the traditions which it selected and preserved with such religious ideas as fitted them to be vehicles of revelation, and to form the beginnings of religious history. Even before the time of Mosaism the same divine influences had not withheld

¹ Compare Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, p. 97 f.

their purifying efficiency: the traditions themselves had already developed far away from the forms taken by other growths from the same root.

The subsequent traditions, which, beginning with the life of Abraham (Gen. xi. 26 f.), include the period of the three great patriarchs, of Joseph, and of Israel in Egypt, and which come down to the time when traditions are for the most part displaced by written contemporaneous documents, are subject to the foregoing conclusions in only a very limited way. The history of Joseph forms, indeed, a kind of turning-point in Genesis; a fact which we may perhaps express by saying with Ewald,¹ that this history "stands on the border-land between the preliminary and the actual history of the people," or by noticing with Ebers,² that "Genesis begins to be genuinely historic with Joseph." Neither saying is, however, to be so interpreted as to involve the denial that the traditions of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are substantially accurate accounts of historic personalities. There are only two or three points at which this statement can be tested by a comparison of the Hebrew narratives with other historical records; and to these points reference will be made in the proper connection. It is important now to observe, that the results of internal criticism, when it discerns several different accounts of one event, and therefore maintains that the history of the event was compiled from several sources which must have been originally different traditions, may be used in proof of the historical character in general of the biblical record. This argument, for instance, may be applied to the different sources of the life of Abraham. For it is certain that all these sources gave only one substantially uniform picture of the character and life of this patriarch, and of the course of his history. Thus might the fact, — if it could be proved, — that the accounts of xii. 10–20 and xx., of xv. and xvii., and of xvii. 15–21 and xviii. 1–15, are divergent traditions of the same events, be held to establish the more firmly the validity and significance of what is common to each pair of accounts.³ The temptation to which Nöldeke, Bernstein, Kuenen, and others, quite succumb, when they resolve nearly the whole of this noble history into myths, contradictory traditions, and late modifications of the original records, we may escape by making our criticism less arbitrary and subjective, and our theological

¹ History of Israel, II. p. 1.

² Aegypten, etc., p. 256.

³ Compare article Abram, in Herzog and Plitt, by A. Köhler.

prejudices less overwhelming. In the view of Kuenen,¹ the obstacles to supposing the entire tradition from Abraham to Joseph, even in its principal facts, truly historical, are simply "insurmountable." Of these "insurmountable" obstacles the first is, that such pure and advanced religious ideas are ascribed to these patriarchs; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are represented as holding a monotheism as lofty as that of the prophets in the eighth century B.C. But to us this seems no obstacle whatever, for why should "pureness of religious insight and inward spiritual piety" be unable to decline after the time of Abraham, when the entire theory of Kuenen is largely dependent upon the fact that it did decline after the time of the early prophets, and even down beyond the time of that priestly spirit which the writer of Chronicles exhibits? Nor have we more difficulty with the third objection of the same critic; viz., that these patriarchs are represented as holding familiar intercourse with their Deity. On the contrary, the peculiarly simple and patriarchal character of the religious communion is an historical witness to the truthfulness of the traditions. The second objection,² which arises from the insoluble chronological difficulties in which we find ourselves involved by accepting the narratives, is an equal objection against almost all ancient history. The admission that the Hebrews had conflicting traditions as to the number of years which elapsed from the migration of Abraham to the Exodus, and that they could give no satisfactory solution of the chronological difficulties of this part of their history, by no means necessitates a surrender of any of these "principal facts." But the most important of Kuenen's so-called insurmountable obstacles to perfect confidence in the traditions of the patriarchs is the following: they are all represented as "*progenitors of tribes*." Yet, according to Kuenen, even the descent of the Israelites from the wife of Abraham, and of the Ishmaelites from his concubine, must be referred solely to the ethnological ideas of the former people. But the same Abraham may be both "the immigrant and father of nations" and "the man of God." And even if the patriarchs were falsely represented as the "progenitors of tribes," it would not follow that all the "principal facts" of their history, and of the subsequent history of their nation, were also falsely represented. The ethnological statements of Gen. xxv. 1 f. are not to be placed on a level with the "principal facts" of the personal

¹ Religion of Israel, London, 1874, I. p. 107 f.

² Ibid., I. p. 159 f., note.

history. There are, moreover, besides the passages subsequently to be considered, other proofs of what Ewald called "a solid background of fact" to these primitive histories. It is a not unwarrantable affirmation, that we know more of the history and personality of Abraham than of any other historic character of like antiquity; and certainly we have more reason to regard with interest any attainable degree of positive knowledge.

Only two or three other passages of the Old Testament, which by their seemingly legendary character especially tend to raise the inquiry whether they are really historical, need at present receive consideration. As to the Exodus and the subsequent wanderings of Israel, all historical inquiry must largely take the ultimate form of conflicting views concerning the supernatural, the nature and origin of the Mosaic religion, and the authorship and date of the related books. It is such views, rather than any independent consideration of the other evidence for a single event, which is likely to determine its acceptance or rejection with a critic like Kuenen. To any event which is made probable by such views, no "insurmountable obstacles" are likely to be found. For instance: "We may not doubt," says Kuenen, "that the Exodus is an historical fact."¹ But why not? since on this author's own theory we have no written account of it which is contemporaneous by hundreds of years. Because, is the reply of Kuenen, "independently of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, it is proved by the testimony of the prophets:" "they obviously start from the supposition that none of their contemporaries disagree with them as to their deliverance out of Egypt." But on just as good grounds will we undertake to prove all those principal facts of earlier and later tradition which Kuenen utterly refuses to accept as trustworthy history. And surely the chronology, and the entanglements with uncertain ethnographical traditions which belong to the Exodus, constitute by no means relatively small, even though not "insurmountable," difficulties. But does Kuenen perhaps accept the fact of the Exodus on the authority of Egyptian fable? Does he not perhaps go upon the principle that an Egyptian fable and a Hebrew tradition, even when they disagree in most particulars, are more trustworthy than two concurrent Hebrew traditions? And yet the tradition of the Exodus is in the Old Testament always and inseparably connected with a religious truth; viz., that, as Kuenen himself

¹ Religion of Israel, I. p. 117.

elsewhere says,¹ the prophets of Israel "appeal to history to prove that Jahveh stands in an entirely peculiar relation to that people." If, then, even this critic of so negative tendencies is ready to accept the fact of the Exodus on the ground that the tradition is corroborated by the unanimous consent of the prophets, we cannot see on what ground he is so ready to discredit almost all the other principal facts of the early history of Israel. For the traditions of all these facts are corroborated by the unanimous consent of the prophets.² As Kuenen himself admits: "Micah had, upon the whole, the same idea of Israel's wanderings in the Desert" as that given in the narratives of the Old Testament. There are, then, no "insurmountable" obstacles to accepting the historical trustworthiness of the "principal" facts in the lives of the patriarchs, and in the early history of Israel.

The narratives of Balaam and of Samson may serve further to illustrate the existence of certain traditional and even legendary material in the historical contents of the Old Testament outside of Genesis. In the case of Balaam (Num. xxii.-xxiv.) the two later views of his personality seem traceable to the two traditions incorporated into the biblical narrative. According to one tradition, Balaam seems to be a worshipper of the true God (see xxii. 18 f.), who, in his ignorance of the fact that Israel also worshipped Him, and in his readiness to gain royal favor, would have cursed the people whom, in his obedience to divine command and as a true prophet (xxiii. 5, 16), he really blessed (xxiv. 15 ff.). Thus can Josephus style him *μάρτυς ἀπώροτος*. This older tradition is apparently followed by Deut. xxiii. 5 f.; Josh. xxiv. 9, 10; Mic. vi. 5, and Neh. xiii. 2. The other form of tradition appears rather in Num. xxxi. 8, 16, and Josh. xiii. 22; it afterwards became the view of the Talmudist legends, and the accepted view of the New Testament in 2 Pet. ii. 15; Jude 11; Rev. ii. 14. According to this tradition, Balaam was guilty of blasphemy and of attempts to seduce the Israelites to fornication and idolatry.³ Certain elements of parable and popular story have become intermixed with the historical elements which underlie these traditions; and the whole has then been wrought over by one author, viz., the

¹ Religion of Israel, I., p. 101.

² That the prophets held the same view of the history of Israel as that given in the historical books of the Old Testament, see passages like Hos. xii. 9; Amos ii. 10, iii. 1 f.; Mic. vi. 3, 4, vii. 20; Isa. xxix. 22.

³ Compare the commentary of Knobel, *in loco*.

Jehovist to whom the composition of Num. xxii.-xxiv. is due. The whole is, then, a compound, which cannot be regarded as a fabrication of late date,¹ or a merely mythical account; but which is not, on the other hand, to be treated as though it were a perfectly trustworthy history of facts. So also in the case of Samson, it is not to solar myths that we must refer the origin of the narratives recorded in Judg. xiii.-xvi.² The only real basis for this fiction of solar myths in the Book of Judges is the derivation of the name of the hero from the Hebrew for "sun" (שָׁשָׁן, *Shimshon*=sun-like), — a derivation which, says Ewald,³ is conceivable, but by no means beyond doubt. The similarity between the nature and exploits of Samson and those of the Greek Hercules is manifest;⁴ but we may well enough speak of Samson as the Israelitish Hercules without regarding his history as made up of mythical elements. In this case also, the biblical narrative must be regarded as made up of traditions and legends which have an historical foundation, and which are designed by the author, who has given them their final grouping and redaction, to serve a purpose in the general narrative of the national life. This purpose seems closely connected with the development of the prophetic order. There is no sufficient reason to doubt that a hero of immense brute strength and lawless life distinguished himself in the defence of his nation against the Philistines, by exploits such as are preserved in these traditions. It may also be true, as Stark⁵ and Lenormant⁶ suppose, that the general resistance of the nation to the Philistines has been to a certain extent personified in Samson. On the one hand, we find these narratives full of particularities which seem eminently historical in character: on the other, we discover plain traces of that process of exaggeration and poetizing to which the traditions have been subjected. The author himself seems by no means insensible

¹ See the prophecy of xxiv. 7, which Kurtz, Volck, and others claim could not have arisen after the reign of Saul; compare article Bileam, in Herzog and Plitt.

² Compare Steinthal, *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, II. pp. 129 ff.; and Vatke, *Bibl. Theol.*, I. p. 368 f. Kuenen (*Religion of Israel*, I. p. 307 f.) and Oort (*Bible for Learners*, I. p. 414 f.) follow Steinthal even in his most ridiculous applications of the mythical theory; for a criticism of some of these views, see Bleek, *Eintl. in das A. T.*, p. 196 f.

³ *History of Israel*, II. p. 396, note.

⁴ Compare Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, for points of similarity, and citations from Apollodorus and Diodorus Siculus.

⁵ *Forschungen*, pp. 156-160.

⁶ *Ancient History of the East*, Philadelphia, 1871, I. p. 125.

to the drollery of the stories he narrates, although the spirit of national piety constantly controls this feeling.

Considerations like the foregoing become the more important when they are seen to appertain to some entire books of the Old Testament. We have already¹ declared our adherence to the view that the Book of Jonah is designedly written as an allegorico-didactic composition upon a certain basis of historical fact. It does not, therefore, belong to the present discussion, because it puts forth no claim to an historical character.² Of books which do appear to claim this character, without evincing the characteristics necessary to place their claim beyond reasonable doubt, we find in the Old Testament only two; viz., the book of Daniel (chaps. i.-vi.) and the Book of Esther. The question of the historical character of the first part of Daniel is, of course, closely connected with the question of its date of composition. The following are some of the more specifically historical difficulties which lead to the conclusion that it must be classed with such portions of Scripture as are now under examination, rather than with those of more unquestionable historic trustworthiness. It is declared (i. 1) that Nebuchadnezzar as king of Babylon besieged Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim: but from Jer. xxv. 1 and xlvi. 2 we know that this monarch did not begin his reign until the fourth year of the Jewish king; and from Jer. xxxvi. 9 we learn that in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim the Chaldeans had not yet appeared before Jerusalem. The unverified assumption of Rawlinson,³ that he might have taken this city while only a satrap (called king by prolepsis), is thus excluded. A similar confusion of chronology seems to exist when (ii. 1) the dream of Nebuchadnezzar is placed in his second year as monarch, although Daniel had been brought to Babylon at least three years before (i. 5), among the captives of the same monarch. We have already learned, however, that chronological difficulties do not of themselves discredit the historical character of the narrative in which they occur. Nor need we dwell upon the inherent improbabilities which are alleged against statements like those of ii. 48, iii. 1-30, against the royal edict of vi. 26 f., and against the conception of lions dwelling in a dark stone cavern (vi. 18 f.). It can scarcely be denied that

¹ See Part I., p. 66 f.

² Compare the very satisfactory discussion in Bleek, *Einkl. in das A. T.*, ed. Wellhausen, pp. 453-461.

³ *Historical Illustrations*, p. 159.

the letter of chap. iv., in its change of person (23-30) as well as its entire construction, is not strictly historical; and that the Jewish and theocratic flavor of the alleged language of Nebuchadnezzar (iii. 29, iv. 1 f.) and Darius (vi. 26 f.), with its reference to "signs and wonders" (compare the phrase "holy gods," iv. 8, 9), suggests the author's imagination as its source. But then we must remember that the universal practice of both Testaments, and of all the writers of antiquity, admits of giving the speeches, and even the letters, of their historic personages in free and somewhat imaginative form. This is, indeed, the practice not only of all antiquity, but even of more modern times. It seems strange enough that Belshazzar is represented (v. 11) as ignorant of Daniel, while the latter is represented (viii. 27) as doing the business of this king even in the third year of his reign, to say nothing of his famous services under Nebuchadnezzar. But this discrepancy is scarcely so serious as that which occurs with reference to the first introduction of David to Saul, and on account of which the Vatican MS. of the LXX. has rejected 1 Sam. xvii. 12-31, 55-58, and xviii. 1-5. If, however, the latter case does not warrant us in abandoning the entire Book of First Samuel as unhistorical, the former case of itself will not utterly discredit the Book of Daniel. The lycomania of Nebuchadnezzar, enduring through seven years, cannot be confirmed by the reference to Berosus, as Hengstenberg and Keil would have us suppose; but, on the contrary, the silence of Berosus concerning so wonderful an event tells against the historical character of the narrative.¹ Moreover, the Darius of Daniel, called (ix. 1, xi. 1) the Mede, and the son of Ahasuerus or Xerxes, is unknown to history: his person seems rather quite excluded from history. Darius the son of Hystaspes is indeed well known; and the story of his accession to the Persian throne (521 B.C.), as given by Herodotus, has been recently "confirmed in all points and completed in some" by the inscription on the great rock of Behistun.² The narrative of Daniel presents its Darius as king not only of Chaldea, but as great king of the Medo-Persian empire (see v. 31, vi. 2 f. 8, 26, ix. 1, xi. 1), and as predecessor of Cyrus the Persian. The statement of Rawlinson, that he can "have been no more

¹ Compare Josephus, *Con. Ap.*, I. 20. Not only are these two illnesses unlike, but also their issue, — that spoken of in Berosus terminating in death. That no appeal can be made to Berosus on this point, even Kliefoth admits.

² Lenormant, *Ancient History*, II. p. 102 f.

than a viceroy or deputy-king, a ruler set up by Cyrus,"¹ seems quite too much like a subterfuge. But abundant evidence has been shown by Duncker² and others,³ that the male line of the Median kings perished when Astyages was dethroned by Cyrus, and that the Persian rule in Babylon followed immediately upon that of the last Chaldean king, Nabonahid. This testimony cannot be overcome by the abrupt notice in a fragment of Abydenus; especially when we consider the character of this writer, and the fact that the fragment is wanting in Eusebius. The hypothesis which identifies the Darius of Daniel with the Cyaxares mentioned in Xenophon,⁴ and which is as old as Josephus,⁵ is justly regarded as unsatisfactory by most modern critics. The name Ahasuerus=Xerxes is not the equivalent of Astyages; the Darius of Daniel is not represented as reigning by favor of another; and, as says Kautzsch,⁶ we are not justified in preferring the novel of Xenophon to the history of Herodotus, Berosus, and the Canon of Ptolemy. But especially difficult to reconcile with the full historical character of Daniel is the fact, that the names for the musical instruments of iii. 5 f. 15 are so purely Greek terms. These names cannot be referred to a common source for Greeks and Babylonians; nor, in the opinion of competent authorities, could they have been known to the latter in the time to which this history claims to belong. The use of such terms as applying to the court of Nebuchadnezzar, and without any explanation, seems impossible to reconcile with the historical character of this passage.⁷

We must conclude, from the foregoing and other similar considerations, that the historical character of Dan. i.-vi. does not admit of by any means complete vindication. But, on the other hand, there is much in this book which even so competent Orientalists as Oppert⁸ and Lenormant⁹ consider as showing a marked knowledge of ancient Babylonian customs; and many indirect proofs of historical accuracy are brought forward by

¹ Historical Illustrations, p. 174. The inadequacy of this explanation even Kell admits, Einl. in das A. T., p. 423.

² Geschichte des Alterthums, 4te Aufl., IV. p. 286 f.

³ Rawlinson, Ancient Monarchies, II. p. 418 f.

⁴ Cyrop., I. 5, 2.

⁵ See Ant., X. 11, 4.

⁶ Article Darius, in Herzog and Plitt.

⁷ The attempt of Hengstenberg to show that these words had a Semitic origin, has turned out ill; and the attempt of Kell and Kliefoth to show that they entered the Hebrew through the Babylonians, no better.

⁸ Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie, 1863, I.

⁹ La divination et la science des présages chez les Chaldéens, 1875.

writers like Keil¹ and Rawlinson.² It is possible, then, to hold on historical grounds, with Delitzsch, that the early chapters of the Book of Daniel grew out of trustworthy traditions of Daniel himself. That there were such traditions of Daniel as a wise councillor, the references of Ezekiel (xiv. 14, 20, xxviii. 3) seem to prove. His person was a "darling subject" of the later Hagada, as is shown by the traditions — such as those of the rescue of Susanna, the unmasking of Bel and his priests, the slaying of the dragon, and the feeding of Daniel in the den of lions by the prophet Habakkuk — which gathered around it. Although, then, the present form of these chapters came from a writer in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and although the historical elements cannot always with confidence be separated from the accretions of tradition, legend, and designed symbolism, we nevertheless seem warranted in recognizing the historical character of the book in that limited sense which belongs to others of the class we have been examining.

As to the somewhat similar, but much less important, case of Esther, a few words must suffice. All historical character has been denied to this book on the ground that it contains various plain offences against Persian customs,³ and, indeed, "swarms with improbabilities and impossibilities."⁴ But an examination of these "impossibilities" proves that they are largely of that subjective order about which experts in history differ amongst themselves. Thus Schrader urges against the Book of Esther, that its author knows nothing of the expedition of Xerxes to Greece, which would have to be placed between the third year of his reign (i. 3) and the seventh (ii. 16); while Orelli⁵ is disposed to claim that the feasting spoken of in Esther is the very one which Herodotus speaks of⁶ as preceding this expedition, and that by the king's absence the otherwise inexplicably long interval between Vashti and Esther is explained. The principal witness for the substantial accuracy of the main event, as narrated in the book, is the feast of Purim itself, which is first alluded to (2 Macc. xv. 36) as ἡ Μαρδοχαίου ἡμέρα. The Persian origin of this feast seems certain; and the occasion of the origin is certainly better supported by the narrative of Esther than by the conjecture, for instance, of Hitzig, who would derive it from the Persian new year. Moreover, every thing which we:

¹ Einl. in das A. T., p. 425 f.

² Historical Illustrations, p. 186 f.

³ So Schrader, De Wette's Einl. in das A. T., p. 397.

⁴ Nöldeke, Alttest. Lit., p. 83 f.

⁵ Article Ester, in Herzog and Plitt,

• VII. 8.

have already learned concerning the nature of the most doubtful of the historical contents of the Old Testament impels us to reject all explanations that largely introduce myth-making or conscious fraud. According to the probable view of Orelli, the statements of the book itself (ix. 20-28 and 29-32) show that the author looked upon Esther and Mordecai as characters belonging to the remote past, and drew his information concerning them from written or oral traditionary sources (compare x. 2). We shall probably never determine just how much admixture of historical error had entered these sources; nor is the ethical nature and canonical position of Esther such as to make the inquiry important.

We cannot fitly close the illustration of this branch of our inquiry without defining our position toward that view of the historical contents of the Old Testament, which, proposed by Von Bohlen and Vatke more than forty years since, and gaining at first but little assent, has in recent times "taken captive the minds of many, and wrought important changes in the whole conception of Israelitish history."¹ The full discussion of this view belongs to the work of Biblical Introduction. We might, then, properly relegate it to those whose critical researches are even more fundamental than those here undertaken. We frankly confess our strong inclination, on grounds of religious conviction, to be content with a summary judgment unfavorable to this view. But the thorough treatment of our general subject brings us into contact with the theories of Kuenen at several different points. The following remarks are especially directed toward the treatment he gives to the historical books of the Old Testament,²—a treatment in which he largely follows the earlier work of Graf.³ In depicting and estimating the trustworthiness of Old-Testament history, the plan of Kuenen leads him to reverse the usual, and what we certainly might call the natural, method of procedure. Instead of patiently and carefully constructing the earliest religious history of Israel from the material given to us in the historical books, and then fitting into its place a true picture of Prophetism in the eighth century B.C., he is persuaded that the order of inquiry should be exactly the opposite. In the belief that "the accounts of the historians

¹ Words taken from the work, *De Aaronitici Sacerdotii atque Thorae Elohisticae Origine*: Samuel Ives Curtiss, jun., Leipzig, 1873, p. 3.

² *Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State*, 3 vols., London 1874; *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, London 1877.

³ *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, Leipzig, 1866.

offer less certainty than the testimonies of the prophets themselves,"¹ he proceeds to construct, largely by subjective considerations and assumptions, a picture of Prophetism in this era; he then makes use of this picture as a weapon of destruction against the historical narratives.

The present conflict of view regarding the historical contents of the Old Testament can be completely and satisfactorily settled on critical grounds, only by following the criticism of Kuenen into its minutest details. To his method and conclusions it is enough for the present purpose to make the following general objections.

The avowed prejudice of this criticism against the supernatural, and against all revelation, largely enters into and vitiates its conclusions. "For us," says Kuenen,² "the Israelitish is one of these (the principal) religions; nothing less, but also nothing more." And if we would gladly interpret these and similar sayings as simple declarations of the universality of divine self-revelation, and of the desire not to do injustice to other so-called "heathen religions," we are compelled by all the subsequent discussion to see that the author has in mind much more. For he himself convinces us that his intention is to strip Mosaism and Prophetism of every element of supernaturalism; and to show how one nation of the earth happened, without any divine election or any special communion with God, to develop from a low form of fetichism to a form of monotheism, which was at the best extremely faulty, and essentially unlike that of Christianity in the present day. Now, inasmuch as all this is exactly opposed, not only to the convictions of the Christian consciousness, but also to valid critical conclusions, and inasmuch as it appears to contradict the moral integrity and authority of Jesus Christ, we are very suspicious of its alleged foundations.

Moreover, the very conception of Prophetism in the eighth century B.C. which Kuenen makes the test of trustworthiness in the historical books, is itself false and misleading. This critic refuses credence to all this portion of the Old Testament, in part because "the representation of the prophets and of prophecy in the narratives of the Old Testament is not historical."³ The latter conclusion he reaches not only through his general aversion to all claims of supernaturalism, but also because of what

¹ Compare *The Prophets*, etc., pp. 32 f. and 386 f.

² *Religion of Israel*, I. p. 5.

³ See *Prophets*, p. 404.

he considers an utterly irreconcilable discrepancy between this representation and his own conception of the later prophecy.¹ But we have already seen reason to believe that the difference in the Old-Testament representations of prophecy is simply a difference between the earlier and the later stages in the same supernatural process of divine self-revelation.² Having considered all the predictions of the later prophets either to have been unfulfilled, or else to have been mere fortunate guesses upon approaching events, Kuenen can, of course, complete his purely naturalistic view of Hebrew prophecy, only by denying historical accuracy to the accounts of the earlier prophets. The accounts of their predictions were, as he holds, in every case made matter of record after the fulfilment of the predictions themselves.³

Not less unsatisfactory is the entire conception and critical treatment which this author accords to Mosaism. He indeed admits the historic personality of Moses,⁴ ascribes to him on the ground of ancient tradition some "*such a law* as is contained in the ten words,"⁵ praises him with much reserve for having "established the service of Jahveh among his people upon a moral footing,"⁶ and even assumes, in deference to tradition, that the Levites enjoyed a certain preference in respect to religious service in the time of Moses.⁷ Yet beyond these and a very few similar points he refuses to ascribe historical trustworthiness to the Old-Testament accounts of the life and work of Moses. In our opinion, this method of procedure results in standing the pyramid upon its apex. We find it utterly impossible to account for either the religion, the history, or the literature of Israel, without ascribing much more than this to Moses. We shall subsequently show that the Pentateuch, and to a considerable extent the laws and ritual of so-called Mosaism, are an historic growth which extended much beyond the time of Moses; we cannot doubt that the additions and redactions of a much later date have become, to an extent quite difficult to determine, incorporated with the original records. But Mosaism is quite too concrete and personal an affair, it too much underlies and influences every thing in the history of Israel from the traditions and records which originated in the era of the great law-giver, to be thus resolved into thin air. The need of Mosaism would be only all the more apparent, if with Kuenen we should

¹ Prophets, p. 403.

² Part I., chap. iv.

³ Prophets, p. 393.

⁴ Religion of Israel, I. p. 272 f.

⁵ Ibid., p. 285.

⁶ Ibid., p. 292.

⁷ Ibid., p. 299.

reject all the narratives of divine self-revelations and covenants in the time of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and then make the utterly unwarrantable assumption that the Israelites in Goshen were adherents of a low form of fetich-worship.¹ Nor has this perverse view of Mosaism completed the task upon which it has bestowed unlimited critical labor; viz., proving in mass the late and even post-exilian origin of the so-called Mosaic ritual and of the Levitical priesthood.² And the more we know of the antiquities both of Egypt and of Israel, the more difficult is this self-appointed task likely to become.

Moreover, the alternative which Kuenen so often, either avowedly or implicitly, presents between "pure history" or no history at all, between "acknowledging absolutely as history" or rejecting as historical, is an uncritical alternative. To adopt it throughout is to abandon criticism, and to despair of a substantially accurate knowledge of the past. It is the pressing of this alternative which makes it possible for the destructive criticism to change the face of history. This criticism thus points out discrepancies or difficulties in the records it examines, calls attention to the subjective tendencies of the writer of each narrative as they lie before us in the narrative itself, and then clears the ground of all objective authority as to facts in order to cover it again with conjecture as to what the facts should have been. We find it, however, quite possible to admit the existence of all the discrepancies, difficulties, and signs of subjective impression, which the historical books of the Old Testament certainly contain, and yet make no substantial change in our conception of the history of Israel. We acknowledge the fact that these books contain "mutually conflicting narratives alongside of each other," because the authors, finding more than one tradition or document, have followed "the Semitic method of writing history," and given uncritically what they have found.³ But this fact seems to us to increase rather than diminish our own opportunities for constructing a true history. If it be true that the Chronicler has impressed himself upon the utterances of the earlier characters which he narrates, we are rather to say with Bertheau, that "he reproduces, in his own fashion and in his own words, the speech of the ancient

¹ See *Religion of Israel*, I. p. 218 f. and 268 f.

² See Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des A. T.*, pp. 1-113; Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, II. chaps. vii. and viii.

³ See Kuenen, *Prophets*, p. 393 f.

prophets," than claim with Kuenen,¹ that he has manufactured both it and the historical setting in which it occurs. The fact that the writer of Kings has given the predictions of Ahijah, Jehu, Elijah, and Elisha, in language partly his own, and not precisely as they were uttered, does not render First and Second Kings unhistorical. The general credibility of these books is not destroyed by the fact that evidences of unchronological arrangement may be found in them (2 Kings vi. 23 and 24). Nor do all the minute criticisms bestowed upon the writer of Chronicles, and all the combined evidences of his relatively large prejudice and small accuracy in details, invalidate the general historic trustworthiness of his work. In all such cases, however, the true criticism of sacred history delights to dwell upon the largest possible residuum of fact. To enlarge this residuum, it evokes the utmost care and loving pains-taking; it is glad to build, if it must be only with fragments and scattered bits of information. Moreover, since "*probability*" is so frequent a guide with Kuenen in denial, we are the readier to make it a guide in affirmation, although, of course, only with such degree of confidence as properly belongs to each particular degree of probability. Nor can we be blamed if we prefer to govern our conception of probability more by the objective testimony of venerable tradition than by the quite purely subjective standards of some of our modern critics.

But, finally, it cannot be denied, that our decision upon all such questions of history must be largely influenced by the decision arrived at as to the date and manner of the composition of the Old-Testament books. "No one will deny," says Kuenen,² "that our conception of Israel's religious history entirely depends upon our verdict on the Old Testament;" and again,³ "A real *history* of religious ideas in Israel has been rendered possible, for the first time, by the modern chronological arrangement of the books of the Old Testament." Only upon a few points, however, can it be said that the arrangement which is needed to satisfy the very strenuous demands of Kuenen has been consented to by critics of different convictions upon the religious questions involved. The general principle which this critic insists upon applying almost everywhere is, that the residuum of fact in the historical books is very small, because they have themselves been in fact so largely

¹ Ibid., p. 397. Compare Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher*, p. 146 f.

² *Religion of Israel*, I. p. 13.

³ Ibid., p. 15.

constructed by the "*subjectivity*" of their authors. This principle does double duty: it proves the earliest histories to be largely of late origin, and then proves them to be unhistorical in character. Thus is Kuenen ready, on confessedly very slight evidence, to extend the method of his conjectural Deuteronomist, not only over the entire Pentateuch, but also over the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings.¹ These histories have, in his opinion, been largely constructed subjectively by later prophetic redactors in the same manner in which the priestly redactors, such as the author of Chronicles and others, have much more vitiated the earlier biblical books.² Thus it may be said of all alike, "The priestly and the prophetic historians agree in this, that history is for them a means, not an end." In the field of critical inquiry into the nature of the historical books, must the attacks of criticism against their validity be faithfully met. But it is quite too much, meantime, to require, on the basis of so much conjecture, an utter reversal of opinion respecting these sources of Jewish history. It is still a long road from such conjecture to the unqualified conclusion of Kuenen, "We cannot follow the guidance offered to us by the historical books."³

By far the most important inquiry touching the historical verity of those contents of the Bible which lay claim to this verity, concerns the narratives of what was said and done by Jesus Christ. And upon these narratives all the energies of criticism are ready to expend themselves, whether in attack or in defence. So far as is necessary to illustrate our view of the nature of the biblical history, and of the proof which the historical contents of the Bible furnish for the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, the following points must be kept prominently in mind:—

The vital question of the Gospel history always remains simply this: whether it is possible from the Four Evangelists to construct a tolerably complete and scientifically defensible narrative of the life, work, doctrine, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. To construct such a narrative is the true end of Gospel harmony. To place in juxtaposition, and to subject to comparative exegesis, the passages supposed to be parallel, with a view to showing their harmony or lack of harmony in

¹ See Prophets, p. 435 f.

² Ibid., p. 428 f.; and Religion of Israel, II., 157-173, 192-201.

³ Religion of Israel, I., p. 16.

details, is a subordinate and relatively unimportant work;¹ it is work important chiefly as a means to the end; that end is to possess a complete and historically true knowledge of Christ. The so-called destructive criticism, whether mythical or of the "*tendency*" order, has at least accomplished this good: it has compelled orthodoxy to the confession that it cannot be scientific without rendering such an account of its historical sources as shall stand the tests of modern criticism. To make any genuine attempt at harmony is, then, to endeavor to find the one true Gospel which preceded our Gospels, and which, as preserved in memory, oral tradition, and written records, lies at the foundation of the writings of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.²

It is, without doubt, the narratives of the miracles in the Gospels which have given, and still give, the chief grounds for denying the general historical character and substantial historical accuracy of the Gospels. Before real historical criticism had arisen, in the first half of the eighteenth century, English Deism³ refused to accept the miracles of the New Testament as historically credible. By vindicating the general fact that Jesus wrought miracles, as proofs of his claim to Messiahship, and as expressions of his divine Messianic power and grace, the basis for accepting the general historical credibility of the Synoptic Gospels — both in their concurrent and in their uncontradicted individual testimony — is at once firmly laid. We cannot, however, go so far as does Ebrard,⁴ and claim that, if the one point of the possibility of the supernatural is presupposed, then all the Gospel history is at once seen to be full of unity and harmony. Zöckler traces⁵ the modern critical and scientific method, as it issues from one point, and, dividing upon the question of the supernatural, forms itself into the negative and destructive or the positive and apologetic school, to the lectures of Schleiermacher on the Life of Jesus (delivered

¹ Compare article *Evangelien-harmonie*, Herzog and Plitt.

² It is in place here only to refer to the fact, that the course of Gospel harmony from the Reformation down to the close of the last century, by its neglect of that broader view which was taken by Augustine and Calvin, and by its painful efforts to apply to the facts the post-Reformation dogma of inspiration, was largely the cause of the worst forms of destructive criticism.

³ Especially Woolston, *A Discourse of the Miracles of our Saviour*; and Chubb, *The True Gospel of Jesus Christ*.

⁴ *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte*, Frankfurt, 1868, p. 781.

⁵ Article *Jesus Christus*, Herzog and Plitt.

from 1819 onward several times in Berlin, but not published until thirty years after his death), and to those of Hase on the History of Jesus (given in 1823 and 1824 in Tübingen, and 1828 in Leipzig, and published repeatedly up to 1876). Our previous discussion of the miracles in the life of Christ may here be referred to as evincing the possibility of a genuinely historic account of his life which shall represent him as working miracles. This possibility, then, involves the general credibility of our Synoptic Gospels.

For our history of the origin of Christianity, we are compelled to rely almost wholly upon the Gospels and the collateral evidence of the other New-Testament writings. Neither favorable nor unfavorable critics appeal to any extra-biblical writings which can be used to test the historical character of the biblical.¹ The notices of early Christianity by Tacitus,² Suetonius,³ and Pliny;⁴ the hints contained in Lucian, Celsus, and other opponents of Christianity; the comparison of Jesus with the wise Socrates, which is contained in the alleged letter of Mara to Serapion; the letter of Abgar of Edessa, contained in Eusebius,⁵—all these neither supplement nor correct the Gospels. The alleged witness of Josephus,⁶ although found in all the MSS. and in Eusebius, is doubtless spurious; since it is antecedently very improbable, and since Celsus designates this writer as an unbeliever in Christ, while Origen alludes to his silence. It is not improbable, however, that some brief allusion to Jesus in this passage, like that to James in Ant. XX. 9, 1, may have come from the hand of Josephus, and may thus have invited the interpolation which was made by some later writer. The apocryphal Gospels, even the oldest and most trustworthy, are of little or no direct and independent value; for, as Keim⁷ has said, "At the end of a hundred years after Christ, every independent and really valuable tradition concerning this life, outside of the Gospels, is extinguished." All the apocryphal Christian writings do, however, afford by contrast strong corroborative testimony to the historic trustworthiness of the canonical writings. The latter manifestly do *not* have many things which would inevitably be found in them were these writings not of the nature of history from original and trustworthy sources. The absence in the Gospels of all allusion

¹ Compare the discussion in Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, I. pp. 22 ff.

² *Annal.* XV. 44; compare *Hist.*, V. 5.

³ *Nero*, 16; *Claud.* 25.

⁴ *Ep.* X. 97, 98.

⁵ *Hist. Eccl.*, I. 13.

⁶ *Ant.*, XVIII. 3, 3.

⁷ *The History of Jesus of Nazara*, London, 1873, I. p. 45.

to later controversies; the fact that no declarations are put into the mouth of Jesus upon many questions which were of great interest to the Church even in the days of the apostles (such as heathen deities, idolatry, the mission of Christ to the underworld); the fact that none of the many designations for God which are favorite with Justin, Athenagoras, and Tatian, appear in the Gospels, — these and other similar facts of the canonical writings, when contrasted with the phenomena of the apocryphal, evince the historical character of the former. The further fact, that the later spurious Gospels do not add new groups of miracles to those which are early and genuine shows how early the tradition of Christ's wonders had become fixed.¹ Of a certain subordinate value are a few ancient traditions not found in the Gospels: such are the narratives concerning the choice of the apostles, and concerning the resurrection and the ascension, in the Epistle of Barnabas (chaps. v. and xv.), the utterances ascribed to Papias and preserved in Eusebius, the tradition in Justin Martyr about the birth of Jesus in a cave,² and especially the trustworthy account of the woman taken in adultery (John vii. 53 f.).³

And yet it must not be forgotten, in considering the historical character of the Synoptic Gospels, how varied and thrifty a previous Christian literature is implied in their very construction. The hints which are given to us on the authority of Luke (i. 1 f.) are confirmed and amplified by internal criticism. This criticism shows that the construction of these Gospels implies a considerable and complex process of previous writing, as a basis for the results which follow the culminating of this process. Short written notices of the sayings of Jesus, with or without a narrative of accompanying circumstances; other longer writings which attempted to arrange these notices according to some ideal plan of the author; shorter and longer accounts of the deeds of Jesus, and especially of those miracles which had been grouped together in fact or in the preaching of the apostles; a selective and critical judgment exercised by those informed, either as being themselves direct witnesses or as having learned the truth through such witnesses, — must all have preceded the accomplishment of the earliest of our Gos-

¹ Compare, upon these and similar points, Huidekoper, *Indirect Testimony to the Gospels*.

² *Dial. c. Tryph.*, 78.

³ For a criticism of these sources, see Keim, *Ibid.*, I. Introduction.

pels.¹ Yet all this process consists in forming historic records which must have been somewhat sifted, so to speak, but which must have reached back for their origin to a brief time after the ascension of Christ, and thus have been formed in a kind of dependence upon the knowledge and judgment of the most competent witnesses.

The histories are strongly corroborated, and to some extent supplemented, by the Epistles of Paul: "than whom," says Keim, "we have no earlier witness;" who must have had the life of Jesus fully in his view, and whose "knowledge did not consist in a blind traffic in unexamined Christian tradition," but was obtained "by a clear, keen, searching, and questioning consideration, comparison, collection, and collation of such materials as were accessible to him."² And Weiss even goes so far as to assert unqualifiedly, that our Christian faith would remain in all important particulars the same, if it had pleased God to deprive us, by the utter loss of the Gospels, of all power of sketching a detailed picture of the earthly life of Jesus. For, in the opinion of this critic, the apostolic preaching is quite as likely as the Gospels to be a valid historical source of information upon the main facts of Christianity, while its doctrine of the person of Christ is the one which has served as the historical foundation for the religious consciousness of the Christian Church.³ How true is the above-mentioned claim of Keim, may be seen when we remember who Paul was, that he was converted as early as 36-38 A.D., and that he had in all probability seen and heard the Lord. The writings of this apostle, for the most part, assume rather than rehearse the facts of Christ's life; and yet even his tendency to systematize and allegorize these facts indirectly corroborates them. (Compare 1 Cor. xi. 1 f., xv. 1-3; Gal. iii. 1 f.; 1 Cor. ii. 6 f.) How well known to Paul was much history which has not come down to us in the Gospels, but which is like the history found in them, we may judge from his account of the Last Supper (see 1 Cor. xi. 23 f.), and of the resurrection (1 Cor. xv.). Minute historic traces of the facts and words of Jesus appear not rarely in his writings, some of which are quite too independent not to suggest his minute knowledge of the whole history. (Compare 1 Cor. vii. 10, ix. 14; 1 Thess. iv. 15, v. 2; Rom. x. 10, xii. 14.) It is through Paul, by a mere chance,—one might

¹ Compare Bleek, *Einl. in das N. T.*, ed. Mangold, Berlin, 1875, § 19 f.

² *Ibid.*, I. p. 52.

³ *Leben Jesu*, I. p. 15 f. and 23 f.

think,—that we have preserved to us the saying of Christ recorded Acts xx. 35. Indeed, all his loftiest doctrines and speculations concerning the nature and office of the Redeemer are saturated with the same facts which are given to us in historic form by the Gospels.

And what is true of the writings of Paul is, to a greater or less extent, true of all the other writings of the New Testament: they presuppose a firm knowledge of the fundamental facts of the Gospels. In the Epistle to the Hebrews (compare ii. 17, iv. 15, v. 7 f.), in the Epistle of Peter (ii. 21), and in the Revelation of John (v. 5 f., xvii. 14, xxii. 16, and frequently), the history underlies the exhortation and doctrine. The fulness with which the Book of Acts (especially in chaps. i.—iii. and x.—xiii. and in the speeches of iv. 8–12, 23–31, v. 29 f., vii.) rehearses the main facts of the life of Jesus needs simply to be mentioned. For these writings, as for the Gospels themselves, only the credibility of the history itself can satisfactorily account. As to the main facts of this history, there is everywhere a complete agreement of the witnesses.

Nor can we fail to insist upon the truth, that the impossibility of accounting for the Gospels at all, otherwise than by the theory of their substantial historical credibility, adds weight to the positive argument in their behalf. "The four Evangelists," says Ebrard,¹ "were scarcely brought down from heaven ready-made, like the Koran, by the Angel Gabriel in a single night." In order to understand how these Gospels actually did originate, a lively view of the concrete fact and distinctively real nature of the early Christian life is absolutely indispensable. The stories of what Jesus had done and said must have been often repeated in the gatherings of his first followers. A process of selection went on unconsciously, and resulted in the permanent fixing of certain narratives, and groups of narratives. It was not critical insight, or historical curiosity, or dogmatic interest, which primarily controlled this process of selection: it was the simple desire to know what Jesus had said and done, with a view to Christian edification, according to the simple but pressing needs of the early Christian life. This Christian life was in every respect unfavorable to a legendary or mythical origin of the histories which it employed in its own edification. The possibility being once admitted that such an one as Jesus Christ lived, and wrought miracles, there is no

¹ Kritik, etc., p. 785 f.

other theory to account for the narratives of these miracles comparable to that which accepts the alleged facts.¹ The over-worked and worn theories which have tried to carry the burden of the facts, without admitting the *a priori* possibility of their occurrence, may fitly roll their burden off upon the firm ground of historic truth.

Yet not all parts even of the Synoptic Gospels can equally claim, on grounds of historical credibility, to be accepted as authentic. Especially indubitable is the claim made by those essential elements and features of Christ's life in which all these Gospels agree. For such elements embody the earliest apostolic preaching to the first congregations of believers. Among such are the following: the preparation for the work (Matt. iii. 1-iv. 11; Mark i. 1-13, Luke iii. 1-iv. 13); the narrative of the return from Judaea to Galilee, and of the subsequent miracles and teaching (Matt. iv. 12-xviii. 35; Mark i. 14-ix. 50; Luke iv. 14-ix. 50); the narrative of the journey to Jerusalem to the passover (though with a large variation on the part of Luke); and finally the narrative of the death and resurrection. No chronological arrangement of this material can, however, make the same claim to historic verity which belongs to the material itself. Yet even with regard to the chronological arrangement, common consent establishes the principal points. Thus all agree to give, in substantially the same chronological order, the preaching of John Baptist, the baptism and temptation of Christ, the beginning of his ministry in Galilee, and the series of discourses and events recorded, Matt. xvi. 13-xviii. 9; Mark viii. 27-ix. 50; Luke ix. 18-50. Couplets of narratives also appear in all the Gospels as though bound together by firm historical connection in time. Such are the stilling of the sea, and the healing of the Gadarene demoniacs (Matt. viii. 18-34, and parallel passages); the healing of the woman with a bloody issue, and the raising of the daughter of Jairus (Matt. ix. 18-26). A marked agreement as to the events immediately preceding the death of Jesus (compare Matt. xxi.-xxv.; Mark xi.-xiii.; Luke xix. 29-xxi. 38) shows how clear and firm in all respects is the history of this important epoch; scarcely less impressive is the essential agreement as to the passion of our Lord. The agreement and discrepancies in details of the narratives of the resurrection are such as are psychologically explicable only on the basis of the belief

¹ Compare Tholuck, *Glaubwürdigkeit*, pp. 86-113.

that Jesus really rose from the dead, and do not leave without sufficient historic support this culminating Christian doctrine. Nor, in the lack of our information as to precisely how the different authors obtained and used their material, can we fairly throw doubt (for this cause alone) upon those narratives which are given by only one or two of the Synoptists. Material peculiar to one author is found least of all in Mark, who has of such material only the two miracles of healing (vii. 32-37 and viii. 22-26), and the sketch of a parable given iv. 26-29. In this connection, the long account which Luke gives of the last journey to Jerusalem (ix. 51-xviii. 14) must be noticed as especially remarkable.

All the complex phenomena of variation and coincidence do not prevent us from maintaining fearlessly the position, that Matthew, Mark, and Luke furnish a substantially accurate, and, for the purpose of founding the Christian truth in history, a sufficiently complete, narrative of the life of Jesus Christ upon the earth. We cannot maintain this position, however, without conceding the three following points: (1) The nature of the history is such, that narratives of miracles may be treated as having only such claim to credibility as belongs to the narratives in general. (2) The accurate chronological arrangement of the separate events in the life of our Lord is impossible, and was not known by the writers of the Gospels themselves. (3) The different narratives are written from different points of view, and with different authorial peculiarities of subject-matter and style; and they cannot be freed from the charge of discrepancies in details. To withhold these concessions is almost as damaging to a secure critical estimate of the history as to withhold our consent from the main position of the general credibility of this history.

Although we cannot claim the same kind and degree of evidence for the historical character of the narratives of the childhood of Jesus, we are by no means bound to deny them such a character altogether. The considerations which seem most to oppose the trustworthiness of the two accounts are, first, the difficulty of reconciling Matt. ii. with Luke ii. 39 (which seems to demand the immediate return of the family to Nazareth); and, secondly, the ease with which such traditions of the early years of Jesus might have arisen as myths upon the basis of passages from the Old Testament. Among such Old-Testament passages are Num. xxiv. 17; Hos. xi. 1; Jer. xxxi. 15; Isa. xi.

1 (ἡγί = Ναζωπαῖος). But, in reference to this point, Zöckler justly remarks, that only the passage from Numbers can be shown to have been esteemed Messianic in character previous to the coming of Christ, and that the reference of Matthew to the other passages must be attributed to his understanding of historical facts, rather than held to account for a manufacture of alleged facts to suit an assumed meaning. Moreover, a comparison of the narrative of Matthew with the apocryphal myths of the birth and childhood of Jesus makes an impression exceedingly favorable to the authenticity of this portion of the Gospel. In reference to the above-mentioned chronological difficulty, we may interpolate a brief visit to Egypt immediately following the circumcision (Luke ii. 21), and preceding the ceremonial presentation of ii. 27. It may also be claimed positively, that the circumstantiality of some of these narratives is not compatible with their mythical origin. We conclude, then, although with less critical assurance than belongs to the principal part of the ministry of our Lord, that the accounts of the childhood of Jesus are substantially true traditions.

It must be confessed, however, that the substantial harmonizing of the Synoptic accounts, and the construction from them of a veritable history of Jesus Christ, would be comparatively free from critical and historical difficulties, if only the Gospel of John might be left out of the account. This, however, we have neither power nor inclination to do; especially so long as we hold the view that the beloved disciple was the author of this writing. The question of the historical character of our sources for the life of Jesus is, then, very closely connected with the question of the genuineness and authenticity of the Fourth Gospel. This latter question will be briefly considered in other connections. At present we can only acknowledge the great difficulties which emerge in the effort to establish critically the full historic trustworthiness both of John and of the Synoptic Gospels; while, at the same time, we affirm that these difficulties may be better explained on the theory of the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel than in any other way. We cannot doubt that the last of the Evangelists gives the life of Jesus from a different point of view from the other three: we may even say, — in the very intent to affirm its highest truthfulness, — that his Gospel is more ideal and less historical, in the narrower sense, than the other three. The simple, popular, and sketchy histories of the deeds and shorter discourses

of Jesus, stand in plain contrast with the mystically deep, reflective, and semi-philosophic presentation of the person of Christ. The contrast has always attracted attention. But modern criticism has much modified and enlarged our conception of this contrast; it has also exaggerated it into a seeming incompatibility with the Johannean authorship of John. It has furthermore increased the critical difficulties by exploring and setting in array the objective arguments and testimonies. The critical difficulties are indeed many, and some of them seem for the time insuperable. And yet for any critical theory these difficulties exist and persist: they are much increased, rather than at all diminished, by denying either the historical character of the Synoptic Gospels or the genuineness of John. For him who has no invincible prejudice against the supernatural in history, or the Church view of the person of Christ, it appears both more tenable on critical grounds, and incomparably more grateful to the Christian consciousness, to accept the favorable conclusions of writers like Meyer, Luthardt, Benschlag, Zöckler, Weiss, and Godet.

As to the possibility of constructing a history of Christ's life *upon the basis of all four Gospels*, we must remember, that the difficulties involved are not so much due to any direct discrepancies of fact between John and the Synoptists, as to the more significant discrepancy in point of view, and in the employment of sources. No other so good account of this most significant discrepancy can be given as that which considers the Synoptic Gospels to be complex growths from oral tradition and written sources, but the Fourth Gospel to be the direct product of reflective insight from an eye-and-ear witness. As to its material, there are only four particulars of the public ministry of Jesus in Galilee given by the Gospel of John; viz., the miracle at Cana (ii. 1-11), the healing at Capernaum (iv. 46-54), the feeding of the five thousand, and the walking on the sea, with the subsequent discourses (vi. 1-77). Of these, the last two, though without the discourses, are given in the Synoptists; and possibly, though not probably, the second also.¹ In this common material the amount of discrepancy is not surprising. The most marked difference is in the discourses of Jesus. The fact that one entire class of miracles — viz., the healing of demoniacs — conspicuous in the Synoptic Gospels is wanting in John, and

¹ That John iv. 47-54 is parallel with Matt. viii. 5 f. and Luke vii. 2 f., was held by Irenaeus.

the absence from the Synoptists of all mention of the raising of Lazarus, are indeed surprising. Of the few cases in which we seem compelled to make a definite choice, and assign superior weight to the testimony either of the Synoptists or of John, the two following may be mentioned. (1) The activity of Jesus was not confined to Galilee previous to the last passover; but he repeatedly visited Jerusalem at the feasts, although the silence of the Synoptists, and the fact that they leave no space for these visits, seem to show their ignorance of such visits. Aside from the probabilities of the case, certain incidental proofs of John's conception of the history of Christ seem to be embodied in the traditions of the other Gospels.¹ Such are the utterances of Christ regarding Jerusalem (Matt. xxiii. 37; Luke xiii. 34); the fact that Joseph of Arimathea is mentioned as a disciple of Jesus (Matt. xxvii. 57 f. and parallel places); and the fact that Luke x. 38 f. shows our Lord in close personal relations with Mary and Martha. (2) If we admit a real discrepancy between John and the Synoptists with respect to the nature of the Last Supper, and the date of Jesus' death, we have still a choice to make between the two. It is, indeed, very difficult to see how the Apostle John could be mistaken in such a matter; and some modern critics, as Bleek,² have attempted to establish his statement as against that of the Synoptists. But in the view of Mangold,³ the editor of the last edition of Bleek, and in the view of many critics, the arguments of Keim⁴ in favor of the statement of the Synoptists are conclusive. We can only pronounce it one of the unsolved questions of Gospel harmony. And the prime question of the controversy is still unanswered, — whether there is on this point a real discrepancy between John and the Synoptists.

We omit all consideration of the historical character of the Book of Acts, because such consideration is not needed to illustrate the principles with which we are dealing. The following summary of conclusions involves our answer to the main question: Are the alleged histories of Sacred Scripture really historical?

We have in the Bible alleged historical accounts which cover most wonderful and interesting events from the creation of man to the complete founding of the Christian Church under the preaching of the apostles. These accounts, if their substantial

¹ See Bleek, *Einl. in das N. T.*, p. 205.

² *Ibid.*, note, p. 215.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 209 f.

⁴ *Geschichte Jesu*, III. p. 469 f.

trustworthiness can be proved, form a tolerably complete survey of the progress of God's kingdom upon earth, so far as this kingdom has its seat in the religions of Judaism and Christianity. The credibility of the historical contents of the Bible is, then, of the greatest concern, not only to the general doctrine of Sacred Scripture, but also to all the doctrines of our Christian faith. Yet this credibility must be tested by all the severest scrutiny of historical criticism; and it can, from the nature of the case, admit only of such probable evidence as shall make conclusive the substantial accuracy of the narratives examined. Uncertainty, discrepancy as to details, admixture of error, belong to all records, — belong, it would seem, of necessity even to the records of the development of the kingdom of God.

We have in the Bible the alleged history of a course of divine self-revelation; and therefore the facts of this history are largely to be attributed to supernatural origin. The material of the history is of a peculiar kind: it is such, that, if it be material of truth, it imparts a sanctity to its own substantially true record. But, while certain elements of the history have their roots in the supernatural, we have no proof that the knowledge of this material — as bare facts of history — was ever supernaturally given to those who record it. The alleged facts of history which the biblical writers record became known to them, as facts, in the ordinary and natural way: they learned them, that is, from tradition and written documents whenever a more direct witness could not be secured. That the above statement is true of all the earliest portions of the general history, our examination has clearly shown. And yet the spirit of ethical and religious revelation, which wrought in Israel and in Christianity, largely controlled even the most ancient and uncertain traditions. It did not add wholly new truth to these traditions; but it did much to purify them from error, both as to fact and as to inference.

The large office of tradition in laying the foundations of certain sections of biblical history cannot, therefore, be overlooked. The history of the Bible goes back into those misty regions from which we see all human history emerge. And, if we complain that such traditions are incomplete and unsatisfying, the answer must be: They are all we have, and God has used them to begin the record of his dealings with men. He has used them, however, in such sort, that, while the religious truth is imparted through them, the traditions are in every case left to stand for

what they are proved to be worth. Even the historic truths of the Gospel come to us largely with tradition as their source. But the case of the traditions of the New Testament is far different from that of the traditions of Genesis, or of Balaam, Samson, Esther, and Daniel. The former were largely shaped by inspired eye-and-ear witnesses, were developed in the full light of competent inspection, were speedily recorded, and are corroborated by their internal probability, by the Christian consciousness, and by the existence of the Christian Church. Thus do we have a firm historic foundation laid as a centre of faith in precisely the position where the stronghold of doctrine and of life must be built. On the other hand, it by no means follows that the doctrines of the creation and the fall of man, of the right relations between man and woman, of an early divine promise of redemption to the race, pass away because we are in doubt as to the origin, nature, and critical value of those early traditions. But these doctrines have not laid their foundations in actual and demonstrable history in the same manner as the doctrine of the person and work of Christ.

With the exceptions already mentioned, and other similar ones which do not change the main conclusion, we may affirm with confidence the genuine historical character of the historical contents of the Bible. And how much this affirmation means, only he who is both a Christian and a student of ancient history can appreciate. He who best knows how little — absolutely nothing — outside of the Bible there is to take its place, as furnishing a substantially true account of the central religious development of mankind, will most abundantly praise the divine goodness for what the Bible affords. Let us consider that the biblical history is indispensable to all the blessings which we have from revelation in the highest form of Christianity itself. We may well dispense with small cavillings over the entrance of uncertain traditions into some portions of Sacred Scripture, when we duly appreciate the fact that even these traditions have brought to us the germs and first-fruits of precious moral and religious truth. And that those who, with keen insight into this truth, so gathered and disposed and recorded these traditions, and all the other portions of the sacred history, had with them the Spirit of the Eternal Guide of human destiny, it would be not simply undevout, but unfair and churlish, to deny.

The second of the two inquiries, the answer to which must

determine our view of the nature of biblical history, is this: What degree of accuracy, or. kind of alleged infallibility, belongs to the genuinely historic portions of the Bible? Two sources for a reply are opened by the two forms of historical criticism,— the external and the internal. In both forms probability is frequently our safest and only guide to a choice between conflicting testimonies. We may compare the records of the Bible with profane records, or we may compare one account of the Bible with another. The former method of comparison is most available with certain portions of the Old Testament, where much new light is now shining from archæological discoveries, and where the internal discrepancies are relatively fewer; the latter in the case of the New Testament, where little opportunity exists for comparison with extra-biblical histories, and where the discrepancies are both more striking and more important.

Recent discoveries have given the means of illustrating the historical accuracy of even so ancient traditions as those of the life of Abraham. Of Gen. xiv., Ewald declares that it is the "oldest extant record respecting the patriarch," in which "we see him in the clear light of history."¹ The narrative has, indeed, such marks of high antiquity and trustworthiness that it may be thought of as derived from some document contemporaneously written, which looked upon Abraham, the Israelitish hero, from a Canaanitish point of view.² It is confirmed by extra-biblical sources, which, although they furnish no account of a corresponding event, show clearly that about this time Elam may very likely have been extending its campaigns over the West; and which also give us both parts of the name Chedor-laomer (Kudur, name of several Elamite kings; and Laomer, a divinity) as historical and not mythical words. Of internal objections to its trustworthiness there are none of account; since it is nowhere implied that Abraham met the main body of the allied forces, and defeated them in open battle, and since his entire conduct on this occasion accords with his character. To regard the narrative as a mythical attempt to glorify Abraham as a warrior (Nöldeke), or as a generous hero under divine protection, is wholly arbitrary. The attempt of Oort to reduce it to an untrustworthy legend

¹ "A fragment torn from a more general history of Western Asia;" see *History of Israel*, I. p. 308.

² Compare Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, *in loco*.

by pointing out the symbolic nature of the names of the hostile kings is without warrant.¹ The separate incidents and the historical setting of the narrative of Gen. xii. 10-20 (if we except the calculated age of Sarah) appear true to history, and betray an accurate knowledge of Egyptian affairs. The reason for this journey of Abraham (a famine) is surely historical enough.² The name Pharaoh is correctly used in the Old Testament as the generic title for the monarch of Egypt. It is not derived, as Rosellini and Lepsius supposed, from the sun-god Râ (P-Ra, or Pha-Ra), but is read in the hieroglyphics as Per-aa, and signifies "Great-house;" coming, after the analogy of the title "the Sublime Porte," to mean in the demotic language, "the king." The zeal of the princes to bring a beautiful woman to the notice of their master is "genuinely Egyptian;" and of the same zeal an illustration is still preserved in that papyrus of Orbiney to which Ebers refers.³ The attributing of great theoretic reverence for marriage to the Egyptians, despite their practical corruptions, is also true to the fact. A better knowledge of the monuments has finally done away with the objections which Von Bohlen⁴ made to the historical trustworthiness of the narrative from the nature of the gifts bestowed upon Abraham (Gen. xii. 16). That horses do not appear in this description, is a point in favor of the narrative; for these animals, so plentiful in later times, are not found on the monuments preceding the Hyksos period:⁵ whereas, as early as the twelfth dynasty, sheep⁶ are found there, as many as 3,208 being assigned to one owner; whole droves of asses are also represented on the monuments. And although, on account of some canon of art which is as little known as that which excluded the representation of hens and pigeons,⁷ no camels appear, the bones of the dromedary have been found at great depth in the Nile-mud.

The story of Joseph, which Mohammed is reported to have

¹ Tidal is not "king of the heathens," as Oort says, but king of the land Goyim. The rabbinical witticism which Tuch and many other scholars have adopted to explain the names Bera and Birsha is not applicable, since the other two names are plainly historical. (So Dillmann; and compare Oort, *Bible for Learners*, I. p. 118.)

² Compare Gen. xlii. 1 f.; and Josephus, *Ant.*, XV. 9, 2.

³ *Aegypten*, etc., p. 262 f.

⁴ *Einl. zur Gen.*, p. 163.

⁵ Ebers, *Ibid.*, pp. 221 f. and 263 f.

⁶ It would seem that Von Bohlen might have recalled the allusion to sheep in Egypt made by Herodotus, II. 42.

⁷ See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, III. p. 35.

called "the most comely of all histories," bears many marks, both obvious and comparatively obscure, of its minute historical accuracy. The position of Dothan¹ in the very track of the caravans from Damascus to Egypt; the load of spices, which the elaborate private life and embalming of the Egyptians made it so indispensable for them to import, and which consisted in this case of resinous tragacanth from Lebanon, and perhaps from Persia and Armenia, of balsam from the balsamodendron of Gilead, of ladanum from the cistus-rose which grew in Syria, Arabia, and Cyprus (see Gen. xxxvii. 25); the traffic in slaves, whose figures, male and female, of light and dark skins, appear upon the monuments of every period, — all these points of the preliminary history are true to the ancient life. Of Joseph in Egypt, Ebers² declares that the narrative contains "nothing which does not accurately correspond to a court of Pharaoh in the best times of the kingdom." The name of Potiphar, according to the same authority (Peti-pa-ra, or "devoted to Râ," the sun-god), was the more likely to occur in a high court officer of this time, because the reigning monarch stood in special relations to that divinity. That the "captain of the body-guard" should be a eunuch, and married, offers no insuperable difficulty; because, even if we do not understand the word כַּסֵּפֶה as the customary title for a court officer,³ we know that the marriage of real eunuchs was by no means rare, and have no reason to doubt that such persons belonged to the Egyptian court of this period. The position of Joseph as *major-domo* in the house of Potiphar admits of ample illustration: men clothed with similar responsibilities are to be seen in every genuine picture of Egyptian life. Rosellini and Wilkinson have showed us that many *storehouses* belonged to the domicile of an Egyptian of rank and wealth. The exception made in the case of Potiphar's own food (Gen. xxxix. 6, and compare xliii. 32) is true to the ancient custom. The objections made by Von Bohlen and Tuch to the representation of Genesis, which allows such free daily access of Joseph to the house and wife of Potiphar, are ill taken. Mixed company, even at feasts, was according to Egyptian custom, and the intercourse of the sexes was relatively free in Egypt.⁴ Not only eunuchs, but also normal males, appear in company with the females; man

¹ Compare Judith, vii. 3; and see Robinson, Bib. Researches, III. p. 122.

² Ibid., p. 295; compare p. 311.

³ So Ebers, Ibid., 297.

⁴ See Ebers, Ibid., p. 306 f.; and compare the exaggerated testimonies of Herodotus, II. 35, and Diodorus, I. 27.

and woman are represented reclining, with the arm of either about the other, upon the banks of the Nile. A papyrus belonging to the British Museum, and translated by Brugsch, contains a story written for a prince of Rameses the Great, by an author named Anana, which gives the details of a temptation almost exactly similar in form and result to that to which Joseph is represented as exposed (Gen. xxxix. 7-23). The title of "cup-bearer" has not as yet been met with, but of the use of bread and wine there are plentiful signs. "Innumerable monuments" unite with the biblical narrative to show the mistake of those who were ready to rely upon the declaration of Herodotus¹ to contradict this narrative. Even the work of the imagination in the dreams of Gen. xl. and xli. is true to the details of ancient life in Egypt. The kine on the brink (or "*lip*" of the river, according to the Egyptian figure of speech) of the Nile; the word "stream" (ꜥꜥ) for this river; the marsh-grass with its Egyptian title (ꜥꜥꜥ); the number seven, which is sacred also in that country; the wind, which Tuch made to be from the east, and so found inaccurately described, but which regarded as from the south-east actually has the effect of withering vegetation, — all these are genuinely historic touches in this narrative. Even the answer to the dream, which is regarded as coming from the God in heaven who knows all secrets, is as truly in accord with Egyptian as with Hebrew ideas. Indeed, we find it hard to imagine what more could be required of this tradition to vindicate its claim to historic accuracy; since it seems, as Ebers declares, absolutely correspondent, even in details, with the ancient relations of Egypt.

Only slight and indirect confirmation of the biblical narratives of Israel in Egypt, and of their exodus from that country, can be derived from external sources. The relation of the narratives of Abraham and Joseph to the period of the Hyksos dynasties cannot be determined with certainty. According to Ebers,² the visit of Abraham is to be regarded as one of those early advances of Asiatic peoples from the north-east into Egypt, the traces of which are seen in the pictures at Beni-hasan; it fell in the time of the twelfth dynasty. The Hyksos, who invade the country in the next generation, are significantly recognized as the children of Abraham through Ishmael; viz., the Arabians. It was this invasion, according to Ebers,³ which

¹ II. 77; Οὐ γὰρ σφί εἰσι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἀμετανοῦν. ² Aegypten, p. 256 f. ³ See Ibid., p. 222 f.

brought about the rule in Egypt of those mixed Phœnician and Arabian tribes that had long been settled in the northern part of the Delta, and to the east of its boundaries. The entrance of the Israelites into Egypt was in the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, and the rule of the Hyksos lies entirely between the visits of Abraham and Joseph; for Ebers agrees with Lepsius in supposing that the court of Pharaoh in the time of the latter was purely Egyptian. It is the opinion, however, of Brugsch and of most other Egyptologists and commentators, that the very peculiarities of Joseph's position in Egypt, as well as the silence in its records concerning his deeds, can be explained only by supposing this dynasty to have been of Hyksos origin.¹ Only by this supposition can the raising of a Semitic shepherd to a post of such dignity be satisfactorily explained.² As to the time, route, and manner of the Exodus, we have as yet only unending debate. Its time is, perhaps, best located under Menephtah, the successor of Rameses the Great, and about 1322 B.C. That the remnants of an ancient Egyptian tradition of the biblical Exodus—a popular Egyptian version of the affair—have come down to us in the fragment of Manetho, has been held by Egyptologists like Bunsen, Lepsius, and Ebers; but Köhler and Diestel have denied this, and J. G. Müller³ has urged strong grounds against its truth. Investigation has not yet succeeded in pointing out the person of Moses upon the monuments. Of the place of the passage of the Red Sea, we can scarcely say more than that views like those of Brugsch are in complete contradiction to the only source of information which we possess; viz., the Hebrew tradition (compare Exod. xiii. 17 f.).

From the Exodus to David we have few external means of testing the accuracy of Old-Testament history: in the reigns of that monarch and his successor, a few comparisons with the records of contemporaneous history may be made. The occasion, progress, and duration of David's war with Hadadezer and his allies (see 2 Sam. viii. 3–8, x. 6 f.; 1 Chron. xviii. 3 f., xix.) are obscure, and Zobah can be identified with no known locality. The cause of the war did not lie in David's ambition to control the routes of travel from the Euphrates to Tyre,⁴ but in the

¹ See article *Josef*, by Orelli, in Herzog and Plitt.

² Compare Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, p. 418.

³ See his *Flavius Josephus Schrift geg. den Apion*, p. 214 f.

⁴ So Oort, who invariably thinks the worst possible of the favorite characters of ancient Israel: see *Bible for Learners*, II. p. 20.

readiness of the king of Zobah to ally himself with the Ammonites against Israel. The fact of repeated battles and several campaigns, which is to be only inferred from the biblical narratives, is confirmed by the narrative of Nicolaus of Damascus;¹ although he has confused the Hadad who ruled over all Syria with this Hadadezer.² David's victory would naturally lead to his treaty with Tyre, — a state the rise of which is correctly placed by the biblical narrative subsequent to Sidon,³ and which could not retain its commerce without having the routes of trade through Syria in friendly hands. The name Hiram (1 Kings v., vii. 13 f. 40, חִירָם), like that of most Oriental monarchs of antiquity, was originally dependent upon the mythology of the country. According to the Phœnician sources used by Dios and Menander, this monarch was the son of Abibaal, and reigned thirty-four years (1023–990, Winer and most others, 1033–999, Ewald; 980–947, Movers). These authorities confirm the biblical narrative of the friendship of Hiram and Solomon, but do not mention his connection with David. The particulars which they add to the story of this intercourse show an independent origin in Phœnician sources, but the stories of Eupolemus and Theophilus add no independent confirmation to the Old Testament.⁴ Many incidental illustrations may be drawn from ancient history to show the accuracy of that picture which the Old Testament gives of the reign of Solomon, the monarch magnificent of ancient Israel.⁵ Even the edifices of his reign resemble, in structure and arrangement, the palaces of Susa and Persepolis, with their chambers whose roofs were supported upon a forest of cedar pillars.⁶ Both Dios and Menander, according to the report of Josephus, spoke with praises of the buildings of Hiram, and represented him as cutting timber from Mount Lebanon for the cedar beams of his temples.

The early history of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel offers only two or three points of contact with profane history. The flight into Egypt of Jeroboam, a rebellious subject of Solomon

¹ See Josephus, *Ant.*, VII. 5, 2.

² A confusion which was the more easy because "Hadad" — the name of a Syrian idol — was much used in proper names. See Ewald, *History of Israel*, III. p. 150.

³ See Gen. x. 15, xlix. 13; Josh. xi. 8, xix. 28; Judg. xviii. 7, 28; 2 Sam. xxiv. 6; and mark how the newer city of Tyre comes forward into prominence over the more ancient city of Sidon: compare Kendrick, *Phœnicia*, p. 340 f.

⁴ See Eusebius, *Præp. Evangl.*, IX. 31–34.

⁵ See examples in the *Historical Illustrations* of George Rawlinson.

⁶ See Fergusson, *Palaces of Nineveh restored*, 225 f.

(1 Kings xi. 26 f.), and his stay with Shishak, — the Sesonchis of Manetho, or the Sheshonk of the monuments, who founded the twenty-second dynasty, — agree fairly well with the comparative chronology of this period. They, perhaps, account for the change of the relations of Egypt and Solomon which seems to have taken place between the twenty-first and twenty-second Egyptian dynasties. The conjecture of Ewald,¹ that the invasion of Palestine by Shishak (1 Kings xiv. 25; 2 Chron. xii. 2 f.) was occasioned through his protection of Jeroboam against Rehoboam, cannot be defended by the records until the list of the conquered cities which is given in the inscription of Karnak is better understood.² For the fact which Maspero³ announced, — viz., this list contains cities of *Israel* as well as of Judah, — can scarcely be explained by the assumption that these cities of Israel were only such Levitical and Canaanitish cities as refused submission to Jeroboam, and so were conquered by Shishak in order to be turned over to his ally.⁴ The inscription of Karnak confirms the fact of an invasion, although we are left in doubt how the details shall be made to comport with the relations described by the Bible as existing between Israel and Egypt. The Zerah the Ethiopian, who came up against Asa with a host of a million men (2 Chron. xiv. 9 f.), has been identified as one of the Osorchôn of the monuments, probably the second of the twenty-second dynasty. We do not know, however, how this monarch can be called an Ethiopian; since we have no indication of so marked an event as the possession of the throne of Egypt by a Cushite sovereign. But Brugsch, followed by Lenormant⁵ and others, would make the Zerah of the Bible to have been that Azerch-Amen whose name is read on several Ethiopian monuments; yet the size and composition of his army seem rather Egyptian than Ethiopian. We can scarcely claim, then, that the earlier history of the divided kingdoms of Judah and Israel receives any especial confirmation of its accuracy from external sources.

From the beginning of the reign of Shalmaneser (II. or IV.?), which is placed by Lenormant between 905 and 865 B.C., the monuments of Assyria are repeatedly connected with the bibli-

¹ History of Israel, IV. p. 45 f.

² Compare Kautzsch, art. Jeroboam I., Herzog and Plitt.

³ Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient, p. 340, note.

⁴ So George Rawlinson, Hist. Illustrations, p. 109; compare art. Shishak, Stuart Poole, Smith's Bib. Dic.

⁵ Lenormant, Ancient History of the East, I. pp. 153 and 274.

cal history. The annals of this monarch, especially those on the obelisk of black basalt now in the British Museum, acquaint us with Benhadad, whose large dominion, forces, and energy made him the dreaded enemy of Ahab (compare 1 Kings xx. and xxii. 1-36), under the name Benhidri of Damascus. Over him and his allies the Assyrian monarch records a victory gained in his sixth campaign. A *stélé* discovered near the sources of the Tigris mentions among the forces confederate against Assyria in this battle at Karkar ten thousand men of "Ahab of Israel."¹ In his tenth, eleventh, and fourteenth campaigns also, mention is made of defeats of Benhidri and his allies. But in two subsequent campaigns Hazael of Damascus appears. It was at the end of the twenty-first campaign that Jehu appealed to Shalmaneser for help against Hazael, who had ravaged his territory. Jehu appears, under the title "son of Omri,"² upon the obelisk among those who paid tribute, while a bas-relief also represents him as prostrating himself before the Assyrian monarch. This celebrated name of Omri appears also upon the *stélé* of Mesha the king of Moab, — a block of basalt brought to the attention of Professor Petermann in 1868 by the missionary Mr. Klein, and known as the "Moabite Stone,"³ — who had raised it as a "*bamah* of deliverance for Chemosh," his god, since he had succeeded in throwing off the yoke placed upon the Moabites by Omri and his son (compare 2 Kings i. 1, iii. 4, 5).

Of Phul, surnamed "Balazu the terrible," and called Belesis by the Greeks, no inscription has yet been discovered, and no mention by classic historians after his capture of Nineveh. He appears (2 Kings xv. 19) as forcing Menahem to pay him a large tribute; but the added statement of 1 Chron. v. 26, that he deported the people, is probably erroneous, since this practice first appears in a subsequent reign, and belongs to the monarchs of the second empire.⁴ George Smith discovered in the monuments of the reign of Tiglath-pileser (Tuglat-pal-ashar) no less than five names of Hebrew kings.⁵ Two years after his accession, this monarch celebrated his defeat of Rezin king of Damascus, and Pekah king of Israel, the latter of whom he

¹ So Oppert and Lenormant; while Sir H. Rawlinson reads "Ahab of Jezreel:" compare 1 Kings xviii. 46, xx. 34 f., xxi. 1 f., xxii. 1 f.

² So called on account of the renown of the founder of this house: compare 1 Kings xvi. 24.

³ See the account of Dr. Ginsburg, Essay on the Moabite Stone.

⁴ Compare Lenormant, *Ibid.*, I. p. 390.

⁵ Assyrian Discoveries, p. 253 f.

dethroned, and filled his place with Menahem II.¹ It is probable that Pekah, taking advantage of the war of Tiglath-pileser with the Armenians, regained his throne, allied himself with Rezin, and threw off the allegiance of Israel to Assyria. Ahaz, threatened by the two, sent for help (see 2 Kings xvi. 5 f.). According to the monuments, the campaign began with the destruction of the kingdom of Damascus and the killing of Rezin. The seventh Assyrian fragment in the arrangement of George Smith represents the terror before the advance of the Assyrian army, and mentions Ahaz by name; while in the list of vassal kings who did homage to the Assyrian monarch at his high court at Damascus, the names of both Pekah and Ahaz appear (compare 2 Kings xvi. 10-16). Now for the first time we come upon the custom of deporting the people, afterwards so frequently mentioned on the monuments: "The tribe and the goods of the people and the furniture of the land of Beth Omri" are sent to Assyria. The annals of this monarch also represent him as receiving tribute from that Hoshea who was the assassin and successor of Pekah. Of the events of 2 Kings xvii. 3-5, the monuments furnish no account; since no remains of this Shalmaneser, except some bronze weights in the British Museum, have yet been discovered.²

Of that Sargon who was once identified with Shalmaneser by scholars like Eichhorn, Hupfeld, and Niebuhr, and with Sennacherib by Grotius and Keil, the inscriptions found in the palace of Khorsabad by M. Botta now make us, says Lenormant, even better acquainted than with more than one of the Roman emperors. Sharyakin was the *Tartan*, or general-in-chief, of Shalmaneser, and on his master's death seized upon the throne. The several points of his connection with the biblical narrative are mentioned on his monuments. "I besieged, took, and occupied the city of Samaria, and carried into captivity 27,280 of its inhabitants," declares the longest of these Khorsabad inscriptions (compare 2 Kings xvii. 3, 5, and xviii. 9 f.). It is not strange that the biblical narrative is confused as to the real captor of Samaria. We find Isa. xx. 1 f. confirmed by a detailed account of how "the king of Ashdod obstinately refused to pay his tribute," and accordingly was treated in the custom-

¹ In this way do Oppert and Lenormant explain the seeming discrepancy between the mention of Pekah's name (2 Kings xv. 29) and the fact that the inscriptions represent *Menahem* as tributary to Assyria.

² So Lenormant, *Ibid.*, I. p. 391 f.

ary fashion, with "his gods, his wife, his sons, his daughters, and his treasures, all the contents of his palace, and the inhabitants of his land." George Smith calls attention to the fact that the account given by the inscriptions of Sargon concerning the turning of the fountains and water-courses to protect Ashdod, reminds us of the preparations ascribed to Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 3 f.).

The annals of Sennacherib ("Sin," the moon-god) — consisting of 480 lines on six faces of a cylinder of baked earth now in the British Museum — supply us with an account of the Assyrian connections with the reign of Hezekiah. The disasters of 2 Kings xix. 35 f. and 2 Chron. xxxii. 21 f. are omitted as a matter of course and according to Assyrian custom. These annals represent this monarch as capturing "forty-six walled towns and an infinite number of villages," as carrying away 200,150 persons and immense booty, and as shutting up Hezekiah in "Jerusalem, the city of his power, like a bird in a cage."¹ The tribute into which the king of Judah was terrified is also mentioned, the number of the talents of gold corresponding with that in 2 Kings xviii. 13 f., but the talents of silver being increased from three hundred to eight hundred. Besides this discrepancy, others occur between the Old Testament and the inscriptions. According to the latter, which make Sargon capture Samaria in the first campaign of the fifteen whose annals are given, and Sennacherib besiege Hezekiah in his third campaign, there must have been at least eighteen years between the two events, but 2 Kings xviii. 9 f. 13 allows only eight. The detailed account of the monuments is almost without doubt correct. Nor does the impression of the writer of 2 Chron. xxxii. 21 seem to have been accurate, for the assassination of Sennacherib did not occur until after a prosperous reign of twenty-three years.

Esrhaddon, the events of whose reign up to 672 B.C. are given upon another cylinder of baked clay, is rightly called (2 Kings xix. 37) the son and successor of the great Sennacherib, of this fact, indeed, he is fond of boasting.² At the close of his campaign against Tyre, — "my expedition against Bahal, king of Tyre, who to Tirhakah, king of Cush, his coun-

¹ Compare Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, II. p. 160 f.; Lenormant, *Ibid.*, I. p. 400; and see 2 Chron. xxxii. 21; Isa. xxii. 1-14, xxiv., xxix. 1-8.

² Abydenus mistakenly interpolates the reign of one Nergilus between the two, but the name Nergal is mythical.

try intrusted,"¹ — he attacked the kingdom of Judah; and, Manasseh attempting to resist, he conquered him, made him prisoner, and sent him to *Babylon* (see 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11). That Esarhaddon would, unlike preceding Assyrian monarchs, convey his captives to Babylon instead of Assyria, appears from many facts of his history. His inscriptions register Manasseh as a vassal king paying tribute after having been restored to his throne. From the time that he gained possession of Egypt we find him styled "king of Egypt and Ethiopia" (compare 2 Kings xix. 9 f.).

We have no monumental records which may serve to test the biblical representations of Nebuchadnezzar and his reign, so far as it related to the Jews, and must therefore resort to the estimate of probabilities and to the derived accounts of later historians; among whom Berosus and the Greek writers Philostratus and Megasthenes are cited by Josephus² for certain main events touching the Jewish captivity. Inscriptions of this monarch, however, celebrate his marvellous reconstruction and enlargement of Babylon, and thus directly confirm the narrative of Herodotus, and indirectly throw light upon various passages of the Old Testament. The historical criticism of the Bible becomes at this point so closely connected with inquiries into the authenticity of the later books, and especially of Daniel and Esther, that the entire discussion assumes a different shape.

The foregoing illustrations may serve to confirm the position already taken, that modern historic researches and discoveries tend to establish the substantial accuracy of the historical books of the Old Testament. We are thus brought to the point of view from which we can look with calmness upon such discrepancies as belong to all historical writings, especially to those of a remote antiquity and not composed in our modern critical fashion. We can thus also stand firmly upon our rebuke and rejection of the extreme resort to subjective considerations for the reconstruction of ancient history. "If by accurate knowledge of the East in the most recent time," says Tholuck,³ "many narratives of Herodotus, Nearchus, Megasthenes, and Arrian, which at the first appearance seemed fabulous, have justified themselves as facts, is there not in this fact for the historian

¹ See George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 312.

² Con. Ap., I. 19 f.; and see the comment of J. G. Müller.

³ *Glaubwürdigkeit der evangl. Geschichte*, p. 444.

an earnest admonition to go to work very circumspectly with negative criticism from subjective considerations of probability?" In our still more recent time, with many added confirmations, there is additional emphasis to be laid upon a question like that above. Yet this proof must be allowed to stand only for what it is fairly worth, and used to prove only that for which it may fairly be considered as proof. That the admitted historical portions of the Old Testament have a commendable degree of substantial historical accuracy, is as far as the foregoing argument can lead us to affirm. Only indirectly does it confirm our confidence that these portions are true elements of Sacred Scripture. If the inscriptions of Assyria and Egypt, or the Moabite Stone, or the historians who drew their material from original Phœnician, Egyptian, or Assyrian sources, confirm the histories of the Old Testament, this, *of itself*, no more proves the Hebrew writings sacred than it proves sacred the stones, the cylinders of baked clay, and the painted walls. Nor can we find here alone a proof of the inspiration of the authors of the sacred biblical writings rather than of the profane tablets. It is only when we can show that the material of Hebrew history was of such special sort as to render a kind of sanctity to its record, or that the point of view from which these authors regarded and disposed this material had a special ethical and religious purity and loftiness, that we have established a real claim for these contents to the titles sacred and inspired. On the other hand, the comparisons of the biblical histories with contemporaneous extra-biblical records either throw into great doubt, or utterly disprove, all theories of the verbal and plenary inspiration of these histories. For, if the extra-biblical sources are capable of illustrating the historical accuracy of the Bible, they are deserving of fair treatment; and fair treatment will in certain instances, as we have already seen, accord to them, rather than to Scripture, the superior accuracy in details.

Furthermore, an internal criticism of the histories of the Bible shows that its claim to the title Sacred Scripture cannot be made to rest upon its historical infallibility. For such criticism discloses discrepancies in the histories. Such criticism should be the more convincing to those who will not admit that profane history can in any case be used to correct the sacred history. For illustration the New Testament rather than the Old should supply the material, since the very construction of the New Testament makes the discrepancies it contains both more im-

portant and more patent. Destructive criticism, when applied to the Gospels in its most thorough fashion, meets its own thorough refutation in their manifest and sufficient constructive evidence. But the Gospels contain also the complete refutation of the post-Reformation dogma of infallibility as applied to the historical contents of the Bible. To set forth in detail the discrepancies of these contents would be an invidious and unnecessary task. It will be more than enough for our present purpose to give a brief classified statement of some of them. The multiplication of instances has its value chiefly in inducing the conviction that the theory of Sacred Scripture which insists upon its infallibility in matters of history has utterly misconceived the nature of such Scripture. Our method of treating biblical discrepancies should conform to fair principles of criticism, — a rule which almost all apologetic critics continually violate through their unwillingness to admit the fact of discrepancies in the Gospel histories. Westcott, for example, after asserting that the two pictures of our Lord's infancy are in their details "exactly capable of harmonious adjustment,"¹ and that there is not "any discrepancy" in "the one divine testimony"² to Jesus at his baptism, and after idealizing various different accounts in order to get rid of their plain historic differences, is forced in the case of the resurrection to announce the truth which has thus far been kept in the background: "The existence of difficulties in brief records of such a crisis is no more than a natural consequence of its character."³ But he nevertheless assumes that these "*natural*" difficulties are not real discrepancies, and constantly shifts his argument against "the opponents of the literal accuracy of the Evangelists" between the ideal and the historic points of view.

In illustrating the minute verbal or other discrepancies of the Evangelists we might, for instance, inquire: Whether the *ἐσμυρτισμένος οἶνος* of Mark xv. 23 can be the same as the *ἄζος μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον* of Matt. xxvii. 34; or whether the four forms of the inscription over the cross can be verbally reconciled. We might examine the instructions given to the Twelve in their trial journey, — Matt. x. 9 f., *μηδὲ ὑποδήματα μηδὲ ῥάβδον*; Mark vi. 8 f., *εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον μόνον*; Luke ix. 3, *μήτε ῥάβδον*, without mention of sandals, as in the two former, — and conclude that the detail as to *two* tunics was impressed indelibly, while the

¹ Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, p. 314.

² Ibid., p. 315.

³ Ibid., p. 327.

command as to a staff was indefinite in their minds. So might we notice, that, in the accounts of Christ's teaching upon the Mosaic law of divorce, Matthew (xix. 1-9) makes the Pharisees introduce the appeal to Moses (λέγουσιν αὐτῷ), while Mark (x. 1-12) puts it into the mouth of our Lord (ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς). Of such minute discrepancies the origin may be not infrequently described with more or less of probability. Thus the two forms of the reply of Jesus to the ruler — τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ (Matt. xix. 17) and τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν (Mark x. 18 and Luke xviii. 19) — both take their rise from the question addressed to him, which may have been in some such form as to suggest both (Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθὲ τί ἀγαθόν, etc.); but of the forms given, one answers to the application of the term "good" to Christ's *person*, and the other to the *work* demanded for salvation. Both forms of the reply cannot, however, be correct; and that in which Mark and Luke agree is doubtless the original one.

The principle of repetition may be used to a certain extent, either to harmonize apparent discrepancies or to account for real ones. In the case of sententious and gnomic sentences (see Matt. v. 15; Mark iv. 21; Luke viii. 16; or Matt. xiii. 12, 25; Mark iv. 24; Luke viii. 18 and xix. 26), the observation of Euthymius Zigabenus may be deemed satisfactory: "It is likely that Christ spoke such things upon different occasions." We may with more doubt apply this principle to the words of Luke xii. 22 f., which must be held to be reported in erroneous chronological connection;¹ unless we say with Meyer that Jesus may have in this place "reminded his disciples of this piece of his Sermon on the Mount." Nor can the assumption of two "calls" be used to reconcile the differences in general features which characterize Luke v. 1-11, as compared with Matt. iv. 18-20, and Mark i. 16-20. For in this case the chronological discrepancy at least resists all attempts to force a harmony; since in Luke the sequence can be distinctly traced *backward* to the healing of the mother-in-law of Peter, while in Matthew and Mark it can just as distinctly be traced *forward* to the same act.²

¹ Notice how the *πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς* of verse 22 stands in contrast with the *εἰπὼν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς* of verse 15, and so establishes the intention of a chronological connection.

² In Luke the *ἐν τῷ . . . ἀκούειν* refers to the *οἱ ὄχλοι* of verse 42, and *ἐπαύσατο* of verse 44; the *γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας* of 42 to the *ἀνέγοντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου* of 40; and this to the section just preceding. In Mark the *ἀνέλαθεν ἐπίσω αὐτοῦ* of verse 20 is followed by

In still other cases it may be doubtful how far a seeming discrepancy is due to the fact that one Evangelist gives a more expanded account of some event than is given by another. Thus it is difficult to harmonize the account of Luke iv. 14-30 with Matt. iv. 12-25, the section in Luke appearing to be an expansion of Matt. xiii. 53-58 and Mark vi. 1-6. But Meyer would consider the account of Luke as an expansion of Matt. iv. 12 f., and the later record in Matt. xiii. 53 f. as the account of a second visit; while Ewald supposes that Luke has blended incidents of the two visits in one account. And here we must refrain both from accusing the Evangelist of chronological error, and also from entire satisfaction with either form of the proposed harmony. We certainly, however, cannot press this manner of arranging apparent conflicts of testimony so as to believe that there were two different discourses of Jesus to be known by the one title, "Sermon on the Mount." Yet these two accounts of the one discourse are so essentially two different, and in some respects discrepant, accounts, that no harmony is possible. We are thus, at the best, left in difficulties both critical and dogmatic.

Of the numerous discrepancies or inaccuracies in matters of fact, both minute and more important, some cases admit of a probable solution, but many others must be left to stand as discrepancies. To show how sometimes a partial explanation of an inaccuracy may be arrived at as the result of patient research, the instance of Luke ii. 1 f. may be given. The statements which involve the historical accuracy of the Evangelist in this place are chiefly the following (whether or not we retain the article which seems to have been rejected on rather inadequate grounds): that this enrolment is to be distinguished as the first of two, the second of which is narrated by Josephus (*Ant.*, XVIII. 1. 1), and referred to, Acts v. 37; and that this first enrolment took place when Quirinus was governor of Syria. But no such general enrolment, as is here asserted, is known to have taken place at this time; and Quirinus is only known to have been governor of Syria once, and that ten years later. Now, we can neither allow ourselves to be driven by the

the *εὐαγγελιστῶν* of 21; the *εὐαγγέλιον* of the same verse by the *εὐαγγέλιον* of 23; and this by the *εὐαγγέλιον ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ* of 29. Very similar to the case of the Sermon on the Mount is that of the two discrepant narratives of the cleansing of the temple (compare Matt. xxi. 12 f., and parallel passages, with John ii. 13 f.); although in the latter case the supposition of a repetition is not so rigidly excluded by the narrative.

difficulties into the resort of those (including Olshausen) who declare the entire sentence an interpolation; nor can we accept the theory of Strauss and Baur, who would show that the statement was introduced into the history by the Evangelist as the result of a *motive*. Nor, finally, can we accord the verdict of complete success to the most notable and elaborate of the efforts at harmony.¹ Even the conclusion of A. W. Zumpt (in his monograph "De Syria Romanorum," etc.) that Quirinus was twice governor of Syria, rests on slender and conjectural evidence, and cannot at any rate be accepted as a satisfactory explanation of the statement in Luke; since we know that either Saturninus or Varus was governor of Syria when Jesus was born. But it is equally impossible to suppose that the Evangelist is in error as to the entire event; since he has shown his knowledge of the later enrolment under this Roman ruler, and has distinguished the two. We may, then, if the view of Grotius, Neander, and others, that he here uses the title ἡγεμονεύοντος in the wider sense, be made inapplicable by the addition of τῆς Συρίας, still assume that an enrolment took place at this time under Quirinus as a commissioner extraordinary:² we thus reduce the error of Luke to the false impression that Quirinus was *at that time* governor of Syria. "Thus," says Meyer, "has Luke narrated what actually happened, in the erroneous form in which he received it from tradition." More completely successful, perhaps, may we consider the efforts which have been made to remove the alleged inaccuracy of Luke iii. 2. This passage, especially when compared with Acts iv. 6, leads us to think that the Evangelist supposed Annas at this time actually to have held the office of high-priest. We are informed, however, from the concurrent testimony of Matt. xxiv. 3, and Josephus (Ant., XVIII. 2, 2) that Caiaphas was then high-priest. And to the charge of error even Meyer steadfastly adheres. But if we consider that the name could cling to the man after the office had been discharged,³ and that the great dignity and authority of Annas are elsewhere plainly acknowledged in the fact that he could, either as the organ of the high-priest or as the president

¹ The conjecture that πρώτη ἡγεμονεύοντος may bear the sense of πρὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύειν, although it has been adopted by many commentators (including Tholuck), merits the remark of Winer: "One must know nothing at all of Luke's style if one supposes that he has written such gibberish" (Realwörterbuch, II. p. 293).

² We know from Tacitus (Annal., III. 48) that Quirinus was in great favor with the emperor.

³ As is proved by the usage of Josephus himself. Compare Ant., XX. 9, 3.

of the Sanhedrin, hold a trial of Jesus (compare John xviii. 13 f.), we may very probably acquit our Evangelist of error.

What a large amount of painstaking and passion has been spent in the determination at all hazards to reconcile even the minutest discrepancies of the Evangelists, may be illustrated in the case of Matt. xx. 29-34, and parallel passages. The illustration would even provoke amusement, were it not so grievously suggestive of false views and untenable issues concerning the important subjects of inspiration, revelation, and Sacred Scripture. We are not compelled to examine a long row of differing opinions regarding these unimportant variations; from the pious fraud which would solve the discrepancy of time by quoting the rabbinical canon, *non est prius aut posterius in Scriptura*, to the petulant outburst of Alford, "It is just thus that the harmonists utterly destroy the credibility of the Scripture narrative." The student of thoroughly fair, scholarly, and devout mind, will indeed hesitate to pronounce the efforts at harmony of men like Lightfoot, Tischendorf, Wieseler, Ebrard, and Neander, in the words of the above-mentioned commentator, "perfectly monstrous;" but neither will he pronounce them "perfectly," or even partially, satisfactory. He will therefore call attention to the fact, that since Mark seems to stand midway between Matthew and Luke, and is most circumstantial in details (even giving the name of the man healed), his narrative is probably nearest the original tradition; and he will, moreover, refuse in any measure to bind his confidence, either in Christ or in the sacredness and authority of Scripture, to the possibility of completing all this patchwork of detailed harmony.

It is scarcely necessary to multiply examples of similar minute discrepancies in fact: so abundant are they, and so difficult is it to thread our way through the windings of testimony, and thus reach the real truth regarding much more important matters in the history of our Lord.

The form of certain other discrepancies is such as to give us a nearer view of the mental condition in which certain historical contents of the Bible were composed. That Paul did not consider the embarrassments of a faulty memory as working any interference with his inspiration, when trying to state in writing matters of fact, we have his own confession (1 Cor. i. 14-16). That the Evangelists were not in this regard more infallible than the Apostle to the Gentiles, we might prove, not

only from their quotations of the Old Testament, but also from their statements in matters of fact. In Matt. xxvii. 9 we find a quotation which is actually taken from Zech. xi. 12 f., ascribed by a *lapsus memoriae* to the prophet Jeremiah. In the effort to escape the harmless confession of this very natural fact, orthodox harmony has been ready to imitate the most unscrupulous and dangerous methods of destructive criticism. It has adopted the unsupported conjecture that the Greek text of Matthew is in this passage corrupted; it has even deliberately corrupted this text by introducing the word *Ζαχαρίαν* into a few inferior MSS.; it has declared without proof that the last six chapters of Zechariah were really written by Jeremiah; it has ascribed the passages to an apocryphal Book of Jeremiah, thus running the risk of introducing additional quotations from apocryphal writings into our canonical books; it has resorted to the quibble that Matthew could properly quote Zechariah as Jeremiah, because he was intending to bring forward the predictions recorded in Jer. xviii. and xix. And when it has been alleged in all fairness that our good and trustworthy Evangelist Matthew might possibly fail in a detail of memory without ruin to his piety or credibility, this harmony has replied that such a lapse of memory would completely annihilate our confidence in the testimony of the writers of Scripture.¹

But another similar phenomenon is met with in the same Evangelist (xxiii. 35). The Zacharias, the murder of whom is mentioned 2 Chron. xxiv. 21, — the last murder of a prophet in the order of the Canon, — was the son of Jehoiada: he is here, however, called by a lapse of memory the son of Barachias. The conjecture of harmony espoused by Hug, who would refer the words of Christ as a prophecy to the death of that Zacharias, the son of Baruch, to whom Josephus refers,² is quite untenable; and the confusion of tenses, of which Matthew is thus made guilty, impairs his historical credibility more than an admitted error of memory or of information. Christ, as we see from the narrative of Luke (xi. 51), did not give the father's name; but the writer of the Gospel, confusing this Zacharias with the prophet whose father's name was really Barachias (Zech. i. 1), has brought an historical error into the text. So also, although with less certainty than in the above-mentioned cases, may we account (i. 2), in quoting two passages from the

¹ So Henderson, *Minor Prophets*, p. 418.

² Bell. Jud., IV. 5, 4.

Old Testament, the *first* of which is from Mal. iii. 1 and only the *second* from Isa. xl. 3, combines the two under the one name of Isaiah the prophet.

The matter of historical inaccuracies and discrepancies in the Old Testament has been sufficiently illustrated in other connections, and to what has been said we need only add the following remark. The histories of the Bible, like all other histories of antiquity, are especially liable to inaccuracies in the three matters of names, numbers, and sequence of time. Indeed, the attainment of perfect accuracy in these matters is not possible for man: the best results have been reached in more modern times only as the reward of much critical effort, and by the use of many new instrumentalities.

An inquiry into the validity of the biblical genealogies is, of course, closely connected with this portion of our subject, but need not be undertaken in detail. We may affirm in general with Lenormant,¹ that a good critic can attribute to the biblical genealogies only such characteristics — validity, accuracy, and completeness — as belong to the “genealogies habitually preserved among Semitic people.” We have already seen the mixed and uncertain character of the genealogies previous to the time of Abraham. The uncertain use of the terms signifying descent, the admixture of mere tribal with blood relationships, the indeterminate use of the principle of adoption, the supremacy of fanciful and subjective considerations in fixing the number and arrangement of generations and of representative names, the unanswerable question as to how many terms in the series have been dropped out at any given point, — and all these difficulties in connection with the constant uncertainty as to important points or details in chronology, — render it quite impossible to vindicate a claim to historical completeness and perfect accuracy for the later genealogies. Of all these genealogies, the most important by far is that of Jesus Christ. But even this is by no means freed from the suspicion of all the above-mentioned peculiarities. Its construction, indeed, could be no more accurate and complete than was made possible by the sources from which it was constructed, unless we assume a special revelation for the correction and completion of these sources. The disproof of such an assumption would then at once follow on an examination of the genealogy, and a comparison of it with the sources from which it must, in part at

¹ *Ancient History of the East*, I. p. 40.

least, have been drawn. Even so favorable a critic as Zöckler¹ asserts, that, on comparison of Matthew and Luke with Gen. v. and xi. and 1 Chron. i.-ix., we must notice in these biblical genealogies "a certain carelessness of construction, an effort for the predominance of those relations which have symbolical significance, at the expense sometimes of completeness, and sometimes of accuracy." Nor can we gain any satisfaction from the best efforts to reconcile the apparent discrepancies of the two Evangelists when compared one with the other. That their arrangement of the generations is largely ideal, appears upon the face of their work; for this arrangement makes according to Matthew (i. 1-17) 3×14 generations between Abraham and Christ, and according to Luke (iii. 23-38) 7×11 between Christ and Adam. Nor does the material used by both writers seem any less difficult of historical verification than the form into which they construct it. "If it be morally certain," as Hervey claims,² "that the genealogy of Jesus Christ was extracted from the public registers," then it is also morally certain that each edition of it could have only so much of historical validity as belonged to the registers from which it was extracted. And the impossibility of attributing even substantial accuracy to both seems the clearer, the more numerous the unsatisfactory efforts at a complete harmony become. Even the painstaking explanation of Hervey, besides many makeshifts and the decided incongruity of passing the lines of descent back and forth between natural and legal descendants, is forced to admit — although entirely without MS. evidence — that the name Rhesa has been slipped into the text of Luke by some scribe. It is difficult to see how two genealogies which coincide in only two names (Zorobabel and Salathiel) in so long a list (twenty-five in Matthew and forty in Luke lying between Joseph and David), and which diverge at the second step of removal from their main subject (Joseph being given as the son of Jacob by Matthew and as the son of Heli by Luke), can ever be harmonized, unless we resort to the absurd claim made by the forgery of Annius of Viterbo, that all of our Lord's ancestors from David downwards had two names. It should not be forgotten, however, that the doctrine of the Davidic descent of Jesus, and the facts of descent so far as they are necessary to make good this doctrine, are not dependent upon our ability to prove in detail the

¹ Article Jesus Christus, Herzog and Plitt.

² Article in Smith's Bib. Dict.

harmony of Matthew and Luke, or the perfect accuracy of either one of the two.

The special difficulties of chronology have already been briefly and indirectly considered. Devout students of the Bible have not hesitated to affirm the impossibility of constructing an absolute biblical chronology: just as impossible is such a relative arrangement of the sequence of biblical events as shall harmonize all the biblical narratives. From the Church Father who considered the reconciling of the chronological difficulties of Scripture to be the fit task of weak minds, to the French Abbé who concluded the task to be too difficult for the strongest minds, the testimony is sufficiently uniform: "There is no real biblical chronology." It seems strange indeed that we should be unable to fix upon absolutely certain dates even with respect to the birth of Christ, and the duration of his ministry; but so it is. The so-called "Church chronology," as established by Dionysius in the sixth century upon the assumption that Jesus was thirty years old in the fifteenth of the reign of Tiberius (compare Luke iii. 1 and 23), is uncertain on account of the indefiniteness of the *ωσεί*; nor can we tell whether the years of the emperor are reckoned from his regency with Augustus or from the beginning of his independent reign (765 or 767 A.U.C.). Moreover, the calculations which are based upon the view that the killing of the infants was soon followed by the death of Herod (Matt. ii. 19), as the statement of Macrobius also proves, enable us to pronounce the date of Dionysius erroneous, and to fix with considerable confidence upon 748 or 749 A.U.C. (4 or 5 B.C.) as the date of Christ's birth. The length of his public ministry must be fixed to a considerable extent by our opinion as to the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospel of John. But even the testimony of John does not furnish an absolutely certain settlement of this question, since we cannot be sure whether the correct interpretation of Luke vi. 1 necessitates the interpolation of a passover between John ii. 13 and vi. 4, nor whether the feast of John v. 1 indicates another passover.

The uncertainty of the relative chronology of the Synoptic Gospels is obvious. It is, indeed, an easy method of dismissing chronological difficulties to assert unqualifiedly, "The Gospels are unchronological in order," and then conjecture subjective principles of general arrangement for the materials of each Gospel, and special motives for the detailed arrangement of

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these materials by the author of each.¹ But this method of idealizing and schematizing the order of the evangelistic history lies perilously near to far greater dangers than those which the method seeks to avoid. No satisfactory harmony of the sequences of incidents as given by the different Synoptic Gospels is, indeed, possible: such harmony is not necessary to the highest usefulness and substantial accuracy of these Gospels. But criticism will not bear out the view which relieves us from all responsibility as to our conclusions in respect to the entire accuracy of the writers. We cannot adopt the claim of Westcott: "Definite marks of time and place are extremely rare, and general indications of temporal or local connection are scarcely more frequent:"² therefore, it is argued, the harmonist, having shown "that the few incidental fixed dates in the Gospels are consistent with one another,"³ may aver, "All objections drawn from the discordant order which they present otherwise fall to the ground." On the contrary, the different incidents in each one of the Synoptic Gospels are in general somewhat closely interwoven in the supposed sequence of time; not always, indeed, by temporal particles, but by many other more delicate indications of the language and thought. To escape, for instance, the plain chronological discrepancy in the case of the Sermon on the Mount, by saying, "That which was for St. Luke but as one discourse among many, was for St. Matthew the introduction and key to all,"⁴ will only satisfy a mind that has, for the time at least, relaxed its grasp upon historical criticism.

It would be superfluous to remark further concerning the uncertainty of the numbers employed in the Bible, so far as they enter into questions of chronology. With regard to the enumeration of armies, or of heads of people or families in a census, and with respect to sums of money and numbers used to indicate distance, we know that all ancient history is very uncertain, and that the same uncertainty belongs to much of more modern history. In the light of this universal experience must all the similar biblical statements of number be considered. Complete accuracy is not to be expected in such matters, but a wide departure from accuracy cannot be used to

¹ Compare Westcott, *Introduction*, etc., especially chap. vii.; and Gregory, "Why Four Gospels?"

² *Ibid.*, p. 344.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

⁴ See Westcott, *Ibid.*, p. 351; and compare the erroneous note on p. 378, where the lack of "temporal sequence" is one of the critic's own creating.

disprove the historical value in general of the narrative in which it occurs.

We close this chapter upon the relation of the historical contents of the Bible to the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, observing that the conclusions derived from our critical survey must be largely negative. It was claimed at the beginning of the discussion, that the dignity of the biblical history is self-evincing. The impression of this dignity which the Bible makes upon the thoughtful reader is not removed, but rather confirmed and deepened, by criticism. Nor does the most searching examination prevent our cherishing the conviction, that a certain divine origin and nature belong to this class of the scriptural writings. Such examination does, however, quite forbid that we should place the grounds of this conviction in any theory as to the trustworthiness of all the alleged historical narratives of Scripture, or as to the complete freedom of any of these narratives from inaccuracies and discrepancies in details. After completing our survey, as before beginning it, we see that the divine characteristics of scriptural history are evinced, primarily, in the nature of the subject which furnishes the materials for the history, and, secondarily, in the form given to the materials by the ethical and religious consciousness of the writers of Scripture.

The chief positive value of the criticism of scriptural history lies, then, in this: Such criticism establishes on the firmest foundations our confidence in the historical character and substantial accuracy of just those narratives of the Bible with the fate of which our Christian doctrine and Christian life are most intimately connected. To a large extent, history and doctrine are joined in fact and in fate by the narratives of the Bible; the doctrine is abstracted from the history, which is itself a concrete expression and embodiment of the doctrine. And yet to distinguish between shell and kernel is even more necessary in the case of the historical contents of Scripture than elsewhere. That destructive criticism does not touch this sound kernel of historico-doctrinal truth, it is the chief office of the criticism of apologetics to make both objectively and subjectively certain. Beyond this most important service and chief value of historical criticism, it has no little evidence which it may display to show the high degree of historical credibility and accuracy which is in general reached by the narratives of the Bible.

But besides such general conclusions of a positive kind, the remaining conclusions are for the most part negative. It cannot be said that criticism is able to show that all the portions of the Old Testament, which are historic in form, are genuinely historic in character. It cannot be said that uncertain and diverse traditions have not blended in the sources of the history of Israel, to an extent difficult of exact demarkation along its subsequent course. It can by no means be claimed that any of the biblical narratives are certainly free from all inaccuracies and discrepancies of details. Indeed, the total result of minute historical criticism undeniably contradicts this latter claim. It will perhaps be thought *possible* by some, despite all evidence of such inaccuracies and discrepancies, in some way or other to force upon the biblical writers at least the semblance of perfect harmony with fact and with one another. To attain the show of success in such forcing, the appeals to ignorance and to prejudice are most potent, and the opportunities for suborning and perverting the witnesses are many. But the cost of the process must be paid by loss of confidence, first of all, in those who thus deal with Scripture histories, and perhaps, in the next place, in the histories themselves. And the fundamental inquiry perpetually recurs: Is there, then, any thing whatever in the nature of Sacred Scripture rightly understood to make either necessary or desirable such methods of defending its authors?

As to the historical accuracy of the biblical narratives, it can simply be claimed that it is, *of itself*, such as neither to prove nor to disprove the view that they are valid parts of Sacred Scripture. The supernatural elements of the historical contents do not consist in the characteristics of historical and critical infallibility, neither do these elements require for their proof perfection in such characteristics. Indeed, it is only as the historical accuracy of the narrative portions of the Bible is influenced by the ethical and religious spirit which pervades them, that this accuracy is not just as purely natural as is that of any of the so-called profane histories of antiquity.

There is much, however, in the nature of the material, and in the form given to this material by the influence of the ethical and religious consciousness, that gives to the historical contents of the Bible a claim to the title of Sacred Scripture. The record of the kingdom of God on earth is from its very nature a history, pragmatic and prophetic, of a process of divine self-revelation. And in order that this process may be not only

realized, but recorded, the minds and hearts of men must be prepared by divine illumining. In this sense of the words, revelation and inspiration are necessary correlates, with respect to the historical as with respect to all the other portions of the Bible. The histories of the Old Testament are due to revelation, in so far as the pragmatic connections of the kingdom of God, its prophetic anticipations and other ideal truths, are made known to men in these histories. Their writers were inspired in so far as they were put into such mental and spiritual condition by the Spirit of revelation as that these connections, anticipations, and other ideal truths could be grasped and appropriated by them. In other words, it is the spirit of prophecy pervading the narratives of the Old Testament which gives them all their claim to be called inspired. It is, then, those portions of the Old-Testament history which bear most obvious marks of the prophetic spirit, that have best claim to this title. We are without conclusive evidence as to whether all, or the greater number, of the historical books of the Old Testament, were written by men acknowledged as prophets, technically so called. But the instinctive judgment of the Jewish Church, which ascribed certain of these books to men prophetically inspired, and enrolled their works among the prophets, is true to the principal facts involved. To a large extent the books themselves bear before us the marks of their prophetic spirit. They do this, however, variously, and so as fitly to be divided into two classes, somewhat after the fashion of the Jewish Canon. In their ethical and religious spirit, the historical portions of the prophetic books, the Pentateuch, and the other earlier historical books, in general much excel the later works.

It is the Christian consciousness, the moral and religious illumining which comes from seeing the facts of Christ's life and death as the Spirit of God causes them to be seen, that inspires the histories of the New Testament. We can, indeed, have no hesitation in affirming with Weiss,¹ that the facts which criticism discloses quite prevent us from attributing inspiration, in the older dogmatic meaning of the word, to the Synoptic Gospels. But just as the apostolic message of salvation may claim to have been announced under the impulse and guidance of the Holy Spirit, so may the historical delineations of the life of Jesus, which originated in the same era through the work of apostles and the pupils of apostles, claim to be derived from

¹ Compare *Leben Jesu*, I. p. 21 f.

the same Spirit. And, under this claim, the inspiration of the writers of the Gospels guarantees the exclusion from their history of whatever is essentially unchristian, and guarantees the essential trustworthiness of their picture of Jesus; just as, to reverse the argument, the nature of this picture, its exclusiveness and sympathetic appreciation, guarantees the inspiration of the writers.

In both the Old Testament and the New, the historical portions may be spoken of as inspired and sacred writings, with no less confidence because the final shaping of such portions in many cases involved the work of many minds and hearts. For these minds and hearts may all have shared in the same divine revelation and divine illumining, and may have imparted the divine influences which they thus received to the traditions and written records they helped to perpetuate.

But should the anxious inquiry arise, "In what respect, then, do the writers of biblical history differ from all others who have showed insight and foresight in dealing with the facts of history?" the answer is not far away. In many respects they do not differ, and we are glad to know that they do not. But these writers are unlike all others in at least two important particulars. The subject of their history — this subject being the historical development of Israel in its preparation for the coming of the Redeemer, the story of his life and death, and the founding of the Christian Church — differences them from all others. Their history is the history of the self-revelation of God as the Redeemer of mankind. To no other writers have been given the privilege and power of writing the history of such a subject as this. These writers differ from others also in that some of them at least show an incomparably high degree of moral and religious insight into their sacred subject. To discern the pragmatic connections and to intuit the ideal truths of the kingdom of God, in the midst of surrounding heathenism and in the remote and misty places of antiquity, is a power that is born of no merely earthly parentage.

We have sufficiently illustrated the extent to which the influence of the Spirit of revelation, as it began most obviously to work in the writings of Moses, has purified the more ancient traditions from certain forms of error. All through the histories of both Testaments, he who has any genuine faith in the Spirit of Providence will not fail to see its guiding force. We cannot, indeed, tell why some traditions have been pre-

served, and others lost ; why many precious narratives of the sayings and deeds of the Lord are gone, while the camping-places of Israel in the desert and the genealogies of the Pentateuch and of Chronicles remain. Nor can we indulge in the fanciful opinions that the Church would have been injured by a fuller knowledge of certain features of Christ's life and teachings, or that the Bible, as a whole, would be injured if there had perished from it some of its minor parts. We can still be grateful that we have so much, — enough to found historically and perpetuate in fact the Christian Church and the religious life of the individual believer. That what is only historically imperfect should be providentially cared for in Sacred Scripture, is analogous to the methods of all providential care.

It must be admitted, that prophetic inspiration does not secure historic infallibility to the writers of sacred history. The prophet discerns that truth in the past to which his inspiration makes him nearest akin. But such inspiration conveys no new knowledge of bare events, and cannot be used as a substitute for critical care in the collection and use of materials. Nor have we any proof that it guards the writer against accepting any merely historical mistakes which have come to him in ancient traditions or documents, or in the testimony of eye-witnesses. It is not history, but the meaning of history, which is revealed to a prophetic soul. The inspired historian must gather and judge and dispose his materials with the same general liability to mistake in matters of fact which belongs to all men. In certain most important respects, however, the spirit of prophecy indirectly guards the writer of history against grave historical errors. It represses self-conscious fraud or depravation of the facts of history ; it secures a certain discernment between the essential and the unessential ; it favors steadfastness to the main truths of history, and constant recognition of the presence in history of a divine plan. And all that is true of the spirit of Old-Testament prophecy is pre-eminently true of the spirit of Christian inspiration.

This prophetic quality being wanting to any portion of the Old-Testament writings, such portion drops into the lower class of narratives, whose only claim to the title "inspired" rests upon their connection with other inspired writings, and upon the place providentially secured to them in the Bible. This title can then be used only in the lowest and loosest sense applicable at all to Sacred Scripture.

CHAPTER V.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE PREDICTIVE CONTENTS OF THE BIBLE.

WE have already examined the chief characteristics of Old-Testament prophecy, so far as they are evinced in the inspired personality of the prophet, and in the claims made for his message both by the New-Testament writers and by the Hebrew prophets themselves.¹ The examination has led us to observe the distinctively ethical character of the prophetic contents of Sacred Scripture, the organic nature of the development through which the prophecy passed until its alleged fulfilment in Christianity, and the free typical and symbolic view of the fulfilment which was held by Christ and his apostles. These results of our past exegesis and criticism must serve both as lights and as landmarks in the present discussion. The discussion must make itself both more restricted and more complete by a constant tacit appeal to the previous results.

The reference of the New Testament to the Old authenticates pre-eminently the ethical and predictive contents of the latter. Among these predictive contents the New Testament regards the Messianic as of especial significance and value for its purpose; it considers both the ethical and the predictive as so united in one that they cannot be separated; for even the Torah is predictive of Christ, and the prophets are a part of that Law which is fulfilled in him. We only follow, then, the example of the New Testament, when we insist upon giving predominance in our discussion to a few great ideas. And if we were obliged to rest the case, after simply stating these ideas, upon the authority of Christ, it is by no means clear that we should not have secured truth enough as a basis for a satisfactory doctrine of Sacred Scripture. The nature of the predictive contents of the Bible is, however, so peculiar, and the views held as to prophecy and its fulfilment are so determinative of

¹ See Part I., chapters iv. and v.

all other related views, that these contents demand a separate treatment. Their treatment, like that of all the other classes of contents, is dependent upon philosophical inquiries into the supernatural, and upon critical inquiries into history and into the date and authorship of the biblical books. Concerning the subjects of these inquiries, then, we must either refer to what has already been said, or assume the truth of that which will be hereafter more carefully examined.

The Hebrew prophets obviously claimed, on the authority of divine revelations made to them, to predict future events; and just as obviously the writers of the New Testament claimed, both in a general and in a more precise way, that these prophets had foreseen and foretold the things of Christ. Yet such claims, whether accepted or rejected, do not serve to settle some of the most interesting and important inquiries which are raised by them. When, for instance, the author of Isa. xlii. 9 asserts, "New things do I declare; before they spring forth I tell you of them," he certainly claims a power of prediction for his prophetic utterance. He does not, however, give us any information as to the precise origin and the perfect clearness of his convictions, or as to the details of their development in his mind. Critical and philosophical questions as to the nature of prediction, as to its limits of possible error, and as to the relations of different predictions to one another, are, of course, not even considered by the biblical writers. Yet these are the very questions which most concern *us*, to whom many of the more particular warnings and promises of prophecy have become as matters of the remote past.

The opinion of every critic as to the nature of the alleged predictions of the Old Testament will be almost wholly determined by his theological point of view. Each critic should, indeed, be required to earn his right to an opinion by showing himself capable of a thorough and candid historical criticism of the predictions themselves. But such criticism, when applied to the phenomena of Old-Testament prophecy as they are elucidated by an equally thorough and candid examination of the phenomena of Christianity, will always leave room for choice as to the explanation of many facts. This choice will necessarily be determined by the position which the critic holds toward the whole question of the supernatural origin of biblical religion. We do not wonder, then, that Kuenen¹ is at such pains

¹ See especially *Prophets and Prophecy*, pp. 1-4 and 91 ff.

to define his own position as that of simple naturalism: his definition is, indeed, a necessary preliminary to his entire treatment of Hebrew prophecy. He who rejects the supernatural *in toto* rejects also, of course, its manifestation, both as an external symbol and as an inner word; and rejecting the inner word of revelation he cannot hesitate to reject the predictive elements of that word. Nor is there any hope that an agreement upon critical results will produce an agreement as to the rational explanation of those results. The most precise predictions of individual events, if they were to be produced by Old-Testament prophecy, would be explained by some critics as examples of ordinary psychical phenomena; while others would continue to ascribe the entire organism of this prophecy to a supernatural origin, although such precise predictions were wholly wanting.

The nature of prediction as one element of genuine prophecy must, then, be understood in accordance with our conception of prophecy as a whole. The hypothesis which would explain the religion of Israel as a natural outgrowth of prophecy, and then explain Hebrew prophecy as a natural outgrowth of heathen soothsaying, seems to us inadequate in every respect. In opposition to such an hypothesis we think that Keil¹ is right in asserting both the transcendent origin and the transcendent character of this prophecy. Its prediction is not mere premonition or calculation of the future: it contains within itself, not only the germ of the future, but also a foresight of the manner in which this germ will unfold itself.

It must be at once admitted, however, that the view of the so-called "old orthodoxy" concerning the nature of biblical prediction cannot justify itself before modern criticism. Some of the chief critical objections to this view will come before us when we consider the limitations of prediction. It is enough at present to notice, that the attempt to regard prophecy as making its pre-eminent claim upon our attention by definite predictions of individual future events (*perspicuae rerum futurarum earumque contingentium praelectiones, quibus eventus respondit, per divinam omniscientiam*) degrades it even below heathen mantic.² For even this mantic originates in that longing for communion with God which forms the indispensable pre-requisite of Hebrew prophecy. It is, indeed, pre-eminently true of

¹ Elnl. in das A. T., p. 230.

² Compare Oehler, Theology of the Old Testament, II. p. 345.

the latter, that its predictive elements have their rise in its ethical elements. The genuine prophet of the Old Testament is never simply, nor primarily, an announcer of future events: he is rather, primarily, a preacher of righteousness to the present, a spiritual critic of men and measures and events which belong to his own time. His apocalypse, so far as regards the future, is an expected exemplification of the principles of righteousness, which are to be applied in their fuller force and glory when the seeds of the present have germinated and borne fruit. That one should speak *for* Jehovah in righteousness, is necessary to the title and functions of a prophet; but not primarily that one should speak *beforehand* the things which will come to pass.¹ We are, then, perfectly justified in declaring that "prediction of the future is not the centre of gravity (*Schwerpunkt*) of the perfect prophetic activity."²

Yet we can by no means consider prediction as an unimportant or unessential feature of prophecy. Indeed, we can scarcely conceive of the great changes which would have to be effected in the whole nature of biblical revelation, and even of the Christian religion, if we should leave this forecasting of the future entirely out of our account. To attempt this would be to aim at destroying the organic nature of revelation; it would be to endeavor to disconnect the Redeemer and his work from the historic roots of Old-Testament religion. And it would certainly be most plainly to contradict important and explicit teachings of our Lord himself. The great facts of revelation and inspiration form both a guaranty and an explanation of a certain kind and degree of prediction. For revelation, as a *divine word*, must come through prophecy; and in order that revelation may run a course in history, anticipations and foreshadowings of the future must be spoken by the prophets, as well as embodied in the real forms of law, institution, and symbolic ritual. To deny that prophecy can have elements of genuine prediction is to deny that the divine revelation, through prophecy, can be any thing better than a sporadic and disconnected declaration of moral truth. Moreover, an inspired view of the past and the present—a consideration of events from the divine point of outlook, and as they appear to an

¹ "Πρό in προφήτης," as says Tholuck (Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen, p. 22), "is not *temporal*, but *local*." The false derivation of the word, which Tholuck justly accuses of darkening the thought, he finds first in the eleventh century, as shown by the form *wissagen*.

² So H. Schultz, Alttestamentliche Theologie, p. 230.

ethically and spiritually enlightened consciousness — involves a certain knowledge of the future.¹

All these considerations are especially important with respect to that kind of Old-Testament prophecy which concerns Messiah and the Messianic kingdom. For it is in the ideas and expected developments of the Messianic kingdom that the foresight of the prophets has its clearest outlook and grandest scope. And if we are to shut in the horizon around them just where their shrewd calculations of probable results cease to illumine it, we shall make it narrow indeed. But this we must do, unless we admit the validity of the prophetic claim to receive in some sort divine revelations as to things that should come to pass. Nor is there any more difficulty in attributing the foresight of the prophets to its origin in revelation than in attributing to the same origin their insight into the right moral relations of their own present. Indeed, the insight and the foresight are so closely correlated that they must both be considered as alike due to the same supernatural origin. The ethical and religious ideas which God communicated to his inspired messengers were vital throughout; they were compelled to grow by an inward necessity. They were germs of future ideas and events, and, therefore, by their very nature predictive; they could not be communicated to these messengers without carrying with them revelations of the future. The threatenings and promises which the Lord gave to the prophets to bring to Israel were themselves predictive. We might, indeed, almost agree to declare with Rothe, that prophecy, so far as it is predictive, is essentially "a promise of salvation."

We are, then, secured by the true position regarding the nature of prophetic revelation and inspiration against all temptation to reduce the predictions of the Bible to mere calculations. For the presence of miscalculations amongst genuine predictions would no more reduce the latter as a class to mere calculations than the presence in the record of certain alleged but not real miracles would compel us to attribute all of Christ's works to mesmeric influences. The question to be asked is this: How shall we account for the seeming miscalculations in accordance with known principles of supernatural revelation? That the convictions of the Old-Testament prophets regarding the future were not the result of calculation, is also apparent from the nature of the convictions themselves.

¹ Compare Rothe, *Zur Dogmatik*, pp. 113 ff.; and Schultz, *Ibid.*, p. 231.

They have not the characteristics of calculations. They did not present themselves as such to the prophetic consciousness. They are rather to be compared to the certainty of religious faith; like it they are the product and gift of divine revelation. It is true that in certain cases calculation and prophetic foresight may result in the same convictions regarding the future. But the latter, unlike the former, is the work of the divine Spirit upon a receptive soul. The grounds of the conviction are, moreover, different in the two cases. In the case of calculation the grounds lie in certain admitted reasons which can be imparted to others as reasons, and to which an appeal can be made when disputes arise as to a probable or nearly certain guide of the judgment. But in the case of prophetic foresight, the reason of the conviction lies primarily in the alleged divine communication, and secondarily in an application of divine laws of government made clear to the apprehension of faith. Nor can the conviction be demonstrated to others as probable, or nearly certain, on the ground of reasons generally admitted by the human judgment.

Moreover, the nature of the predictions themselves seems to us to prove that they are not due to mere calculation. We do not see how Isaiah could have trusted to calculation in the confident prediction (see chap. vii.) of the downfall of Israel and Syria at the very time when they were pre-eminently strong in their confederate enterprises; or how, moreover, he could have calculated this downfall as about to happen within three or four years from the date of the prediction (see viii. 4). For that part of the prediction which was fulfilled is not to be set one side by pressing the word "forsaken" (vii. 16) so as to make the prophet expect a more complete desolation than really occurred.¹ Nor are we satisfied with the explanation of Kuenen,² when he attempts to account for the predictions of the same prophet regarding Judah and Assyria in the time of Hezekiah and Sennacherib, on the principle that Isaiah's confidence in the failure of Sennacherib's enterprise "rests properly on the conviction that Israel has been chosen by Jahveh, and Zion is his dwelling-place." That Isaiah had this general confidence, we have not a doubt. But this confidence is quite *too* general to account for his special foresight that disaster was coming upon this particular Assyrian enterprise (see x. 12, 16-19, 24-34, xiv. 25, xxix. 7 f., xxx. 31); that the disaster

¹ So Kuenen, *Ibid.*, pp. 166, ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 297.

would be sudden and overwhelming (xvii. 14);¹ and that it would be due in part to rumors of revolt in his own land (Isa. xxxvii. 6 f.; compare 2 Kings xix. 6 f.). In this case, again, our attention is not to be turned from the nature of the prediction, through an effort to involve Isaiah in self-contradiction by making him announce (xxxvii. 38; compare 2 Kings xix. 20 ff.) that Sennacherib should not even lay siege to the city, and also announce elsewhere² that the Assyrian monarch should invest, blockade, and perhaps partially conquer it. Jeremiah also, even before the Chaldeans had made themselves independent of Assyria, and when they could not be viewed by the eye of political foresight as dangerous to Palestine, nevertheless threatened Judah with this enemy out of the North (see i. 13 f., iv. 5 f., 13, vi. 1-5), and subsequently (vii., viii., xxvi.) announced the desolation of Jerusalem, the temple, and all the land, by the same force. We find no adequate satisfaction for these predictions in the theory of calculation, even when the calculation is based upon a general confidence in Jehovah and his religion. Especially do we need a further account of such phenomena, when we find the same prophet foretelling the deportation of his nation, their long captivity in Babylon, and subsequent return from exile (see Jer. xxv. 9 f.; xxvii. 1 f., xxix. 10 f.). The precise declaration of Amos i. 3-5, that "the people of Aram shall be carried away into Kir," which Kuenen admits³ to have been written "about half a century before the Syrian-Ephraimite war," and to be "a most remarkable coincidence," seems utterly unlike a shrewd calculation. We cannot hold that the elements for such a calculation were all given in the previous history of the Arameans, and in the custom of the Assyrians; especially if we may trust the statement of Lenormant⁴ and other Assyriologists, that the custom of wholesale deportation did not originate until the fulfilment by Tiglath-pileser of this very prediction. How, then, could all this "easily have been anticipated by Amos"? In brief, the subterfuges and assumptions which are made necessary by the unaided theory of calculation are quite as marked as those needed by the dogma of the old orthodoxy;

¹ An item of the prediction which was fulfilled; although we should question the historical accuracy of the words, "and it came to pass that night," which do not occur in the text of Isaiah. See xxxvii. 30, 36 f., and compare 2 Kings xix. 35.

² See xxix. 1-8, xxx. 19 f., xxxi. 4 f., xxxii. 14; compare Kuenen, *Ibid.*, p. 292.

³ See *Ibid.*, pp. 282 and 284.

⁴ *Ancient History of the East*, I. p. 390.

while this theory has not the soul of truth in an adherence to supernatural verities which belonged to that dogma.

We conclude, then, that Old-Testament prediction is a true and necessary element of that revelation and inspiration in which it has both its origin and its explanation; but that it is an element correlated with, and subordinated to, the ethical truths and ideas of revelation. Revelation gives us the only adequate account of both the ethical and the predictive elements of Hebrew prophecy; the latter elements, however, are specifically dependent upon the former. The true thought is, then, substantially that of Riehm,¹ who affirms that the greater part of the prophecies arise from an inward certainty concerning the truth of salvation which was wrought in the spirit of the prophet by the Divine Spirit; and which is, therefore, akin to the convictions of the Christian consciousness, regarded as having their origin in the so-called *testimonium internum Spiritus Sancti*. Of Messianic prophecy the same author says, "Messianic prophecy grew out of the very vital marrow of the Old-Testament religion with a kind of inward necessity." So far is it from being true, that prediction is accounted for as a merely natural phenomenon by showing its relation to the religion of the Old Testament, that we must the rather consider the entire organism, its ethical and predictive organs alike, as filled with the same life. History furnishes the soil and shapes the manifestation of these ideas; revelation is the constant source of their life.

Let the above-mentioned truth be illustrated by pointing out two or three of those ideas of revelation with which the Messianic predictions were most intimately connected. The idea of a community under a covenant with God is, as we have already seen, a leading idea of Old-Testament revelation. In this idea are the germs and roots of many Messianic conceptions and predictions. In the convictions which underlie these predictions, the Law and the Prophets unite. God as the King of Israel (Isa. xxxiii. 22) gives to the nation just laws and ordinances (see Deut. iv. 8; Isa. xlii. 21); as royal Judge he provides for righteousness in his land (see Isa. lxiii. 11; Hag. ii. 5). And when the prophets predict the fulness of all spiritual blessings upon the obedience and loyalty of the people, they bring

¹ See his exceedingly interesting and suggestive articles on this subject — *Zur Charakteristik der Messianischen Weissagung und ihres Verhältniss zu der Erfüllung* — in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1865 and 1869.

forward the thought of a nation which is royal and priestly (compare Exod. xix. 5 f., xxxi. 13; Lev. xx. 8, xxi. 8, xxii. 16, 32, and Ezek. xx. 12, xxxvii. 28; Amos ii. 7). As under the covenant with Jehovah, the nation is assured by the prophets of that same divine willingness to forgive sins, the announcement of which is incorporated into the Mosaic Torah (compare Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7; Num. xiv. 18, and Isa. i. 18; Mic. vii. 18; Joel ii. 13; Jon. iv. 2). With the idea of God as Judge and King is connected, of course, the idea of the kingdom of God. That the reality of this kingdom will satisfy its idea, is a hope which springs directly out of the conviction that God has made an indestructible covenant with his people (see Isa. xxiv. 23, lii. 7; Mic. iv. 7). Thus comes the prediction that this kingdom will be accomplished, and will include the whole earth. All things and persons — Assyria, his tool (Isa. x. 5, 15), Nebuchadnezzar, his servant (Jer. xxv. 9, xxvii. 6, xliii. 10), Cyrus, his anointed, his shepherd (Isa. xlv. 28, xlv. 1, xlv. 11) — are subordinate to the King in accomplishing the purposes of his kingdom. Even in the Jehovistic portions of the Pentateuch, according to Riehm,¹ this consequence of the doings of God to Israel is definitely indicated (see Num. xiv. 21).

Out of these ideas of revelation springs the idea of the theocratic kingdom, and with it arises Messianic prediction in the more restricted sense. It is this idea which is so clearly and prominently embodied in the Messianic Psalms. To it becomes attached the idea of a royal house in whose line the reign of Jehovah over his people shall be rightfully and satisfactorily represented. The scion of the royal line is the "anointed of Jehovah" (Ps. lxxxix. 20), the chosen of God (lxxviii. 70); his majesty and righteousness represent the divine majesty and righteousness (xxi. 5, xlv. 3, compare xcvi. 6, civ. 1, cxi. 3); his throne is the throne of God (xlv. 6, cx. 1). Such a king by his obedience secures, as the gift of Jehovah, an unlimited rule (ii. 8, lxxii. 8-11, lxxxix. 25). He is "the personal means through which Jehovah dispenses help, salvation, and blessing to his people." He must be also a priest (cx. 4, and compare the predictions of Jer. xxx. 21 and Zech. iii. 7), for the righteousness and mercy of the Lord have from of old been made manifest in the cultus of the sacrifices. And yet, if we except

¹ See *Zur Charakteristik der Messianischen Weissagung und ihres Verhältnisses zu der Erfüllung*, Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1865, p. 54.

Ps. ex., not one of these Messianic Psalms appears to be in the stricter sense of the word "Messianic;" that is, what we have called, in the use of the term selected by Delitsch, "prophetic-Messianic."¹ Out of these ideas of revelation did the predictions of the Old Testament have their origin and growth.

It is also necessary, in order to a correct knowledge of the nature both of prediction and of its fulfilment, that the organic development of the predictive contents of the Old Testament should be taken into the account. Upon the great truth that prophecy must be considered as an organic development, we have repeatedly insisted. Although Hebrew prophecy was a matter of divine revelations in an inspired consciousness, it was none the less also a matter of growth. It is the increasing pre-eminence of the ethical elements which chiefly distinguishes it from the surrounding heathen mantic. It is the growth of prediction away from the practice of mere soothsaying which gives their pre-eminence to the predictive contents of the Old Testament. The two forms of prophetic knowledge of the future are, according to Schultz,² prediction (*Weissagung*) and prognostication (*Wahrsagung*). The former is an immediate certainty wrought by the Divine Spirit concerning the divine will and plan, and rests upon the recognition of the unchanging laws of the Divine Being; its subject is exclusively the history of the kingdom of God. But the latter is "the alleged or actual knowledge of an approaching event, to whatever circle it may belong, with its particulars and incidents." In the light of this distinction we cannot fail to see that prognostication belongs rather to the earlier and cruder forms of Hebrew prophecy; but prediction is an inseparable element of the ripest and latest form. It is true that particulars sometimes belong inseparably to the prediction of events which are of the greatest moment to the kingdom of God. The prediction of such particulars is seen in all the later developments of Hebrew prophecy. But the particulars are rather to be regarded as included in the announcement of those great events which spring forth in history as God wills to bring in the coming of his promised salvation. Thus the more definite individual occurrences which Jeremiah predicts — xxii. 12, 19, 30, xxix. 21 f., xxxvi. 30,

¹ Compare the articles of Riehm, already referred to, and those of Diestel, — *Die Idee des theokratischen Königs* (Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, 1863, pp. 536 ff.), — and H. Schultz, *Ueber doppelten Schriftsinn* (Theol. Stud. u. Krit., 1866, pp. 28 ff.).

² *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 231 f.

xxxvii. 7, 17, xxxviii. 17 f. — are to be considered for the most part as individual instances included under his general prediction of the captivity; this latter event was one of the great events which God had willed, and revealed to his messenger as necessary in the course of his kingdom.¹ There can be little doubt that much of mere soothsaying was mingled with the genuine prophetic activity of Israel, especially in its earlier days and stages; nor shall we ever be in condition to prove that none of this soothsaying has been admitted into the biblical histories. We undoubtedly find instances in the Old Testament of those imperfect ideas which wrought upon the minds of all antiquity with regard to the nature of prophecy, prediction, and inspiration; as when, for example, we are informed by Micaiah (1 Kings xxii. 5 f., 22) that Jehovah puts a false word into the mouth of the prophet, in order to deceive the people. We can neither, on the one hand, affirm that the writers of the Old Testament had perfectly correct and authoritative notions of the nature of their own prophecy; nor, on the other, can we affirm that much which resembles mere soothsaying in the earlier history of prophetic activity may not have been divinely imparted foresight.

We shall find, then, not a few difficulties in attempting a critical vindication of many of the earlier prognostications which are recorded chiefly in the historical books of the Old Testament. We are informed (Num. xxiv. 22 ff.) that Balaam in his prophetic ecstasy foretold the carrying of the Kenites into captivity by the Assyrians, as well as the humiliation of the Assyrians themselves by ships from the quarter of Chittim.² But the critical questions as to the date and nature of the traditions of Balaam prevent us from establishing these utterances as genuine predictions of particular events in the future. The entire prophecy of Num. xxiv. is, however, so entirely one in thought and spirit with all Hebrew prophecy, that its claim to be predictive — whenever or by whomsoever originally uttered — cannot be denied. Predictions of particular events abound in the books of Samuel and Kings. The principal events of David's life — the death of his child, and other domestic disasters (2 Sam. xii. 1–25), the pestilence in punishment for the census (2 Sam. xxiv.), the continuance of the sovereignty in his family, and the building of the temple by Solomon (2 Sam.

¹ In similar manner are we to regard Ezek. xiv. 1–8, xx. 1 f., xxiv. 1 f.

² See Knobel, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium, u. Josua*.

vii.) — are said to have been announced beforehand. An unknown man of God (1 Sam. ii. 27-36) foretells to Eli his approaching misfortunes. Repeatedly¹ does Elijah announce what is coming upon Israel in his own day. Elisha foretells the deliverance of Israel from the king of Moab (2 Kings iii. 16-19), and of Samaria from the Syrians (2 Kings vi. 24-vii. 20); he also forecasts the great events in the life of Hazael (2 Kings viii. 7-15), and Joash, the son of Jehoahaz (2 Kings xiii. 14-19). In the case of these and all similar passages from the historical books of the Old Testament, our means for establishing the genuine predictive nature of the alleged prophecy are relatively meagre. Nor does the genuine idea of Old-Testament prophecy, as an organic growth of the great conceptions and truths which concern the kingdom of Messiah, permit us to lay the chief stress upon such passages. Nor, furthermore, can we depend upon necessary assumptions of faith for the claim that all such prognostications must be ascribed to divine revelation. We see, however, the genuine and characteristic predictive elements of Hebrew prophecy gradually disentangling themselves from the soothsaying and prognosticating of heathen mantic and false prophets amongst the Hebrews, just as we see the ethical elements of the same prophecy undergoing a similar process of growth. Moreover, we find throughout the historical books certain instances of prediction that bear unmistakably the distinguishing characteristics of revelation. The effect of these characteristics in evincing, so far as the predictive elements of Hebrew prophecy are concerned, the presence of the Divine Spirit, is beyond the reach of criticism. The seeds of Messianic prediction² are already laid in promises like those made to Abraham (Gen. xii. 2 f., xviii. 18, xxii. 16-18), and contained also in the blessings of Isaac and Jacob (see Gen. xxvii. 27-29, 39, 40, and xlix. 1-28, especially 8-10). It is in their organic connections, rather than as individual prognostications of events shortly to come to pass, that we can best understand even the earlier (and critically most doubtful) predictions of the historical books. In this regard, the inner miracle of prophecy resembles the outward miracle in material nature. Each instance is, in part, to be judged according to the relation which it sustains

¹ Among the instances, note 1 Kings xvii. 1, xix. 15-18, xxi. 17-24, 27-29; 2 Kings ix. 30-37, i. 14-16.

² That we cannot properly make this claim for Gen. iii. 14 f., see Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, *in loco*.

to the entire course of revelation. The spirit of revelation was, indeed, working in Israel to forecast its future in the minds of Jehovah's messengers from the call of Abraham onward. And yet we do not find in the earlier prognostications that invincible proof of unique character which belongs to the noblest Hebrew prophets.

Especially difficult are instances of alleged prediction like that ascribed (1 Sam. xxviii. 16-19) to the shade of Samuel, and said to come through the Witch at Endor. The oracle of this same prophet concerning the lost asses of Saul (see 1 Sam. ix. 20), as an isolated statement, resembles mere soothsaying. The parenthetical note in verse 9 of chap. ix. indicates a state of affairs in Israel at this time which must have given rise to much of intentional deceit or unintentional self-deception. Yet such instances of apparent soothsaying are not to be regarded merely as isolated phenomena: they are rather items in the general history of Israel, and in the particular history of its prophetic development. The view which we take of them, however, does not affect in any important way the more valid of the proofs which are furnished by the predictive contents of the Bible to the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. As the ethical and religious ideas of the Old Testament were purified and unfolded in preparation for the New, so were its predictions purified and ennobled for their fulfilment in Christianity.

We affirm, then, both the reality of divine revelation and inspiration in the predictive contents of the Bible, and also the historic fact that these contents are an organic development. The ideas of growth and revelation are by no means mutually exclusive: they are rather in this case necessarily complementary. We see the prophets of Israel concentrating their gaze into the future upon the things of God's kingdom. We see them drawing nearer in prospect to the form of a personal Messiah, in whom, and in whose reign, all the prophetic ideas and inspiring promises of their religion should find their fulfilment. Thus does prediction become no longer a mere prognostication of events interesting to the individual, but a power of foreseeing the unfolding of the divine plan, as that unfolding lies in the divine mind. Prediction seats itself in the organism of religious life, and becomes a part of that life. Revelation is no less truly a divine work within the soul of the individual prophet, because it is ministered through great ethical and religious ideas which are themselves given by revela-

tion, or because it is made in progressive stages which are connected together under the conditions of an historic development.¹ The earlier prophecies thus throw their light forward upon the later facts and prophecies, and these in their turn illumine those. The seed can be understood only by him who has seen the perfect plant. Hence it comes that naturalism, relying upon negative criticism to furnish an account of biblical predictions, destroys them at the very root. Their root is in that view of the world which looks upon both the world and the inspired mind which prophetically surveys it as under the control of the same divine force. But a right conviction of the reality of the claims of the prophets to enjoy a divinely imparted foresight of the future does not at all conflict with a right critical estimate of the degrees and modes in which this foresight was obtained and exercised.

In order to a correct estimate of this entire subject, it is further necessary that we should consider the limitations of prediction. Of these limitations we observe three general classes; viz., the ethical, the historic, and the personal.

The ethical and religious ideas which underlie all Hebrew prophecy limit its predictions. The principal forms in which the later prophets express the convictions of faith as to the stability of the principles of the divine government are the four following: viz., the threatening of Israel for its sins against the divine covenant; the threatening of other nations for standing in the way of the advance of the divine kingdom, which is looked upon as centralized, so to speak, in Israel, the promise of comfort and salvation to the faithful remnant, and of Messianic blessings to the redeemed nation; the promise to other nations of a share in these blessings, and the promise to all mankind of the realizing of the perfected divine kingdom. But each of these four forms is necessarily limited by the very nature of the moral truths which enter into it. The threatening of evil, or the promise of blessing, must correspond with the moral conditions of the divine government, and with the moral relations of the objects concerning which the prediction is made. The prophet can by no means predict blessings as the fruit of sin; he cannot praise and promise well to those whose infidelity calls for punishment. His unchanging confidence is not so much in the certainty of the events which he predicts, as in the certainty that Jehovah will continue to

¹ Compare Beck, *System der Christlichen Lehre*, p. 190 f.

deal with men upon the same principles of justice, and of chastening and redeeming love (compare Isa. xli. 17-27, xlii. 9, xlviii. 5 f.). His prediction is not, then, the utterance of an inevitable fate, but the declaration of the will of a living and personal God. And inasmuch as the principles upon which the divine government is founded can never change, but the relations to this government of those whose fate is involved in the predictions may change, the fulfilment of the predictions cannot be accomplished in contradiction of the principles.

This conditional — *ethically* conditional — character of their predictions is thoroughly well understood by the Hebrew prophets themselves. It is tacitly assumed in the repentance and prayers of David (2 Sam. xii. 13 f.), and definitely announced, 1 Kings xxi. 28. Thus does Amos (vii. 1 f.) represent himself as having more than once turned aside, or delayed, the threatening judgments of Jehovah by his importunate prayers. A detailed treatment of this truth is given us in Ezek. xviii. and xxxiii.; it is also definitely taught by the noble words of Jer. xviii. 7 f. The heart of the true prophet must be so in sympathy with the divine ways of justice and mercy that to secure repentance will be esteemed of more value than to attain success in detailed prediction. His call is that men should turn to the Lord, and so He will turn to them (compare Joel ii. 12-14). One of the characteristic thoughts of the Book of Jonah is this liability, so to speak, that the Lord would fail to fulfil the prophetic predictions which he had inspired, even when the prophet might be thrown into great confusion by the failure. No little experience in Hebrew prophecy is doubtless involved in the complaint of this prophet (iv. 2), that his unconditional threat of judgment had been left in the lurch by the very power which had commissioned him to make it. But the answer to the complaint is involved in the cry of the people of Nineveh (iii. 9) to the same God whose prophet had threatened them; and the prophet is reminded, that neither he nor any other man can tell whether — if the people turn every one from his evil way — God will not turn and repent. The connection of Mic. iii. 12, in which it is prophesied that Zion shall be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, gives us to understand, that, according to the expectation of the prophet, the fulfilment of his prediction would be immediately accomplished by the approaching Assyrian army. The history of the causes which prevented

this fulfilment may be read in Isa. xxxvi. and xxxvii.; but the one theocratic cause is announced (Jer. xxvi. 18 f.) in the statement, that, because Hezekiah turned to God, God repented him of the evil which he had pronounced. This confession of technical failure to foresee precisely what would come to pass is made in behalf of Micah without any visible embarrassment. Indeed, instances appear where the prophets announce that their predictions have failed to be fulfilled in the precise form which had been expected, even when we have no warrant in their language for ascribing the failure to ethical considerations (e.g., compare Ezek. xxix. 17 ff. with xxvi. 1-xxviii. 9). The very subordination of the predictive to the ethical element in prophecy makes necessary the non-fulfilment of some predictions, or at least leaves it a matter of doubt whether changes in the ethical relations of the actors will not occasion a change in the anticipated result.¹ *Praedixi non fixi* must be the persuasion of the true prophetic consciousness.

Other limitations of biblical prediction are more properly classed as historic. It has been claimed, that the very conception of history is incompatible with the prediction of the future by those who are actors in history. A predominance of definite and absolute predictions would undoubtedly be inconsistent with a course of history regarded as dependent upon human freedom;² but such alleged predictions are comparatively rare in Hebrew prophecy. The course of history is dependent, for its steadfast adherence to the great features of an unchanging plan, upon the same divine will and thought which are revealed in the predictions of genuine prophecy. We cannot hold, then, that all prediction is precluded by the course of history; for this course is just as truly subject to the divine will for its direction as a course, as it is dependent upon human freedom for any of its particular events. And even with regard to the particular events, we may fitly admit the caution of Bleek³ against being too sure as to just how much circumstantiality of prediction is possible. We cannot even justify the unreserved application of the rule of Tholuck,⁴ that such detailed prediction as is uttered in the presence of those who are to be actors in the predicted event destroys history, — a rule which

¹ See Bertheau, *Die alttestamentliche Weissagung von Israel's Reichsherrlichkeit in seinem Lande. Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1859, pp. 372 ff.

² See Nitzsch, *System der Christlichen Lehre*, § 35.

³ *Theol. Zeitschrift von Schleiermacher, etc.*, III. p. 235.

⁴ *Die Propheten u. ihre Weissagung*, p. 105.

he illustrates by saying that Zedekiah could have known nothing of the very detailed description of the future which Ezekiel was announcing to the exiles hundreds of miles away (compare Ezek. xii. f. with Jer. xxxix.).

Upon examination of the writings of the Hebrew prophets, we do find, however, that certain kinds of circumstantiality rarely characterize their predictions. Precise dates for future events are not generally given; the exact names of predicted actors, rarely or never. Names like Immanuel, Lo-ruhamah and Lo-ammi, El-gibbor, and other similar names, carry their own explanation with them. To this rule we cannot regard Isa. xlv. 28 and xlv. 1 as exceptions; since those who still hold to the unity of Isaiah, and, therefore, to the earlier date for these predictions, are fain to prove that the name *Cyrus* is used in these passages as the general title of the Persian monarchs. The name of Josiah in 1 Kings xiii. 2 is undoubtedly an interpolation. The dates of prophecy are more frequently given in general phrases or round numbers. We are told, as in Joel i. 15, ii. 1, and Isa. xiii. 6, that the day of Jehovah is at hand; or that the threatened event is near (see Isa. xiii. 22, and compare Ezek. vii. 8), and will happen in a little while (Isa. xxi. 4, 11 f.; compare xvii. 14, and Jer. li. 38), or without much delay (as Hab. ii. 3); or that the expected trouble will last many years (Isa. xxxii. 10). In Isa. vii. 14 and viii. 4, the event is promised within the time when a child can be begotten, born, and then come to years of comparative discretion. The definite number of three years (Isa. xvi. 14), or of one year (Isa. xxi. 16), is made a somewhat indefinite expression for a brief time by adding, "as the years of a hireling," — that is, scant measure. In similar manner the time during which it is announced (Isa. xxiii. 15, 17) that Tyre shall be desolate is measured by the "days of one king:" it will correspond to the indefinite length of a dynasty.¹ The most important and seemingly definite description of future time which is found in Hebrew prophecy is that given by Jeremiah for the length of the captivity. This prophet announced in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (see Jer. i. 3), that Judah would go into captivity to Babylon seventy years (compare xxvii. and xxix.). The prophecy is declared to have been fulfilled as respects time (Ezek. i. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21; Zech. i. 12). We can, however, neither understand the words as meaning a perfectly indefinite long

¹ The threescore and five years of Isa. vii. 8 is probably an interpolation.

time, nor can we press the exact number so as to require precisely so many years for the captivity. We are quite unable to decide beyond doubt, either upon the *terminus a quo* or the *terminus ad quem* of the designed period. The nearest fair approximation to this precise number is that which places the beginning of the seventy years in the third or fourth year of Jehoiakim (604 or 608 B.C.), and the termination in the year of the permission to rebuild the temple (586): we thus have secured sixty-eight years toward the seventy. But both the termini may more justly be regarded as somewhat movable, while the attempt to force precision at once exposes the whole prophecy to adverse criticism.¹ The prediction is, however, no less divine and convincing because it is made in round numbers, and the attention not directed chiefly to the precise tale of years which must be told between two perfectly inflexible boundaries.

There is, then, a certain important truth in the so-called "theory of perspective" in the biblical predictions. "Prophecy," said Bengel,² "is like the picture of some landscape, which in the foreground shows distinctly walls and roads and bridges; but in the background crowds closely together the valleys and mountains, although in fact they lie very far apart." But this theory is chiefly true in the confession which compelled its adoption; viz., that the Old-Testament prophets no more had a clear and adequate conception of the coming times and seasons than had the disciples of Christ. Indeed, our entire interpretation of prophecy is dependent upon the truth involved in this confession. It is one result of the peculiarity of the prophetic methods of reckoning time, that they are favorable to typical interpretation.³ The day of Jehovah seemed even to the latest prophets, as it has often seemed to all faithful and longing hearts, soon to be realized. "My salvation is near," is the assurance of Jehovah to the later Isaiah (li. 5): "Seek ye Jehovah while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near" (lv. 6). As the weary years and centuries of delay dragged on, the cause of the delay was found in the sins and unbelief of men; and yet the purpose of God did not change toward his people, for his love toward them is an everlasting love (compare Jer. xxxi. 3). In saying that the Old-Testament prophets had but an imper-

¹ Compare Kuenen, *Prophets and Prophecy*, pp. 308-320.

² *Gnomon N. T.*, Matt. xxiv. 29.

³ Compare Beck, *Ibid.*, p. 193.

fect and faulty, and sometimes a mistaken, notion of the times of future events, we only accord with the manifest opinion of New-Testament writers.¹ The same opinion underlies the doctrine of Paul, that the prophets dimly foreshadow the gospel, revealing it, and yet concealing it as a "mystery."

And at this point we touch upon a larger consideration which concerns all Hebrew prophecy with respect to the historic limitations of its predictions. Prediction, as to its substance of truth, is a product and expression of certain great ethical and religious ideas and principles; but prediction is not made in abstract forms. The formal elements are furnished from history and individual experience. The special and more concrete form which the prediction must take is largely determined by historical conditions. History furnished to the Hebrew prophets the moulds in which their burning and liquid thought took on its solid shape. In respect, for example, to the time when a prophecy should be fulfilled, the substantial and ethical elements generally so blended with the formal and historic, that the two were one in the consciousness of the prophet. Thus does Joel (ii. 28 f., and iii. 2, 18) connect the time for a general divine judgment and a spiritual blessing with the return of those Jews who had been sold as slaves by the Phœnicians (iii. 3). The historical and temporal element cannot be thrown off like clothing, to leave the naked truth revealed: it is rather as the living body which bears in itself the soul of ideal truth. The means which history furnishes to hand are used to embody the divine threatenings and promises. Isaiah threatened with the Assyrians; Jeremiah, with the Chaldeans. The history of the people of Israel, being regarded as a kind of rallying-point for all the forces and interests of history, shows itself in all the prophetic conceptions of the future. The prophet foresees all coming events as forecast in the present course of Jehovah's dealings with his own people. It happens, therefore, that the differences in the adjustment of the different factors of this history, — the priests and people, prophets and rulers, kings and nobility, — make themselves felt in differences of prediction as to the final result of each adjustment.² The different ages and individual prophets, under the influence of different historic con-

¹ See 1 Pet. i. 10, and compare Matt. xi. 11; Luke vii. 28.

² See the articles of Riehm already referred to, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1865, pp. 462 ff.; and Bertheau, *Jahrbücher*, 1859, p. 599.

ditions, form different conceptions both of the precise nature of the salvation which is promised to the nation and the world, and of the means which will be employed to accomplish this salvation. For the promise of redemption did not descend to the people as a finished product, but grew with them as a living organism. The fruitage toward which the faithful turned their longing eyes was to come from a plant whose roots were in the earliest experiences of the nation, and which drew its vital sap with equal readiness from all vicissitudes of experience.

Besides the ethical and historic limitations of prediction, we must take into account certain others which are more strictly personal. The historic and the personal elements are so intimately united in the whole product, that we can scarcely tell in many cases to which of the two we should refer certain phenomena. Each prophet received the measure for his own conceptions from the store of religious ideas which were the common inheritance of the nation; fidelity to these ideas compelled him to picture the plan of the Lord for the future within certain fixed lines. Each prophet also received from the history of his own times those forms and shapes which controlled the filling-in of his picture. But each prophet was also an inspired personality,—an individual soul standing over against Jehovah to hear the message which should be revealed to him as an inspired person. As the complex result of all these classes of influence, we find the individual prophets differing in respect to their position toward the Mosaic Torah. Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, says Riehm,¹ do not show by a single word that they ascribe religious significance and authority to the ceremonial laws. We find them also differing notably as to the conception of Messianic salvation. In Joel the idea of a people, prophetic and filled with the Spirit of Jehovah, is the ruling idea; in Amos, that of the Davidic kingdom restored to the prosperity of its best days under David and Solomon (see *ix. 11*). Hosea (*ii. 2, iii. 5*) foresees Ephraim converted and turning its allegiance to the house of David. But the author of *Zech. ix.-xi.* predicts a personal Messianic king, through whose reign salvation shall come to the people. This Messianic king is further especially exalted to notice by the prophecies of Isaiah and Micah (*Isa. ix. 6 f., xi. 1 f., Mic. v. 2*). In Jeremiah and Ezekiel, although the Messianic king

¹ *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1865, p. 428 f.

is spoken of,¹ the idea of a Davidic kingdom with a succession of kings is made prominent (Jer. xvii. 25, xxii. 4, xxxiii. 17, 21; Ezek. xvii. 22 f.). The element of priestly character is added by Jer. xxx. 21. The idea of a kingdom and nation of priests is, indeed, connected with the blessings of salvation as predicted in Exod. xix. 6. The priest enters into the conception of the restored kingdom, as found in Jer. xxxi. 14 and xxxiii. 18. But it is only after the exile, in Zech. iii. 8 f., and vi. 11, that the priest becomes the antitype of Messiah as standing at the head of a redeemed community.

The principles already announced find their best illustration and enforcement in that one comprehensive subject of Old-Testament prediction, viz., the future glory of Israel to be realized in the Messianic kingdom. The reality of revelation, the organic nature of the development of prophecy, its threefold limitation, and especially the almost inseparable union of the permanent and ideal with the historical and formal elements, — all these truths are here made important and impressive.

The Messianic prophecies, in the wider sense of the words, are "all such as have reference to the actualizing of that salvation which was promised to the people of God even as early as the time of Abraham; and, in this sense of the words, nearly all the prophecies of the Hebrew prophets have a Messianic character."² The three questions, In what does this salvation consist? Who shall share in this salvation? Who will introduce this salvation? — are ever raised and answered afresh by the noblest of the prophets. In the answer to these questions, the elements which have reference to Messiah are blended with those which have reference to a temporal reign of Israel, in the land of Canaan, under a native prince, and triumphant among the nations. The Messianic kingdom is, in the thought of the prophet, the future restored Israel. In the picture of its blessings both material prosperity and spiritual favor unite.

The elements which have reference to the temporal reign of Israel include an extraordinary fruitfulness of the soil; so that it abounds in corn, new wine, and oil, and so that "the ploughman overtakes the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed." Even the waste places of Canaan become like a garden in fertility (compare Amos ix. 13, 14; Hos. xiv. 5-7; Jer. xxxi. 5, 12-14; Joel iii. 18; Zech. xiv. 8, 10; Ezek.

¹ Jer. xxiii. 5, xxx. 9, 21, xxxiii. 15, Ezek. xxi. 27, xxxiv. 23, xxxvii. 24.

² So Riehm, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1865, p. 5.

xlvi. 1-12). The multiplication of Israelites is so great, and the length of life so extended, that the sacred gates and streets of Jerusalem are crowded with aged and young (Jer. iii. 14, 16, 18; Zech. ii. 4, viii. 4 f.; Isa. lxxv. 20 f.); peace, safety, and righteousness abound in all the intercourse of the redeemed people (Mic. iv. 3 f., v. 10 f.; Isa. ii. 4, ix. 7; Hos. ii. 18). Ezekiel, although, according to the opinion of Bertheau,¹ he more than any other prophet escapes from the historical limitations of his own time, foresees a restored and much more splendid temple and temple-service, which is to be the seat and symbol of redeemed Israel after the fashion of the Mosaic cultus; he also foresees a redistribution of Canaan amongst the twelve tribes (xliii. 12 f., xlv. 1-8, xlvi.-xlviii.). The raising of the tabernacle of David is connected in the mind of Amos (ix. 11 f.) with the extension of the rule of Israel over Edom. This expectation is doubtless, as Kuenen asserts,² "purely a political expectation;" but it is followed by the implied expectation that the name of Jehovah will be proclaimed over many nations. The re-union of the tribes in one undivided nation (Hos. i. 11, xiv. 2-9; Isa. xi. 13, xxvii. 12 f.; Jer. iii. 18, xxxi. 1-9; Ezek. xxxvii. 22), and the supremacy of the house of David (Hos. iii. 5; Amos ix. 1 f.; Jer. xxxiii. 17, 20 f.; Ezek. xxxiv. 23 f.), are important factors in the prediction of the future glory of Israel.

Such predictions were not indefinite and colorless figures of speech for those who made and heard them: they were meant and understood to be full of definite contents. The prophets did, indeed, consciously resort to metaphor and hyperbole to set forth the ideal truths which were revealed to them; as, for instance, when Isaiah depicts (xlv. 14) the captive nations marching on in chains after Israel, or the kings and queens of earth acting as her foster-fathers and nursing-mothers (lx. 1-17). But probably Micah (iv. 1-5) and Isaiah (ii. 2-4) looked forward to the time when the whole earth should actually come as proselytes to join in the temple-service of Israel. And, in general, we treat the prophets fairly only when we understand them as they understood themselves. They have in general indicated when they are to be interpreted as designedly employing merely figurative descriptions. The material and temporal blessings were in their thought inseparably connected with the spiritual. The time of the blossoming of the former is also the

¹ *Jahrbücher*, 1859, p. 360.

² *Prophets and Prophecy*, p. 243.

time when the divine grace will purify the people from their sins, and sprinkle pure water over them (see Ezek. xxxvi. 16-38).

This time of salvation is, in the minds of all the later prophets, connected with the oppression and exile of the nation by a foreign power. In the minds of Joel, Amos, and Hosea, the contact of Israel with Assyria forms the point of turning for its history: just beyond this contact lies the Messianic time. Isaiah and Micah assume the punishment which the same nation will inflict upon Judah. According to Isaiah, a sacred remnant, even though it were only a tenth of the nation, will remain as the nucleus of a new and restored community of believers (vi. 13); they will have turned again with all their hearts to Jehovah (x. 20 f.); and those who have been left after the laying-waste of the land by Assyrians and Egyptians (vii. 22) will rejoice over the destruction of their enemies, and share in the blessings of the restored Davidic kingdom.¹ The conception of all these prophets connects the Messianic blessing with the dwelling of the nation in the land of Canaan; for this is the land of Jehovah (Hos. ix. 3), and exile from it is almost equivalent to banishment from the presence of Jehovah (compare 1 Sam. xxvi. 19). The promise of a return from exile is, then, the indispensable prerequisite and forerunner of the restored and perfected kingdom of Jehovah (Amos ix. 11-15; Joel iii. 1-7, 18-21; Hos. xi. 8-11; Mic. iv. 1-8; Isa. xi. 11 f.; Zech. ix.-xi.). The triumphant and glorious return of the nation is set forth (Isa. xxxiv., xxxv., xl.-lxvi.) in the most beautiful and impressive forms of speech.

That the brilliant expectations which had found expression in earlier pictures of the condition of restored Israel were not yet realized, is admitted by the latest prophets of the Old Testament (compare Zech. i. 12, vii. 5). Anew does Zechariah predict (iii., iv.) the speedy coming of the promised glory; Zerubbabel, the head of the restored community, receives the promises which were of old made glorious. The predictions which occur after the exile recognize the failure hitherto of those previously made, but they do not expect another captivity with a nobler deliverance. The promises are still regarded as, in their old form, just on the eve of fulfilment. According to Haggai (ii. 6, 21 f.), Jehovah will soon visit the earth with judgments and redemption. Zechariah foresees

¹ Such in substance is also the representation of chaps. xxviii.-xxxiii.

(vi. 13) that the activity of Messiah will soon result in rebuilding the temple and restoring its cultus. The cry of Malachi (iii. 1, 5) is heard proclaiming the day of the Lord still close at hand. And the author of Daniel sees the people, who are oppressed by the tyrant, delivered by that great Helper whom Jehovah will send; then will a kingdom of God's people be raised upon the ruins of the hostile power (compare Dan. ii. 44, vii. 8, 11 f., 21 f., viii. 17, xi. 35, xii. 1 f., 7). That this same general conception of the nature of Messianic salvation was prevalent in the time of our Lord, we have abundant proof; as it is prevalent with certain of the Jews,¹ and even with not a few Christians, in the present time.

The answer which Hebrew prophecy gives to the inquiry, Who shall share in the expected Messianic salvation? is also determined by religious ideas that are unfolded in the midst of limitations from the course of history. Joel predicts that judgment will so fall upon and crush the Phoenicians, Philistines, Egyptians, and Edomites, that they will no more oppress Israel, and then the latter will dwell unmolested in its own land. But Israel was never delivered, as this prophet predicted, from the oppression of surrounding nations: other historical connections took the place of those prevalent in the time of Joel. On the whole, even under this oppression, the prediction of the prophets became one of salvation rather than of judgment and destruction to the Gentiles. The idea of Messianic salvation lost its cast of particularity; Israel in the person of her prophets more and more opened her arms to receive all the nations of the earth to a share in her own blessing. This liberal view of Messianic salvation, although on the whole gaining ground, was, nevertheless, constantly subject to historic limitations. In the opinion of Riehm,² the earliest proclamation of the idea of universal salvation is found in the prophecies of Isa. ii. 2-4, and Mic. iv. 1-4, it recurs again and again in Isaiah (viii. 9, xviii. 3, 7, xix. 18-25); it forms an important element in the predictions of Jeremiah,

¹ For the later Talmudic view of Messiah and the Messianic time, see some interesting remarks by Hirsch B. Fassel, *Die mosaïsch-rabbinische Tugend- und Rechtslehre*, Gr.-Kanizsa, 1862, pp. 100 ff. "The denial of the Messianic time," says this author, "is a demolition of prophecy, and calls in question the mission of Judaism and the special goal of humanity. . . . But faith in the coming of a personal Messiah, in order to establish again the earthly kingdom of Zion, does not belong to the fundamental truths of the religion of Israel."

² *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1866, p. 483.

Zephaniah, Habakkuk, and Zechariah.¹ Yet this salvation is connected with the acceptance by the nations of the ordinances and cultus of Mosaism. The redeemed Israel will be a blessing to all the nations of the earth, a light to all the heathen (Isa. xlv. 14). The same idea is conveyed, in words which were understood as partly realistic, partly symbolical, when (Isa. xi. 6-8) all creation is affected with the peace of God's people. Then is the light of sun and moon increased (Isa. xxx. 26), and sorrow and death are banished (Isa. xxiv.-xxvii.); then a wide and deep stream of healing flows forth from the temple of Jehovah (Ezek. xlvii. 1-12). Egypt is to be converted (Isa. xviii. 7, xix. 18 f.), and Assyria numbered among the people of Jehovah, to him the wealth of Tyre will be consecrated (Isa. xxiii. 17 f.). Jehovah, we are told (Zeph. ii. 11 and iii. 9), will give pure lips and docile hearts to the Gentiles. With a figure of speech which is thoroughly biblical, we are assured (Isa. xxv. 6-8) that God will take away the veil that covers the face of all peoples. He of the burning heart and glowing pen, whose holy inspiration has left on record words for the unceasing cheer and comfort of all believers, declares that the servant of Jehovah, whom he predicts, shall be light and righteousness and salvation, alike for Jews and Gentiles (Isa. xlix. 7, lx. 2 f.).

Who, then, shall introduce this glorious Messianic salvation? Under varying conditions and limitations, and yet by the power of a progressive divine revelation, this anxious question receives its more and more complete answer. It is only at a comparatively late period in Hebrew prophecy that the answer is found in the prevalent expectation of a personal Messiah. It is never found in such form as to correspond in other than ideal and typical fashion to the facts of historical Christianity. The conception of the Messianic king whom Isaiah predicts (vii. ff.) is woven into closest connection with the events of his own time. Immanuel is to be born soon after Judah is delivered by Jehovah from the combined attacks of Israel and Syria (vii. 16). He will, together with all his people, suffer the effects of the wasting of the land by the Egyptians and Assyrians, since he must be nourished on the natural products of milk and honey (17-25). Yet he will live to rejoice in the freeing of his people from the Assyrian yoke (ix. 3 f.). The two kingdoms of Israel

¹ Jer. iii. 17, iv. 2, xli. 15 f., xvi. 19, xlviii. 47, xlix. 6, 39; Zeph. ii. 11, iii. 9; Hab. ii. 14; Zech. xii.-xiv.

and Judah will be united in one under him, and will thus make subject the Philistines in the west, and the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, in the east (xi. 1-14). Micah seems to expect that the Messianic ruler will not be born in Jerusalem, which had been ruined and desecrated by its enemies, but out of the ancient family of Ephrathites from Bethlehem, from the family and place from which David sprang (Mic. iii. 12, v. 2 f.). Jeremiah expects him as a Branch of righteousness which will sprout forth unto David (xxxiii. 15 f., compare xxiii. 5). He will be a ruler who will have courage and permission to approach Jehovah (xxx. 21); he will be, as it were, a new David (xxx. 9). Hosea (iii. 5) and Ezekiel (xxxiv. 23 f., xxxvii. 22 f.) predict him as the true servant of Jehovah, the Shepherd and Prince over Israel forever. It is he whom the writer of Zech. ix.-xi. sees entering Jerusalem after having won peace from his enemies, righteous and triumphant, and yet lowly and riding upon an ass.

But Bertheau¹ may with reason claim, that it is the later Isaiah who most definitely foresaw how it was that the salvation of Israel and of the world should finally be accomplished. For of all the Old-Testament prophets he is most free in his movement, most grand in his sweep of thought, amidst the ideal elements of the true Messianic salvation. The comforting word of the Lord is spoken to his people (xl.). They, of all nations in the earth, have no need to fear the advancing power of Cyrus (xli.); for through him will God carry out his plans of salvation. Israel is the servant of Jehovah (xlii.), and God will place his Spirit upon him; God, who alone is God, has chosen Israel for his servant (xliv.). The return from exile is not now expected in a triumphal homeward march like that of Isa. xxxiv. f.: the servant of God, the faithful Israel, is to labor and suffer in humility for the spread of Jehovah's kingdom. It is not enough for Jehovah to do for his servant, that he shall simply bring back the ransomed of Israel (xlix. 1-3): his servant shall be a source of salvation to the ends of the earth. But the path to triumph in the conflict with hardened Jews and opposing Gentiles lies through self-surrender and self-sacrifice. Obediently, then, must the suffering servant of Jehovah bare his back to receive the stripes of scorn from the scorners among his own people.

With the statement of the limitations of prediction is closely

¹ See Jahrbücher, 1860, p. 495 f.

connected the answer to the question which concerns the nature of its fulfilment. Indeed, this answer has already been indicated in the present chapter; and, so far as the view of Christ determines it, has also been given in detail in a previous chapter.¹ The interpreter who believes in supernatural religion, and in the validity of the claims to revelation and inspiration which are made by the Old-Testament prophets, and who, at the same time, remains faithful to historical criticism, has proposed to him these two distinct and yet closely related inquiries: What did the prophets themselves understand, and intend that their hearers should understand, by their words? What did the Spirit of revelation which wrought in them intend to convey to the world through them?² The former of these two inquiries is a purely historical and critical inquiry; the latter is a mixed historical and dogmatic inquiry. We can by no means maintain with Hengstenberg,³ that the historical and critical inquiry is of no great importance. For that which the Spirit teaches through the prophets was given in historical form: and to disregard or pervert the historical form is not simply to be untrue to criticism; it is also to repress and injure the substance of religious truth.

In considering the fulfilment of prediction, we must constantly bear in mind both the difference and the close connection of the two above-mentioned inquiries.⁴ Did that really happen which the prophets predicted would happen? Did the result correspond to the form in which they understood their own words, and wished them to be understood by their contemporaries? Or did not, the rather, all prophecy in its spirit and intent fulfil the design of the Spirit who gave it through the prophets? And does it not, so far as it is Messianic in the broadest sense, realize all its ideal elements only in the work and life of Jesus Christ? To the former of these inquiries we must give in some cases a doubtful, and in some a negative, answer: to the latter, we can give in all cases an undivided affirmative. In the Old-Testament prophecy, faulty formal elements entered into the shell which covered the kernel of ideal truth. Even in the Messianic prophecies there are individual predictions, and there are prevalent formal elements, which have never yet met with a realization in history. The

¹ Viz., the first in Part I. ² See Riehm, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1865, p. 9 f.

³ In his *Christologie*, 2^e Aufl., III. 2, p. 204.

⁴ Compare Riehm, *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 211.

ideal elements of the forgiveness of sins, of restored communion with God, of wider and deeper influences of the Holy Spirit to be bestowed upon the world at large, have all been fulfilled in Christ. Moreover, the fulfilment has in its form shown so many marked correspondences with the form in which the prophets expected the ideal elements to be realized, as to create the well-founded impression that the same Eternal Spirit spoke in the prophets what he performed in Christ. But Jerusalem has not become the centre of true worship, or the city of special divine self-revelation (compare Jer. iii. 16 f., and John iv. 23 f.); nor are the Jews re-established in Canaan in a permanent state of great temporal prosperity and dominion. The King, the Priest, the Anointed, the suffering Servant of Jehovah, the mighty Hero and Prince of peace, was not such an one as the prophets expected. Shall we, then, continue to expect something more precisely like what they expected, waiting in the hope that the precise forms of their prediction will be realized in the time yet to come? All the analogies of prophecy itself, all the historic probabilities, and all the spirit of the New-Testament teaching, are against such an expectation. We confess, therefore, the imperfection in form of Old-Testament prediction, and the failure of some of its more particular expectations; but we affirm our confidence that its promises are all yea and amen in Jesus Christ. That the Christian Church has taken the place of the Jews to receive in different form the substance of the salvation which they expected for themselves, is the teaching of the Apostle to the Gentiles (Acts xiii. 46; Rom. i. 16 and iii. 1 f.). The Christian Church is, then, the true Israel, the seed of Abraham, the inheritor and recipient of the Messianic prophecies¹ (Rom. iv. 16 f., ix. 6 f., 24 f., 2 Cor. vi. 2, 16 f.; Gal. iii. 7, iv. 27, vi. 16, compare 1 Pet. ii. 9), it is the heir to the promises of Messianic salvation (Rom. iii. 29 f., x. 12; 1 Cor. xii. 13; Gal. iii. 28 f.; Eph. ii. 11-22; Col. iii. 11).

As to particular predictions which relate to the fate of Israel and the surrounding nations in their future political relations, we may even follow the example of Kuenen, and speak of prophecies as fulfilled or unfulfilled. But the prophecies themselves, and the causes of their fulfilment or non-fulfilment, we regard in a totally different way from that author. The his-

¹ See Bertheau, *Ibid.*, p. 340 f.; but for a different view, see Auberlen, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1858, p. 778 f.

tory of Old-Testament prophecy shows us unfulfilled predictions. Tyre was not, according to the prophecy of Isa. xxiii. 1, 15 (compare Ezek. xxvi. 1-xxviii. 10), subjected to the Assyrians so as, after lying waste for a long time, to resume its ancient commercial importance. Babylon did not fall into destruction before the attack of Cyrus as was predicted (Isa. xiii., xiv., xxi., xl.-lxvi.). The Egyptians were not led into exile to Babylon, as Isaiah (xvii., xix.), Jeremiah (xlvi.), and Ezekiel (xxix.) threatened.¹ The condition of Jerusalem after the exile never corresponded with the predictions of the prophets. Nor can we escape from these admissions of unfulfilled prophecies by any so-called "theory of perspective," or spiritualizing of the primary and historical meaning of the predictions. We cannot claim that the destruction of Tyre by Alexander was a fulfilment of its predicted destruction by the Assyrian forces, nor look upon the decline of Babylon, in common with most Oriental cities, as the fulfilment of the threat that it would be laid waste by Cyrus. But, on the other hand, we cannot reduce those predictions of this class which have been fulfilled to the level of ordinary political calculation. And, furthermore, the fact that the fulfilment of prediction depends in certain cases upon conduct which is to be affected by the prediction itself, was well understood by the prophets themselves (see Jer. xxvi. 18 f.), and in no way injures the validity of their claims. Even the eagerness which the Old-Testament writers of history sometimes display in recording all such phenomena as might be looked upon as fulfilments of prophecy, may be urged in behalf of their historic fidelity, and of the reality of the alleged fulfilments. Thus Ewald, Niebuhr, Tholuck, and others, although we have no independent historic proof for the fulfilment of Isa. xxi. 16, nevertheless suppose that the event *must* have corresponded to the prediction: they do this on the ground that such a written prediction could not have established itself, if it had not appeared fulfilled.

We are in truth without sufficient data to answer in every case the question, Why, and in how far, did the particular prophecies of the Old Testament remain unfulfilled? In many cases we can only conjecture how much of the seeming failure was due to the mingling of mistaken impressions in the minds

¹ Unless, indeed, we adopt the doubtful explanation that they were led away in the person of certain selected individuals of note: see Tholuck, *Die Propheten*, etc., p. 130.

of those who uttered the predictions; how much, rather, to changes in those historical and ethical conditions in view of which the prediction was understood to be made. If it were true, as Kuenen and Kamphausen claim, that Jeremiah, between the verbal utterance of his prophecies (i. 15 and ii. f.) and the commission of them to writing, had changed his view as to the particular nation from the North which should be the instrument of God's chastisement of Israel, we could not argue that therefore his former prediction was merely an unfulfilled calculation.

We affirm, then, our fidelity to the truths of history and criticism in the admission that certain particular predictions of the Old Testament, so far as any facts known to us would indicate, have been unfulfilled in their primary and historic meaning. We recognize also the general truth which criticism establishes as applicable to all even of the Messianic prophecies: they are not given in such form that we can either prove or expect for them a precise fulfilment according to their primary and historic meaning. But we also affirm, that these prophecies, and especially all the Messianic prophecies in the broader sense of the term, show in their predictive elements the proofs of divine revelation; that they give to us the substance of the truth which was to be more fully revealed in the gospel; that they give this substantial truth in forms, which, on account of their wonderful correspondences with the history of Jesus Christ, are to be ascribed to inspiration; and that, in brief, all the Old-Testament predictions of Messianic salvation are, both as to substance and form of truth, typically fulfilled in Jesus Christ.

And, furthermore, essentially this same view of the nature of prediction and its fulfilment is that held by the writers of the New Testament. In this view they evince their own inspiration, because they are taught it by the Spirit, and did not reach it as the doubtful result of uncertain critical analysis and historical study. But since they did not possess the acquaintance with facts of history which such analysis and study may bring to us, and since they were not in these respects guarded by their inspiration against mistakes, we cannot always expect from them fidelity to the primary and historic meaning in their discernment of the secondary and typical. We actually find in their citation of the predictions of the Old Testament a blending of two seemingly adverse qualities. We find

a rare insight into the ideal truths of the predictions, and into the providential correspondences of form in which these truths are announced in the Old Testament, and fulfilled in the New. We also find certain mistakes as to alleged correspondences of form. We may ascribe the insight to inspiration, and the mistakes to rabbinical training and lack of hermeneutical skill. We find in the insight a proof that the writers had received the promised Spirit of Christ: we find in the hermeneutical mistakes a proof that they had not always spoken with that reserve, where critical inquiries seem involved, which characterizes the speech of Christ. Moreover, the different authors of the New Testament show different special tendencies in dealing with Old-Testament prediction. The first Gospel is pre-eminently Jewish and rabbinical in its tendencies: it therefore shows a correspondingly large number of hermeneutical mistakes. But for all such mistakes it far more than compensates, and in spite of them establishes its claim to inspiration, by the insight into Messianic truth which it displays. In these respects Mark stands in contrast with Matthew, since he rarely asserts the typical fulfilment of the predictions of the Old Testament. In certain cases, however, the view of Mark is implied in an allusion, rather than directly asserted.¹

The conclusions of criticism regarding the fulfilment of Old-Testament prophecy, as understood by the writers of the New Testament, have already been illustrated.² We add in this connection, however, a number of more specific illustrations. When, for instance, it is declared (Matt. i. 22 f.) that the prediction of Isa. vii. 14 was fulfilled in the birth of Jesus from the Virgin Mary, we cannot overlook the plain fact that the author has erred in supposing the prophet to have used the word עֲלִיקָה in the strict sense which belongs to its translation in the LXX. (*πάθωνος*). A study of the passage in the Prophet also shows us, that by the Immanuel who should be born he intended to designate the theocratic rescuer of the land of Judah from the oppression of the combined forces of Syria and Israel. The divine rescue by one born of woman within the nation was, however, most completely and ideally fulfilled in Jesus. That the same Evangelist has (ii. 15) quite overlooked the historical meaning of Hos. xi. 1, and has changed

¹ Compare Matt. xlii. 14, and Mark iv. 12; Matt. xlii. 35, and Mark iv. 33 f.; Matt. viii. 17, and Mark i. 34; Matt. xxi. 4 f., and Mark xi. 3 f.

² Part I., chap. v.

the utterance of a fact into a prediction, we must confess: it is only upon the general principle,—a fact in the history of Israel may foreshadow one in the life of Jesus Christ,—that the return of the holy family from Egypt can be referred to the exodus of Israel from the same land. The primary reference of Isa. ix. 1 f., which is quoted inexactly (Matt. iv. 13 f.) from the LXX., concerns the relief of a region of Palestine from Assyrian oppression: its fulfilment is, however, alleged to have taken place when Christ established himself in Capernaum. Theocratic salvation came to this region as the Evangelist saw, but in a different manner from that in which the prophet foresaw its coming. The same Evangelist affirms (viii. 17) that the prophecy of Isa. liii. 4 concerning the undeserved and vicarious suffering of the servant of Jehovah is fulfilled in the sympathizing and self-sacrificing effort of Jesus to remove the sicknesses of the people. The affirmation is true: although we must doubt whether the Greek word νόσος correctly represents the Hebrew נִכְאֵב; although we must also conclude, according to the analogy of Christ's own view of other similar passages, that Messiah was only typically set forth by the ancient prophecy. It is only upon the principle, that the teaching of the ancient seer may be regarded as a type of the teaching of Christ, and as containing the *latentes rerum Messiae figuras* which Christ realized, that the quotation of Ps. lxxviii. can be justified in the case of Matt. xiii. 34 f.¹ Thus does the presence of the Messianic idea in Isa. xlii. 1 ff., which both the Chaldee paraphrase and Kimchi refer to Messiah, justify the quotation in Matt. xii. 18-21. Yet even here we cannot hold that the prediction had primary reference to a personal Messiah, and must moreover remember the caution of Meyer: In the longer citations from the Old Testament it is not every constituent part which is an integrant element of the prophecy, and which is therefore to be fulfilled as such. Other instances of the typical interpretation of Old-Testament prediction occur throughout the New Testament, which need give no offence to any critic who is able to enter into the divine ideas of the writers. Such an instance is that where John

¹ This quotation follows the LXX. in the first clause, but departs from it widely in the second (Matthew, *ἐρεύξομαι κεκρυμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς*; LXX., *φθεγξομαι προβλεψατα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*). The designation of the author as "the Prophet" may be justified by the position of the psalm in the Old-Testament Canon, and not by the Hebrew ascription of the psalm to Asaph, who is called a seer (2 Chron. xxix. 30).

Baptist (Matt. iii. 3, and parallel passages) applies to himself the mission and cry of the herald whom Isa. xl. 3 represented as running before the Israelites on their return from exile with Jehovah as their leader. Another such is where our Lord applies to himself, as pre-eminently inspired for the pity and relief of the poor, the passage (already referred to) from Isa. xlii. 1 f. Forever true, and irrespective of the question whether the apostle has made the right grammatical connection of the words, is the prediction of that prophet who was inspired to make firm his confidence in Jehovah, even when it had been disappointed after much patient waiting: "The just shall live by his faith" (compare Hab. ii. 4, and Rom. i. 17).

It is the unity of religious experience which runs throughout all Scripture, that gives in large degree a certain predictive cast to many passages not in themselves strictly predictive.¹ It is this characteristic of Scripture which makes it possible for Christ to apply to himself, and to his entry into Jerusalem, the sacred festival-song of Israel (Ps. cxviii. 26), and to draw an argument applicable to his own work from Ps. lxxviii. 24 and Ps. lxxxii. 6 (John vi. 31 and x. 84). As predictive of Messiah in the stricter sense, the consciousness of the Christian Church, following the leadership of the Jewish, selected certain ones from the entire body of the Psalms. The psalms cited as Messianic in the New Testament are, according to H. Schultz, the following: viz., ii., viii., xvi., xxii. (lxix.) (xli.?), xlv. (lxviii.?), cii., cx. (cxviii.) (xl.) (xcvii.). Of these the Apostolic Church, in essential dependence upon Christ's own words, regarded ii., viii., xvi., xxii., cx., as predictive of Messiah in the first rank; lxix. and cxviii. in the second rank, but xl., xli., xlv., lxviii., xcvi., cii., were considered as Messianic from the more artificial point of view, and as a result of the rabbinical art of interpretation. The keenness and fidelity of their insight are justified and evinced in this selection; while the limitations which belonged to them, as interpreters of their own Scriptures, are also exemplified.

Comparatively few instances of hermeneutical error in interpreting prophecy more serious than those already mentioned occur in the New Testament. Yet a few such do undoubtedly occur. The passage, Matt. xxvii. 9 f., contains several marked adaptations which exhibit considerable departures from both the Hebrew and the LXX., and which seem designed to make

¹ See the article in the *Stud. und Krit.*, 1866: Ueber doppelten Schriftsinn.

the fulfilment of prediction more minute and impressive. Moreover, the special detail which asserts a fulfilment in that the price of Messiah's rejection went for the purchase of a "potter's field," appears to rest upon a corruption of the text. The Hebrew here translated "to the potter" should quite certainly read "into the treasury" (see Zech. xi. 13).¹ But even in admitting that the Evangelist has accommodated language very freely to the history in which he saw the fulfilment of prophecy, and has laid stress upon a corruption of the Hebrew text, we still assert his fidelity to the main ideas and facts. He sees truly when he sees, in the one of whom the ancient prophet speaks as so despised and rejected by Israel that he was estimated at a paltry sum, the type of Jesus, betrayed, despised, and actually disposed of by the same Israel for the same paltry sum. Philological play like that of Matt. ii. 23, although probably justified by the real derivation of the word Nazareth, would seem like a kind of solemn trifling, did we not remember the grounds upon which the writer considered even the minutest portions of Old-Testament prophecy and of New-Testament history as alike under the control of one divine Spirit.

An instructive example of the way in which the writers of the New Testament may at the same time disregard and employ the verbal peculiarities of the Old, is furnished by Luke iv. 16-30. The Evangelist, while referring to a passage from Isaiah (lxi. 1 ff.) as read by our Lord from a manuscript-roll, nevertheless quotes the words with the utmost freedom, and in a form in which they could not have been read from any MS. While citing a passage which should be given accurately from the Hebrew, he gives the LXX. freely and from memory, and introduces an inaccurate Greek translation of one Hebrew clause,² together with another clause taken by an inaccuracy

¹ אל-ה'אוצר being substituted for אל-ה'הוצר by a not infrequent interchange of א and ה; and so Kimchi explains it, and two MSS. actually have it (see Meyer). This change is necessitated by the Hebrew text, and is almost uniformly adopted by modern scholars. Henderson, who pronounces it "worse than gratuitous," makes no attempt to explain the words "house of Jehovah," which Matthew has omitted, or the very significant substitution by the Evangelist of the word οἶκος for the word ρύσας. Nor are any of the attempted explanations of these points, which do not admit the corruption of the text, at all satisfactory. But why, if corruptions of the Hebrew text occur as they certainly do, should the Evangelists be inspired so as infallibly to avoid them?

² The words καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψεν, found in the LXX. and adopted in the quotation of Luke, are either a mistranslation of the present Hebrew text, or perhaps a translation of a Hebrew text which differed from the present, and corresponded more nearly with the parallel passage of Isa. xlii. 7.

of memory from another passage of the same prophet. Yet he is none the less in heartfelt and inspired sympathy with the great thought of the ancient prediction and of the teaching of our Lord.

All the above-mentioned considerations find a special exemplification at almost every step in the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews. On the one hand we are constantly called upon to admire the penetrating insight of the author into the essential characteristics of both Judaism and Christianity, and into that wonderful correspondence of formal elements which undoubtedly exists between the two. But, on the other hand, we are as constantly forced to confess that he quite neglects, or even perverts, the plain historical meaning of many of the passages which he cites from the Old Testament. Nor can we refrain from feeling that his argument, in its details and in its general course, is chiefly valid as an *argumentum ad hominem*, addressed to contemporaries who were in accord with the principles of hermeneutics which it assumes.

The same considerations must largely control our interpretation of New-Testament prediction also. But as to the matter and manner of its fulfilment we are left almost wholly in doubt, because history has not yet furnished the light in which to consider the fact of fulfilment. The prophecy of the New Testament must in general be conceived of after the analogy of the Old, especially so far as its predictive elements are concerned. These elements are given to us chiefly in certain parables of our Lord, in his eschatological discourses, and in the Apocalypse: they are, however, by no means wanting in some of the Epistles. Their general subject is, of course, the kingdom of God on earth in its new and final form of Christianity. In the critical examination of Matt. xxiv. ff. and parallel passages, we must raise two questions; the answers to which are connected, and yet both involved in special difficulty. We have first of all to consider, as does Immer,¹ that the several features of the eschatological discourses are essentially moulded after the prophecies of Daniel. But, inasmuch as we know from other writings of the New Testament that the early disciples expected the speedy fulfilment of these predictions, criticism raises the inquiry: To what extent has this expectation made itself felt in the accounts which we have received of the predictions themselves? Criticism also inquires: How, and to what extent, did

¹ *Hermeneutik des N. T.*, p. 202.

Christ intend to predict the particular events of the future? The destruction of Jerusalem and the *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος* are inextricably interwoven in the records. Did Christ designedly give these predictions in forms which corresponded to those of Old-Testament prediction? The predictions certainly left his hearers in inevitable doubt as to the precise times and ways of their fulfilment; and as to how much was to be understood in an historical, and how much in a typical, sense.

Hebrew prophecy was, then, correctly understood by the New-Testament writers to be, in its Messianic elements, typically predictive of Christianity. This view of prophecy springs unfailing forth from the consciousness of Jesus Christ: it is demanded by a rational estimate of revelation and of its phenomena in Scripture; it is justified by an organic view of history as developed under the control of one Holy Spirit; and, finally, it is corroborated by the witness of the Christian consciousness. Nevertheless, under the impetus of the general endeavor to find all the predictive elements of the Old Testament fulfilled in Christ, the New-Testament writers have fallen into certain errors respecting the details of hermeneutics and of textual criticism. The safer limits for the typical interpretation of prophecy are sufficiently suggested in the reserve of Christ, and in the most general and defensible practice of his apostles. Neither the Church nor the individual interpreter has any call or right to enlarge the domain of types beyond these limits.

But what is the effect upon the general doctrine of Sacred Scripture which follows from this modification of view as to the nature of prophecy and its fulfilment? The modification is compulsory upon all who are not willing to close their eyes to the plainest of scriptural phenomena. The general reply to the above question may be given in these words: By fidelity to historical interpretation we lose nothing from the faith that all the divine promises are yea and amen in Christ Jesus.¹ We gain much, however, in conformity with organic views of history and revelation, and in the enlargement of our conceptions as to that wide and varied divine work which was done through prophets and apostles, and left on record in the Sacred Scriptures. The office of the prophets, in furthering the Messianic salvation which they predicted, was much more truly divine than it would have been had it consisted chiefly in giving pre-

¹ Compare Riehm, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1880, p. 281 f.

cise details of time and circumstance. Surely the proofs of Christianity and of the Bible would be in no way strengthened if, instead of the far grander ideal which sacred history has furnished, the exact form predicted had been ushered in. We should be no better convinced by the testimony of prophecy if we could at this moment behold the Jews ruling over Canaan and the surrounding regions by an exalted race of princes from the Davidic line, with plentiful harvests, and crowds of young and old to flock into the temple, which, enlarged and beautified, was sitting upon its ancient seat in Jerusalem.

The divine plan included, however, both the more immediate and historical meaning and effect of prophecy, and also the more remote and ideal. We thus have a twofold proof of the work of revelation and inspiration as it is given in diplomatic form within the Sacred Scriptures. There is, first, the prophet, who utters the mind of the Spirit with his own more or less clear recognition of the principles he proclaims, and with no little ignorance and error as to the precise form in which these principles will be realized in the history of the future; there is, secondly, the Christian writer, who, although not a thorough critical exegete after the modern type, all the better recognizes in the ancient prophet the predictions which are typically fulfilled in the actual history of his own time. The self-conscious intent of the former does not exhaust the meaning of the truths he proclaims; the interpretation of the latter does not concern itself with scrupulous adherence to details. But when we compare the prophets with all that the most consummate political sagacity has been able to suggest as to God's dealings with the world; when we also compare the ideal principles of the apostles with the rabbinizing of their own time, and the yet worse rabbinizing of the later Christian Church, — then we are indeed convinced that the Spirit of God was, in a peculiar manner, with both prophets and apostles.

We conclude, then, that the predictive contents of the Bible confirm essentially the same truths concerning the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture as those with which we are already familiar. These contents must be referred to revelation, and they imply the inspiration of those who uttered or interpreted them. But these contents, like those of all the other classes, are not pure ideas and truths of revelation: they are mingled with imperfect and erroneous formal elements. We have this treasure also in earthen vessels. The process of separating

between the divine and the human, which are so intimately joined as to seem like body and soul together, is one which cannot be wholly declined: it is one, however, which calls for both reverence and critical skill. The best results can be attained only when this process is guided both by scholarship and by devotion to the Spirit of Christ. Moreover, it is only by an inference, sometimes rather remote and uncertain, that we can carry our convictions regarding the utterers and interpreters of the prophetic contents over to the writings which hold these contents. Revelation and inspiration have primary reference to prophetic and apostolic, or simply Christian, personality; they refer to writings only in a secondary and figurative way. We can speak of revelation and inspiration as applied to the predictive contents of the Bible, not only because they were originally uttered, but also because they have been recorded and interpreted, under the influence of that Spirit of revelation which fulfilled them all in Christ.

But, inasmuch as the predictive contents so largely concern the development of the Messianic kingdom, they furnish in some respects a special proof for the divine nature and origin of Sacred Scripture. The prophetic writings exhibit a special insight and sympathy with respect to the things of God's salvation. The very centre of the claim which the Bible makes to the title Sacred Scripture lies in its Messianic contents: the predictive contents are almost wholly Messianic contents, in the larger sense of the words.

Moreover, these contents bind together the two Testaments, and the different books of each, in a manner which does not belong to the other classes of contents. By their very nature they awaken that desire which looks backward and forward; they are uniting bands and organizing forces in all the details of those writings in which their presence may be discerned. They discover and evince an organic view of the biblical history, and of the different stages and ways of divine revelation. They enable us to see all things fulfilled in Him who is the goal in prospect, the centre in contemplation, the guide and example in retrospect. They then present at least a hint—and we should rather say, a strong intimation—of that view of the records of revelation which considers them as possessing a kind of organic unity under the control of the Holy Spirit. It is this view which makes the study of the history of the Canon so important to a right understanding of Sacred Scrip-

ture. The very appearance *in writing* of a large body of predictive contents is a divine promise of future corresponding revelations of the Divine Spirit. It is also a challenge to the pious to preserve and venerate such writings, for these writings are to furnish premonitions and tests for the coming work of God with his people. And when we see lying within the Bible a kind of well-rounded sphere of predictions concerning Christ and Messianic salvation, we are made the readier to believe that in some sense an organizing and unifying Spirit of God has wrought throughout the whole.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS DEPENDENT UPON THE ETHICO-RELIGIOUS CONTENTS OF THE BIBLE.

THE relations in which the discussions of this chapter stand to those of both the preceding and the following chapters is peculiar; and the peculiarity of this relation is such as to necessitate, to a considerable extent, a change in the nature and method of inquiry. For, in the first place, it may be assumed as an undisputed truth, that the ethical and religious contents of the Bible are the contents which give to it pre-eminently the title of Sacred Scriptures. It is to these contents, regarded in their widest significance, that we subordinate all the others; it is in them that the claim of the Hebrew and Christian writings to the gifts of revelation and inspiration is, so to speak, located and manifested. The very gist and core of whatever truth the Bible may contain is in its truth upon moral and religious themes. The very heart of an inquiry into the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture is reached only when we come into contact with the ethico-religious life of that Scripture.

And yet it is manifest, in the second place, that the ethico-religious contents of the Bible cannot be wholly separated and considered apart from the other classes of contents. The gist and core of biblical truth is not to be reached by a merely superficial analysis, which results in unloosing the more natural connections so as to form fictitious classes of materials. We have not been deceiving ourselves with the thought that we could tear truth from truth, while we have been considering, in detail and in order, the so-called scientific, miraculous, historical, predictive, and finally the ethico-religious contents. Just at this point it needs to be said, that the theory of inspiration which makes the biblical writings inspired and infallible in moral and religious matters, and in those only, is at once condemned by a clear view merely of the nature of the case.

Yet again, it is manifest that the method of inquiry into

matters of ethical and religious truth cannot be merely historical and critical, like that of the inquiry into matters of fact, historical or scientific. Criticism may be competent to establish either the composite or the integral structure of the Pentateuch, the Mosaic or non-Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy, the genuine or spurious character of the Second of Peter and the Third of John. Historical research may succeed in pronouncing, with more or less of evidence and corresponding confidence, upon the trustworthiness of the traditions concerning the patriarchs, the chronicles of the kings of Judah and Israel, or the narrative of the Book of Acts. Science may assert, and, as far as can be, prove, a theory of world-building, which shall confirm or contravene the impressions of the writer of the biblical cosmogony. But neither criticism, nor historical research, nor scientific discovery, can tell us whether the Mosaic Torah, the imprecatory Psalms, and the historians of the bloody wars of Israel, have held and taught a pure righteousness; much less, what are the inner meaning and spirit of the moral and religious truths set forth in Christ. Neither can unaided criticism even exhibit, in a faithful, systematic form, the great ethico-religious principles which are found in the Old and New Testaments. For the discovery and testing of such truths, another kind of instrument is needed; and this needed organ, or sense, or instrument, is an enlightened moral and religious consciousness. Criticism, historical research, and even scientific discovery, are not, however, wholly useless in the inquiry after the nature and origin of this class of contents: on the contrary, they are all of real but subordinate — they may become of indispensable — importance. It is only by scientific exegesis, as used, indeed, by the eye of an enlightened moral consciousness, that we can determine what are the ethico-religious contents of the Bible. Without doubt the Christian critic will regard them quite differently from the mind which approaches them without the insight and favorable attitude that characterize such a critic. What would Democritus, Plato, or Seneca judge concerning the excellence of these moral and religious truths, if they could be submitted to his judgment? What would these worthies judge to be true as to the very nature of such truths? But the most Christian critic cannot even assume to know what the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments really teach touching morals and religion, without subjecting these same Scriptures to a critical and exegetical

examination. The Scriptures must speak for themselves in order that truth may be spoken concerning them; and this is undoubtedly so, however much depends upon the kind of ear and mind which listens to them. Moreover, there are many things taught in the Bible, the morality and religious bearing of which we cannot accurately judge without that knowledge of the circumstances and characters of its teachers, and also of the cognate moral and religious teachings of a like antiquity and grade of civilization, which only critical and historical researches can bestow.

It is plain, then, that we must, for the time being, somewhat change the nature and method of our inquiry. For confirmation of much which will be either said or implied regarding moral and religious truth, an appeal must be taken to the moral and religious consciousness. For an appreciation of the truths, in the setting-forth of which the offices of revelation and inspiration culminate, the appeal must be taken to the Christian consciousness. At the same time we must do no violence to any laws of exegesis and criticism: we must rather make what use we can of these laws.

But from the very beginning of our inquiry into the claims and phenomena of the Bible, we have been dealing largely with the same ethico-religious contents. From the point where we heard the voice of Christ in Matt. v. 17 ff., declaring his own position toward the Law and the Prophets, up to the present point, these contents have been prominently in view. In all the subsequent, and especially in the latest, parts of this inquiry, the stress of emphasis and endeavor will fall upon the same truth. For the moral and religious contents of the Scriptures invite us over the entire circuit of revealed truth; pre-eminently, of all that fact and doctrine which constitutes the truth of Christianity itself. It will not be necessary, however, to compass a complete system of biblical ethics or biblical theology. We shall, in the main, take the validity and incomparable excellence of these contents for granted.

What is proposed at present may, then, be very briefly accomplished under the following three divisions: First, the relations in which the ethico-religious contents of the Bible stand to all its other classes of contents will be pointed out; it will thus appear in what special sense we may regard them as locating the central point of its revelation, and as serving for the vehicle and manifestation of its inspiration. Second, the ques-

tion as to the relative or absolute perfection and infallibility of these contents will be raised, and very briefly answered. Third, mention will be made of some of those more distinguishing characteristics of these contents which serve to define the nature of the claim made by the writings of the Old and New Testaments to the title Sacred Scripture.

The intimate connection of the ethical and religious truth of the Bible with the claims made for it by its writers and teachers, and with all the kinds of truth alleged to be taught in its writings, has been made obvious by all our previous exegetical and critical researches.

It is claimed in the Bible, that its writers speak moral and religious truths revealed to them by the Divine Spirit, and narrate facts more or less closely connected with the history and interests of the divine kingdom. Such claims are, indeed, only implicitly made for certain moral and religious truths; and there are certain other contents of the Bible to which such claims are entirely inapplicable. But the claims which *are* either made or implied are all directly applicable only to one class of contents. For instance, the claims which Christ indirectly makes for the writings of the Old Testament were all seen to concern the ethical and predictive contents of those writings. The Mosaic Torah — so he taught — shows its divine nature and origin by the elements of absolute ethical truth which it contained, and which were communicated as self-revelations of God through inspired servants. The words of the Lord, contained in this bundle of legal writings, are divine deliverances of ethical and religious import. The predictions of the inspired messengers of Jehovah, the prophets, Christ viewed not as thaumaturgic displays, but as revelations of moral and religious concernment, and as preparatory and anticipatory of his own mission and teaching. His promises to his disciples were a guaranty of accurate knowledge and clear insight, not as regards all manner of truth (even when closely connected with their teaching), but as regards the truth *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, — that is, the moral and religious truth which Christ both manifests and is. Nor did we find that the claims which the writings of Mosaism and Prophetism make for themselves, when considered in their substance and true intent, extend further than the claims of Christ for them. We meet, indeed, with certain claims which imply a knowledge of obscure questions of history and of tradition: such as, for instance, the

claim that Moses wrote the list of the camping-places in the wilderness, or the Torah which forms the central portion of Deuteronomy. Such claims we are to consider, in each case, for what their history and the testings of criticism prove them to be worth. We cannot maintain that such claims are on an equality with those made for the ethical and religious contents of the books, unless we also maintain that revelation and inspiration include in each case an infallible knowledge of the date and authorship of ancient books.

The claims of the New-Testament writers for the Old Testament, and for their own utterances, cover substantially the same ground as that indicated above: they are all made with the intent of verifying the moral and religious truths of Scripture. It is Christ as the fulfilling of the Law and the Prophets, whom these later writers hold to have been revealed in the ancient Hebrew writings; it is the same One, as having in himself the fulness of all law and prediction, whom they claim themselves to receive and teach by revelation.

Moreover, it is not the so-called scientific, the miraculous, the historical, or the predictive contents of Sacred Scripture, considered of themselves, but as themselves serving to contain other contents of moral and religious verity, which excite and fix the interest of our theme. The connections of the Hebrew writings with modern scientific discoveries would concern us no more than the connections of the Vedic legends with the same discoveries, were it not that they appear to involve with themselves the moral and religious teachings of the Bible. The miracles of the Old Testament, and even the miraculous resurrection of Jesus, would be to us as the myths of Buddha, were it not that the verity of Christian ethical and religious truths is inextricably involved in the verity of certain biblical miracles. The sacred history, also, is not like other history to us, because it is the alleged history of the kingdom of redemption through Jesus Christ. Except so far as the biblical statements of historical fact involve, directly or indirectly, our views upon moral and religious truths, we have only the ordinary archæological interest in the correctness of those statements. Even the marvellous phenomena of prediction by the ancient Hebrew seers do not chiefly interest us as the occasions of a merely psychological investigation. We do not treat them as other visions and presages of men who have a natural gift in such matters; because these phenomena of prediction concern the method

of the divine dealings in the kingdom of redemption, and especially the significance of the personality and work of Christ. Biblical prediction, that is to say, stands before our minds as a question of moral and religious truth.

If, then, we could neatly and securely isolate the ethico-religious contents of the Bible, we should be ready to affirm that our theory of Sacred Scripture should take these contents, and these only, into the account. But there are obvious objections to such an easy method of conducting the inquiry. The objections are such as quite forbid the cherishing of any hope as to the result of so easy a method. For, in the first place, we cannot isolate the distinctively ethico-religious contents of the Bible from all its other classes of contents. And, in the second place, we cannot affirm that all such contents are so like one another in respect to origin and characteristics, that a consistent doctrine of Sacred Scripture can be framed by considering them alone. Indeed, if we could so isolate the ethico-religious teachings of the biblical writings as to consider them without the embarrassments arising from historical and critical researches, we should by no means have reached the end of our inquiry. Difficulties which pre-eminently concern just these truths are by no means wanting. It is certain of the ethico-religious contents of Sacred Scripture with which Christ and the apostles most distinctly find fault, and which they most definitely abrogate. Moreover, the ethico-religious contents of the New Testament not only furnish us with the necessary point of view from which to criticise the similar contents of the Old Testament, but also compel us to pass judgment upon them.

The ethico-religious contents of the Bible, then, do not appear as separated from its *quasi*-scientific and avowedly historical truths; but the former are rather presented to us for our recognition as entangled, so to speak, or embedded, in the latter. For example, the biblical teachings concerning the origin of the physical universe, the duration and unity of the human race, the relations of man's moral disorder to the apparently wide-spread disorder of organic nature, touch many questions upon which the natural and physical sciences have information to bestow. But the biblical teachings are all originated and promulgated from the ethical and religious point of view. The truth which the writer of the Mosaic cosmogony wishes to inculcate is the divine origin of the sabbatic law,

and the religious foundation of the nation upon the divine covenant so closely connected with that law. The genuine miracles of the Bible are always presented as items or moments of the divine self-revelation in power and grace. Its history is not only definitely ethical and religious in tone, and written from the providential point of view; but it is also regarded, even to its trivialities of genealogies and other lists of names and places, or of numbers and minutest details of facts, as the history of a chosen people. It is all pragmatic, with God as a covenanted Redeemer for its cause. It is, then, the ethico-religious elements, not as separable from the others, but as pervading all the others, which claim pre-eminent interest and import.

Furthermore, within the ethical and religious contents we must distinguish between ideal and absolute truths of morals and religion, and imperfect elements, either material or formal, with which these ideal and absolute truths are mingled. And if the truths of morals and religion should be spoken of as the heart of the Bible, this heart has within itself also another interior heart. The heart of the heart is the doctrine of redemption by Jesus Christ, considered in all the essential elements of that doctrine. Or, if the ethico-religious truth be compared to the nervous matter which furnishes the tracts of force to every part of the organism, then the truth of redemption by Christ must be called the brain wherein reside the central powers of motion and life. It is not surprising, then, to find that it is the ethico-religious contents of Sacred Scripture to which the terms of revelation and inspiration pre-eminently apply. It was not the facts of the past, as historical or pre-historic facts, which were divinely revealed to the historians of Sacred Scripture: it was not in order that they might dispense with tradition or previous written documents, that the gift of inspiration was bestowed upon them. The revelation covered only the import and connections of the historical facts, the ethical and religious truth which was seen to be in the facts: the inspiration was given in order to reveal and promulgate through fit minds and hearts this import and these connections. In other words, the pre-eminently ethical and religious communications of biblical truth have come through men who have been ethically and religiously quickened into susceptibility for the communications. The Apostle Paul, for example, did not look upon himself as gaining by revelation

the mere historical fact that Jesus rose from the dead, nor as inspired and commissioned to communicate such a mere historical fact. The ethical and religious import of the fact constituted the substance of the revelation made to him: he was inspired in order to understand and communicate this import.

Revelation and inspiration, then, so far as they enter into the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, have primarily to do with only ethical and religious truths. If the Bible, then, were a mere record of facts communicated by minds who had no insight into the ethical and religious import of those facts, it would lose one entire half of its claim to the title Sacred Scripture. Its contents might be sacred because of their intrinsic nature: from this sacredness of their nature, it might perhaps take the title "sacred." But whatever of sacredness belongs to it, as coming through any thing in the personality of its authors, would be lost if the import of the facts were not communicated to us by the recorders of the facts themselves. All the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, so far as we have doctrine distinguished from bare presentation of facts, is pre-eminently dependent upon the minds and hearts of those who communicate it. As moral and religious doctrine, it requires ethical and spiritual quickening from the divine Source of ethical and spiritual life.

We have no adequate reason to regard the historical writings of Sacred Scripture as products of revelation and inspiration, except so far as these writings show the pervasive influence of moral and religious ideas. They have not been found free from faults of arrangement and statement, from defects of information and form. Even when the writings are narratives of miracles, or especially of the life and death of Christ, we do not find them freed from such faults and defects. The scientific views of the writings are certainly not of the modern kind: many of them, even when closely connected with distinctively religious views, cannot be defended against charges of inaccuracy and mistake. But these writings, even when thus historically and scientifically defective, show another side: they show a side which is always turned toward God and righteousness, and which ever draws nearer to the highest revelation of God and the highest ideal of righteousness in Christ. It is in this heavenly side that the source of radiance is located: it is the ideas of the Bible with respect to God

the Redeemer, and his righteousness, which evince its claim to the titles "sacred" and "inspired."

We may, then, draw certain provisional conclusions from the relations in which the ethico-religious contents of the Bible stand toward its other classes of contents. Such contents are not distinguished as separable *in extenso* from the others: they rather form the pervading life and spirit of the others. Yet they, too, have their varying degrees of perfection or imperfection, strength or weakness: they all have their culmination and centre, as well as their means of testing and appraisal, in the truth of God as the Redeemer of the world by Christ. To these contents, as spreading through the Scriptures, the names of revelation and inspiration properly apply; through them pre-eminently comes the claim of the Scriptures to the epithets "sacred" and "inspired."

It will, of course, be objected that the foregoing views require us to introduce difficult and uncertain distinctions into the biblical books. They compel us to consider the subject yet further before we announce any single statement as to the like nature and origin of all parts of Sacred Scripture. They may even compel us to say that certain books, and portions of books, present no evidence of the inspiration of their authors. The beautiful unity and consistency attained by certain forms of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, especially by that form which we shall describe as the post-Reformation dogma, would thus be damaged or lost. But it must not be forgotten that at present we are engaged, as far as possible, with facts, and with inferences made directly from the facts. And does not the only place within the Bible where the quality of inspiration is assigned, by a figure of speech, to the sacred Hebrew writings as a whole (2 Tim. iii. 16) make the theopneusty of these writings co-extensive only with their usefulness in ethical discipline? Moreover,—and this fact is decisive,—Christ himself distinguishes the ethical and religious elements as the ones to which, even when the form is historical, the qualities imparted by revelation and inspiration belong. He also makes distinctions even within the ethico-religious elements. It is both the gift and the obligation of his religion, that its followers shall make the same distinctions. To co-ordinate, for ethical infallibility and perfection, the Mosaic Torah, or the imprecatory Psalms, with the Sermon on the Mount, is to own allegiance to a dogma rather than to the word of Christ.

The fact must not be overlooked, however, that the means for criticising the ethico-religious contents of Sacred Scripture are largely furnished us by Scripture itself. It is only by use of the sacred Hebrew writings, that we are able to trace that very progress of the divine self-revelation which culminated in Christ; it is in the exercise of this ability that we are able also to estimate the value and relations of the different stages of the progress. It is only in the sacred writings of the New Testament, that we obtain the record of the life and teachings of the Lord; these writings bring us the only objective form of the infallible word of that Lord. It is by this word of Christ in the later writings, that we test and estimate the earlier writings; it is by the same word in the same writings, that we test and estimate the apostolic teachings regarding Christ. We have, then, in Sacred Scripture as a whole, the means for judging of its various parts; and in some of these parts we have the means for arriving at that infallible and abiding ethico-religious truth which gives the exact measure of all the other parts. But we have no truth, even of ethical and religious kind, which does not require for its apprehension and application the painstaking of making distinctions, which does not also involve the danger of making mistakes.

There is, then, no real reason to shrink from attempting the answer to the second of the above-mentioned questions. This question concerns the relative or absolute perfection and infallibility of the ethico-religious contents of the Bible. There are various degrees of approach to absolute moral and religious truth indicated in the different portions of Sacred Scripture. There are not wanting instances where morally faulty conceptions, enactments, or institutions are wrought into this Scripture. Even its more distinctively religious ideas and doctrines are reached objectively as the result of a long historic process of revelation, and are to be subjectively appropriated in the order, and with the confidence, which correspond to the facts of this historic process. Many of the lower steps in this process are blameworthy, when considered as human acts and ideas. Our appropriation of the ethico-religious truths revealed in the process must take the relative imperfections and positive moral blemishes into the account. The record of the Mosaic Torah, for example, is the record of a process of divine self-revelation and discipline which was conducted along many stages and against many difficulties. The moral and religious

quality of the Torah is the matter primarily to be considered in this case. it does not, however, differ substantially from the moral and religious quality of the record of the Torah. Both the law and its record have the impress which comes from the presence of absolute truths of morals and religion: both have also the impress of ethical imperfections and faults. The prophets announced true words of Jehovah, moral and religious truths which were revealed to them, and which they were inspired to teach, but their revelation and inspiration did not free their conceptions and messages touching moral and religious truth from certain imperfections. The New-Testament writings, both as respects the truths they announce and as respects the spirit of those who make the announcement, rise far above those of the Old. They maintain a valid claim to the moral insight and purifying which the Spirit of Christ brings to the followers of Christ. Many of them can claim that authentic remembrance and deeper insight and higher purity which belonged to the apostles of Christ. But for the *writings* we can *a priori* claim no more than Jesus promised to the persons; viz., a divine illumination and guidance into the fulness of such ethico-religious truths as constitute the truth of Christ.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find various passages, and even some entire books, of the Old Testament, manifesting a relatively low moral tone, and containing relatively many moral imperfections.

Concerning the Book of Esther, for example, we can scarcely refrain from assenting to the judgment of Bleek:¹ "No other writing of the Old Testament is so remote from the spirit of the gospel." Nor can we easily avoid assigning for this judgment the reason which this critic assigns; viz., the prevalence of a narrow Jewish spirit of revenge and persecution. We need not, however, coincide with the wish of Luther that it were not in existence.² But to depreciate the difficulties which stand in the way of regarding Esther as Sacred Scripture, as has been done by Carpzov, Hävernicks, and others, is much more unwarrantable than the hearty ethical opposition of Luther. We may say in favor of the book, as does Orelli,³ "Without

¹ Einleitung in das A. T., p. 298.

² For Luther's feeling toward Esther, see *De servo arbitrio*, Works, VI., p. 194; and *Tischreden*, Works, XXII., p. 2080, ed. Walch.

³ See article *Ester* in Herzog and Plitt.

the consciousness that God alone could rescue her and her people from their fearful danger, the fact by which Esther prepared herself for her heroic deed would have no meaning; without unlimited confidence in the fidelity of the Lord, the utterance of Mordecai (iv. 13 f.) would be inexplicable." Yet the facts, that the divine name does not appear in it, that no ascription of its rescue to Jehovah is anywhere made, and that the intention of the author is plainly not so much to exalt a delivering Providence as to commend the extra-biblical feast of Purim, all evince the low moral and religious tone of this writing. And when to these ethical difficulties we add the historical, and take into the account the history of its canonizing, we can only regard the Book of Esther as standing upon the outermost limits, if not wholly outside, of Sacred Scripture.

Quite different is the case with the Books of Ruth and Jonah. For, although the former has not a high and positive ethico-religious character, it is a beautiful and important story; it is also quite without the positive ethical blemishes which affect the case of Esther. And the Book of Jonah, although not designed as a purely historical composition, conveys, in allegorico-didactic form, upon a basis of history, a most noble revelation of the divine love and forgiveness toward all suffering and sinful nations.

The very nature of the Book of Proverbs prevents our considering it as a whole from the ethical and religious point of view. The inferiority, or rather the absence, of direct claims made for the Hebrew Hokhmah, as compared with the legal and prophetic writings, has already been made apparent. Only so far as these wise sayings show the impress of the great moral and religious conceptions which God revealed to Israel, do they make any indirect claim to be regarded as inspired writing. The composite nature of the book occasions, then, a great variety of separate cases. The proverbs are, of course, not all of the same age: only one collection, viz., xxv.-xxix., bears a superscription fixing its date. Some of them are pervaded with intense moral sentiment. Sin is rebuked, and righteousness exalted, as in Prov. x. 12, xi. 3, xvii. 9, 27, 28, xviii. 8, 18, xxii. 4, xxvi. 22. Strong religious feeling pervades such examples as xxi. 3, 27, xxviii. 9, xxix. 18; strong feeling of humanity motives the declaration of human sorrow (xiv. 10, 18). Exhortations to mercy (xxiii. 10, 11) extend even to the beasts (xii. 10). Gluttony (xxiii. 1-3), drunkenness (xx. 1,

xxiii. 29, 35), and lust (vii. 6 f., 24 f., vi. 32) are shown in their moral debasement; respect for woman is inculcated (xi. 16, xii. 4, xiv. 1). Sound sense characterizes utterances like xi. 24, xxv. 17, xxvii. 2, and xxviii. 19. Others of these proverbs are commonplace, and fall even below the average of an Oriental wise saying: such, to our judgment, appear instances like xiv. 20, 23, xviii. 23, xix. 6, 7, xi. 26. Still others show so much of mere shrewdness as scarcely to escape the charge of being immoral, when considered from the Christian point of view (see xvii. 8, xviii. 16, xxi. 14).

The Song of Solomon, when once sundered from the adventitious allegorical interpretation, and viewed in the strong ethical light that is furnished by the considerations, with which we are now dealing, reveals a unique aspect. In not more than one or two of its passages does there appear any sign of moral impurity to one who understands the mode of speaking upon such matters which belonged to the age and people of its origin. On the contrary, its general purpose, and, considering the times, its form, are admirable. Its preservation is, then, a cause for congratulation; but a claim to belong to those ethical and religious contents of the Bible to which revelation and inspiration specifically apply cannot be established for it.

Different from the foregoing and similar cases are those books, or portions of books, in which we have a record of the moral and religious experiences — both high and low, both ethically unjustifiable and positively righteous — through which some soul is depicted as having passed. In these cases we surely can find no fault either with the contents of the writing or with the moral consciousness of the author for furnishing to us an accurate and sympathetic picture of facts. Even the saints, both of ancient and of modern times, do often doubt the word of the Lord, waver in their judgment of his justice and mercy, and wander in the dark places of rebellion and despair. The story and the picture of these experiences may well form a part of the ethico-religious contents of Sacred Scripture; for the use of the story and the picture have, in all subsequent times, been both ethically and religiously purifying. And when the narrator of the experience, or the painter of the picture, comes at the last into the confidence of trust and into clearness of moral vision, we may well believe that the Spirit of all truth and light has been with him in all the way. We may well assign the record of such moral and religious experi-

ences to a notable position among the revealed ethico-religious truths of the Bible. Such remarks as the foregoing are more or less applicable to the Books of Job and Ecclesiastes, to many of the Psalms, to numerous portions of the prophetic and historical writings, and to certain passages of the New Testament. Similar considerations might influence our judgment in cases where the writings bear marks that the minds of the writers passed through a process of unjust anger or suspicion toward their fellow-men.

Still different are those cases in which immoral deeds are narrated with the manifest approval of the narrator, or immoral wishes appear to proceed from the writer's mind and heart to take shape in his writings, and so to be incorporated into Sacred Scripture. The attitude which the narrators of the immoral deeds recorded in the Old Testament assume toward those deeds is in general such as belonged to the more pious and enlightened souls of the nation in the time when they wrote. That the wickednesses and faults of a Jacob, or a David, are recorded in Sacred Scripture, is certainly, in itself considered, no evidence either for or against the inspiration of its writers. But the temper, spirit, and manner in which the writer places himself toward the deeds and events he records are a manifest token of his own ethical and religious condition. We know that the ancient Jews, like all the nations of their day, were much disposed to deceit, cruelty, and lust. They were, indeed, as their own writers assure us, coarse and unyielding material in the divine hand. But God undertook their ethical and religious discipline, not for their own sakes only, or chiefly, but rather for the sake of the world. The divine pedagogy received them under discipline as they were; it conducted their discipline by successive stages of the disclosure of divine truth and of the impartation of divine life. While they were under this discipline they became both the actors in a sacred history and the authors of a sacred record of that history. Inasmuch as the record is, for the most part at least, the product of those who had profited most by this discipline and received most of the truths revealed during its course, the ethical and religious quality of the record is much above that of the average conduct of the nation in the history. The Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament, that is, are the record of the history of Israel, as read by the most pious and enlightened souls of the nation. All the actors in this history did not understand it as did the

spiritually enlightened ones amongst their contemporaries or successors. Yet even these writers of Old-Testament Scripture do not appear to be in moral and religious consciousness above the best of the other men of their time. A Hebrew historian does not, so far as appears, have the nature of his moral and religious consciousness changed because he is to write the history of the Hebrews. A Hebrew prophet is the same personality when recording his own prophecies, or those of another, as when uttering these prophecies.

We may expect, then, that whatever imperfections belong in any age to those who have the fuller share in such revelations of divine truth as have already been made to the nation will also appear in the writings of the same class of men. David's anger against his enemies in a psalm will not necessarily differ from David's anger when otherwise expressed. The narrator of Jael's deed of blood will narrate it with the view and sympathies which belonged to the pious of his time.

The latter case, being somewhat representative of a class, may fitly receive some further consideration. That the deed recorded, *Judg.* iv. 17-22, was a deed of base treachery and cruelty, we may affirm even when we measure it by the low standards of morality belonging to dark places and times. Our difficulty is not, however, with the deed of Jael so much as with the manifest approval and even high praises of this deed which enter into the contents of Scripture (*Judg.* v. 24 f.). But this attitude toward such manner of deceit and violence is simply such as belonged even to the pious of that age. The age and its actors had their virtues, and for these they may fitly be praised. The hard condition of Israel may be judged from the plaint of Deborah (v. 6 f.). Many considerations may be adduced to explain this crime in the light of its age and of the circumstances of Israel in that age. But we must carefully distinguish between considerations which mitigate the crime, or account for its approval, and the propriety of justifying either the crime or the approval of it. We must also distinguish between considerations which in part establish the purity of the motive of an action (its subjective morality) and the rightfulness (the objective morality) of the act. In this case, however, we have little beyond vain imaginings to prove that Jael entered, as Mozley¹ and others suppose, into the divine conception of the struggle which was going on between Israel

¹ *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages*, p. 131 f.

and the Canaanites under Jabin. It is perfectly true, as Mozley shows at considerable length, that "the omission of the idea of human individuality" is closely connected with the disregard of life, and with the universal practice of lying without compunction when dealing with enemies. But neither the view which he rejects, and which connects the right to kill with the right to lie in order to kill, nor the view which he advocates, will satisfy the demands of the moral and Christian consciousness. Granted that in this age man was not treated by his fellow as a person, it does not follow, as Mozley would have us believe, that the enemy who has forfeited his right to life has also forfeited his right to truth-speaking,—in any sense of the word "right" which does not involve a justification of whatever is held right in the morality, however low, of any age. Indeed, this view of Mozley is ethically quite below the modern rabbinical doctrine: "If another has no right to discover the truth by inquiry (*erfragen*), and the truth would be physically or morally harmful to him, then one may and must, if an explanation is unavoidable, give an untruth for a truth."¹ The rabbis do not, indeed, follow the view of the "moral rigorists" that a man must always speak the truth: their rule is rather that he must never speak a lie. It is pitiful when the rabbinical development of the Mosaic Torah is permitted to appear morally superior to the fulfilment and abrogation of that Torah in the religion of Christ. Surely Christianity ought to do more for our ethical point of view than it is possible to realize from the Talmudic ethics.

Nor can we justify the act of Jael because it was done in obedience to a divine command.² Of any such command, the narrative affords not the slightest hint; and, as Hessey³ asserts, "even if it did, this would only increase our difficulty." The song of Deborah and Barak can be taken only for what it is morally worth; its sentiment as to Jael's deed cannot be defended as inspired. And whatever commendation of that act can be fastened upon Sacred Scripture must be considered as an infirmity of the time. When the lie "corporate and sympathetic" is acted by Jael, it is no less a base lie because "corporate and sympathetic." The commendation of the lie and the

¹ See a very interesting work, *Die Mosaisch-rabbinische Tugend- und Rechtslehre*, by Hirsch B. Fassel, Oberrabbiner zu Gr.-Kanizsa, 1862, p. 87.

² This Mozley does (153 f.) in a vacillating way.

³ *Moral Difficulties connected with the Bible*, London, 1878, p. 47.

cruelty are in Sacred Scripture, but Sacred Scripture does not impart its sacredness to this commendation. The crimes are not justified by being ignorantly enacted in the service of Israel; the commendation of the crimes is not to be itself justified by ascription to the Spirit of God.

In brief, such cases as the foregoing are comparatively simple when once we regard them in the clear light of history and of Christian truth. They are cases of sins and mistakes, in part through ignorance, which belong to the old-time dispensation. They do not overwhelm or drag down the process of divine self-revelation in which they occur: they rather constitute instances exemplifying the necessary stages and steps of that process. The commendation of such acts in the Old Testament does not destroy its claim to the title Sacred Scripture, any more than the title justifies either the acts or the praises of them.

Similar considerations must control our view of the exterminating wars of Israel, and of the spirit in which those wars are conceived of and understood by the Old-Testament writers. (Compare Deut. xx. 10-20 and Josh. x. 39; see Num. xxv. 16-18, xxxi. 2; 1 Sam. xv. 8, and compare Luke ix. 54 f.) The Oriental principle of tribal and family responsibility and punishment is recognized (Deut. xiii. 12-18). The discipline of the Lord laid hold of the unreasoning and excessive appetite or passion of justice, to employ and chasten it for the benefit of all mankind. We behold also in the history of Israel, what Mozley¹ has finely called "the undisciplined passion of justice working without the perception of the limit which man's individuality imposed upon it." We are freely to admit that stern and exterminating war by divine command does not in itself contravene the absolute principles of morality. But the conceptions, modes, and limits, which even the pious of the nation ascribed to these commands, belong to the imperfect condition of the community; they contain elements of human cruelty and hatred.

The Old-Testament moral estimate of its own heroes and of their transactions is to be considered in the light of historical and Christian truth. The rude men of the times of the judges and early kings are to be estimated, together with their praises, according to the age in which they lived or were praised, when this age is seen from the Christian point of view. The moral

¹ *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages*, p. 98.

estimate of the hero Samson and of his transactions, as expressed Judg. xiii. 24, and the view taken of the rude and ethically low warriors like Jephthah (see Judg. xi.), are to be understood as springing from the age in which they occur. Their fidelity we can commend with the writer of Heb. xi.; but their total characters and all their deeds we are bound to regard from a higher point of view than that of the Old-Testament writers. And we are not bound to hold those traditional conceptions of such characters in which, in common with all the nation, the later writers of the Old Testament, and even some writers in the New, apparently shared (see 2 Pet. ii. 4, 6-9). The Bible is generous in its use of the word "righteous." According to their day and opportunities, these men were righteous. We should not be churlish in denying to them the title, although we do not return to the point of view from which the Hebrew Scriptures regarded them. And such must be our rule, even when considering the greatest and best of Old-Testament characters, like Jacob, David, and Elijah.

The conceptions and wishes of such pious but imperfect men regarding those whom they considered as the enemies both of Jehovah and of themselves, even when the conceptions and wishes take form in sacred song, cannot escape being judged by the same historical and Christian standards. We are most heartily to sympathize with their most hearty sentiment of justice. We can generally recognize the obvious truth of their judgment, that their own enemies were also the enemies of Jehovah. That the Psalms in their ethical and religious contents are pre-eminently sacred and inspired, their use in the New Testament and by the pious these many centuries is fitted to evince. But even in them we must distinguish, mingled with the theopneustic elements which carry absolute ethico-religious truth, other elements due to the fitful and fragmentary conceptions which the writers had of this truth. The confusion of ideas as to authorized administration of justice and unauthorized vengeance lasted among the Jews even to our Lord's day.¹ In the imprecatory (or comminatory) Psalms we have to notice not only denunciations of the wicked generally as the enemies of Jehovah, but also certain specific curses directed against private enemies with an appearance of personal malignity. Be-

¹ Compare the excellent remarks of Hessey, *Moral Difficulties connected with the Old Testament*, second series, pp. 48 ff.; contrast Isa. xiii. 15 f. with Ps. cxxxvii. 8 f., and see Jer. xv. 15, cxxxviii.

tween these two cases, when pure and simple, there appears a considerable variety of examples which perhaps unite somewhat of both. Of the more difficult of these cases are Ps. vii., xxxv., lxix., and cix., and parts of lviii., cxxxvii., cxl., cxlix. Especially difficult, as seeming to involve personal malignity, is Ps. cix. verse 9 f.: indeed, the wish here expressed is in flagrant violation of the spirit of the law (Deut. xxiv. 16); so also is the wish involved in Ps. cxxxvii. 9. We can, then, go only a certain distance in company with the spirit of the imprecatory Psalms: thence our path and theirs lie in different levels and lines. We can pray with the author of Ps. vii. 9, "Oh, let the wickedness of the wicked come to an end!" we may even say with Ps. xxxv. 6, "Let their way be dark and slippery" that seek after my soul. But when we read Ps. lxix. 20 ff., we are to regard its language from the point of view where Messiah stands, rather than from that occupied by his type in this ancient Scripture. It was not infidelity toward the Hebrew devotional writings, but fidelity to the spirit of Christ, which led Thomas Fuller¹ to say, "When I come to such Psalms wherein David curseth his enemies, oh! then let me bring my soul down to a lower note, for these words were made only to fit David's mouth;" or induced Chalmers² to declare, "Let the spirit breathed forth by David in the Psalms actuate us, save when he indulges in the vindictive strain."³

Their own admissions show that these songs of the ancient Church, inspired and morally noble and ennobling as they generally are, sometimes bear the marks of the ethical and religious imperfections of their authors. These admissions have respect not to the moral imperfection of vindictiveness alone. The complaints against the divine dealing in Ps. lxxiii. 1 f., the moral feebleness amounting almost to cowardice in Ps. vi., are instances of other kinds of such imperfections.

Of a different kind still from all the foregoing are those cases in which the most strenuous and lofty ethico-religious sentiment is seen struggling successfully with the limitations of form which compose its hard shell. We must regard in this light the case of Abraham, who was ready to slay Isaac under an impulse which he accepted in faithful love as coming from

¹ Scriptural Observations, No. IX.

² Sabbath Scripture Readings, on Sam. ii., lxvi., as quoted by Hessey, second series, p. 23.

³ Compare Hessey, *Ibid.*, pp. 35 ff.

Jehovah. After we have considered all the explanatory circumstances, — such as the relations in which an Oriental son of those times stood to his father,¹ — and have discussed the nature and validity of the divine command, we must still consent to lay the emphasis where the Bible itself places it; viz., upon the ethico-religious character of the impulse (see Gen. xxii. 16; Heb. xi. 17–19; Rom. iv. 16).

In matters of sexual and ceremonial purity, as well as in matters connected with the principles of love and truth, the view taken and directly or indirectly advocated in the Old Testament was that which corresponded with the degree of progress already attained by the revelation of God to the pious ones of the nation.

The considerations which must control our estimate of the ethico-religious contents of the Mosaic Law, and therefore of the legal writings of the Old Testament, are somewhat different from the foregoing; and yet they are largely the same. With regard to these contents we have the more express teachings of Christ. Besides its contents of revealed and absolute ethico-religious truth, the Law contains permissive and temporary enactments, concrete institutions of low or imperfect morality. Its ideal and end is the absolute law; but in many of its elements, and in its entire form, it is transitory.

We assert, then, most emphatically the general position that the Jewish dispensation was a progressive revelation, but we strongly dissent from the subordinate position that God gave such a revelation as commanding the moral imperfections, the wrong ideas of rights and duties, which furnished the limiting conditions of its course. Christ himself departed from the Old-Testament and merely Jewish point of view which regarded all the details of legal enactment as having their sanction in express divine command. His attitude toward the *jus talionis* of the Mosaic Torah is doubtless to be taken as indicative of his general position; and, since this case is representative of a class, we dwell briefly upon it.

The *jus talionis*, which Götting² has called *sanctissimum populi antiquis*, is announced by the Greek authors in a way which leaves no doubt that they uttered the moral conceptions of the people in a form acceptable to the popular moral con-

¹ Compare the words, "Slay my two sons," etc. (Gen. xlii. 37); and compare Müller, *History of Sanscrit Literature*, p. 408.

² In his edition of Hesiod, *Works and Days*, verse 711.

sciousness. The provisions of the Mosaic law indicate in this regard the same customs and sentiments in the Israelitish community as those to which the utterances of Homer, Hesiod, and the Greek tragic poets bear witness.¹ Yet the Greek principle of moderation (*μηδὲν ἄγαν*) came into activity to modify rage and revenge; the virtue of magnanimity, much praised among the Greeks and Romans, secured to some extent the forgiveness of their enemies, or at least forbearance from revenge. We find, therefore, in the later heathen writers the manifestations of a spirit toward enemies somewhat like that inculcated by Christianity.² In the case of the Mosaic law also, we find all its precepts and alleged divine commands appealing to a moral sense in the community which has at the time been educated only in small degree. The form of a command tended, indeed, to re-enforce the courage and sense of justice belonging to an injured man; to some extent also this law served to bring private vengeance under a partial control from measured public justice. On the other hand, the injunction, "Thine eye shall not pity," etc., even when taken in connection with a legal administration (see Deut. xix. 21), partakes of an ethical spirit quite below the gospel. And even when the enemy becomes not simply the enemy of Jehovah — the Edomite, Moabite, or other heathen — but also the personal foe — Doeg, or Ahithophel — the spirit exhibited in his injury is not different from that commended in one section, so to speak, of the Torah.³ With the *jus talionis* is to be classed and considered the law of blood-revenge (Deut. xix. 11–13).

¹ So also in Meno 71 is the spirit of the community expressed in the words: αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴ . . . τοὺς μὲν φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς κακῶς, etc. Callicles considers it slavish to suffer wrong (Gorgias, 483, B.). Note also the prayer in Sophocles (Philoct., 313): οἷς Ὀλύμπιοι θεοὶ δοῖεν ποτ' αὐτοῖς ἀντίποινα' ἐμοῦ παθεῖν.

² "Nothing," says Cicero (De Off., I. 25), "is more praiseworthy, nothing worthier of a great and illustrious man, than placability and kindness." Consider also the spirit of Socrates toward his judges, as depicted in the Apology (xxxiii.): ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῖς καταφθισαμένοις μου καὶ τοῖς κατηγοροῦσι οὐ πᾶν χλευαίω. Compare an article by Schaubach, Das Verhältniss der Moral des classischen Alterthums zum Christlichen, etc.: Stud. u. Krit., 1851.

³ The rabbinical writer to whom reference has already been made declares: "It is inconceivable to me, what Jesus of Nazareth refers to (Matt. v. 43) . . . for neither in the Sacred Scripture nor in the Talmud is there such an utterance." But both in the Old-Testament law and in the Talmud there is inculcated that spirit and way of looking at persons and things which corresponds to the injunction to "hate thy enemy." As Fassel himself points out, the Talmudic law of slavery breathes a spirit of *odium humani generis*: "The Cutseans are not to be considered as men;" "The worshippers of idols are not men," "The people out of which male and female slaves can be purchased is like the ass." It is not strange that this rabbi adds, "I do not praise the inhumanity of the Talmud, which arose necessarily from the conceptions of the time." See Ibid., pp. 92 ff., 128 f.

In considering all such cases, however, we must not forget also and chiefly to consider the other side of the Mosaic Torah, which is, indeed, the side of the progressive divine revelation of mercy and love and public justice, preparing the way for the law of Christ. It is this same Torah which inculcates and commands love after the pattern of divine love,—love that repays evil with good (Lev. xix. 17 f.), and that does not cease toward the transgressor of its own ordinances. Considered as a whole, then, with their various degrees and steps of progress, the ethico-religious contents of the Mosaic law provide both for their own fulfilment and for their own abrogation. Thus the declaration which enters into the very Decalogue (Exod. xx. 5), and which, as coming from Moses, has given the Talmudic writers so much perplexity, is supplemented and elevated by the declaration of Ezek. xviii. 20.

In the relations of the sexes, as in the relations of friendship and enmity between men, the Torah shows elements of ethical and religious imperfection, and even positive faults and blemishes. The provisions of the law of Num. v. 11–31, for instance, although, on the whole, merciful toward the suspected wife, nevertheless themselves appear almost as low in the moral scale, and as superstitious, as the people for whom they were adapted.

So far beyond these more imperfect ethico-religious contents of the Old Testament are its own best contents, and so far beyond the latter are, as a whole, the moral and religious instructions and spirit of the New Testament, that we should attach undue importance to the foregoing considerations by dwelling longer upon them. We need not seek for such positive faults and blemishes in the Christian writings, although these writings differ among themselves in respect to the compass, purity, and power with which they set forth the moral and religious elements of Christianity. The law has served its office of pedagogue, and has led us unto Christ.

Indeed, all the considerations which have been before us in the second division of this chapter are, as it were, quite sunk below sight, when they are laid under the weight of the positive and indispensable moral and religious truth contributed to mankind through the Sacred Scriptures. To present, in detail, the claims which the ethico-religious contents of the Scriptures—when considered in their progress, and in the ideal and goal which they attain in Christ—make to the titles “sacred” and

"inspired," would require a complete survey of biblical ethics and biblical theology. We necessarily content ourselves with a simple mention of some of those characteristics which best set forth these claims.

Certain characteristics of the ethico-religious contents of the Bible, regarded as the seat and expression of its revelation and inspiration, are closely connected with those imperfections of which we have already spoken. The ideas of a unity of moral government and an historic process of divine self-revelation can scarcely be realized together, without taking such imperfections into the account. This unity is not one which can be secured all at once by offering and enforcing an ideal law: it is rather one which takes into account and provides for all the lower and more imperfect stages of its own progressive development. The unity is one of plan; the plan is divine. The great ethical and religious ideas which bind together and vivify the entire course of the one historic process are the ideas of a divine self-revelation made through inspired minds; the ideas are given to us as embodied in concrete words, messages, institutions, and legal enactments. But it by no means follows that all these concrete words, messages, institutions, and legal enactments are, in all their elements, to be ascribed to revelation and inspiration, in the stricter sense of the words. Imperfect human ways of thinking and speaking, and ethically low and imperfect customs, institutions, and laws, may be taken up into, and more or less changed and assimilated by, the forces of revelation and inspiration. Such must the historical process, indeed, be, if God is to get his moral and religious ideas realized in human life.

We recognize, therefore, the power of these concrete divine words and definite commands, as the forms into which the divine ideas cause the crude material to crystallize. That the ideas take these forms is, indeed, a proof of their divine origin and nature. It resembles all the methods of the divine government, to take man in hand for legal discipline in the condition in which he is found, and to deal with him by starting him from this condition. The methods of the biblical revelation show that God does not hesitate to mix his most exalted moral and religious truths with the crude conceptions and mistaken practices of mankind. In the historic process of self-purifying which the Mosaic Torah underwent, and through which it attempted to conduct the people, we find one of its chief

claims to divine qualities. Its chief claim, however, consists in this, that it prepared the way by this process for the coming of the ethical and religious truth of Christ.

The foregoing statement leads us to notice a twofold excellence in the ethical and religious truths of the Bible: in all the earlier stages of the process of revelation, they emphasize the concrete divine word and the concrete law which may be ascribed to God. The divine voice here speaks to men in a definite command: it says, Thou shalt *not* do this, but thou *shalt* do that. In this manner of speaking, two great truths of human nature are fully recognized: viz., the divine law must be taught with absolute compulsion; and for men who are not yet fitted to have that law revealed within them in its higher spiritual truths, the compulsion of obedience to some particular and concrete command must be made to be strongly felt. The particular laws enacted for Israel in the name of the Lord were of less importance, in themselves considered, than that Israel should somehow be trained to obey its Lord. It is not so much in the nature of these concrete enactments, commendable or faulty in themselves, that we are to rest the claims of the Mosaic Torah to a divine origin. It is the intent and success of this Torah, in placing within human history the final law of virtue and the ultimate truth of religion, which we most admiringly regard. "Through three things," says the Talmud, "the world subsists: through the Torah, the service of God, and well-doing." But the Torah, "in its widest sense," says an expounder of the Talmud, "comprises the entire doctrine of God, which involves all three." It is this law within the laws to which Jesus attributes a comprehensive and absolute compulsion in Matt. v. 18, — "an utterance," says Fassel,¹ "which plays an important part in the Talmud." While, then, the inner law is aware of its own intent (see Lev. xix. 2; Deut. iv. 5 f.; and compare Mic. vi. 18), it is to be praised for having expressed this intent although in a form mingled with transitory and imperfect concrete enactments.

But the same inner law is aware that the virtue which it seeks can never be attained by enforced obedience to concrete enactments; it knows that the law should be accepted as a principle of virtue by a psychological necessity. It therefore contains within itself, especially in the Deuteronomic version, besides concrete laws, many words of rebuke, expostulation,

¹ Die Mosesisch-rabbinische Tugend- und Rechtslehre, pp. 30 ff.

entreaty, promise, and encouragement. In prophecy the divine word, rather than the concrete legal enactment, becomes the prevalent form of rousing and fixing the spirit of obedience in man. This word of God, which abides in the concrete spoken words of the prophets, still further prepares the way for Him who is the Word. Under the gospel, also, the concrete words of those who, by their preaching, bore the word of God to their contemporaries, and by their writings bear the same word to us, show the characteristics of a mingled divine and human origin. By such a method of getting his ethico-religious truth before men, God displays his wisdom and grace. The Word of God comes to man in and through concrete human words, but is not to be identified with them. The very imperfection of the means is necessary to that progressive and concrete manifestation of his truth which it is the will of God to bring to men in the Bible.¹

Not a few other characteristics of the ethico-religious contents of the Bible are suggested by those relations which have already been pointed out between these and the other classes of contents. That the moral and religious truths of Sacred Scripture are so largely given in history, and that they have been so thoroughly tested and sifted by the processes of that very history in which they are given, are facts of no small import. The ideas are given in facts; the greatest idea of all revelation is given in the central fact of all history, — the fact of the incarnation, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The miracles of the Bible are designed and recognized as concrete manifestations of divine power and grace. The prediction of the Bible is not mere soothsaying: it is a progressive revelation of ethical and religious truths. Thus does every aspect in which we can view the contents of the Bible show what is its main intent, what are its pervading characteristics. The law, the prophecy, the history, and the miracles are all different forms of bearing to men that marvellous congeries of ethical and religious truths which has its centre and goal in Him who is the truth. It is difficult to believe that a collection of writings, no matter by what authors or in what times they may be written, and no matter with what scientific, historical, and even (within certain limits) ethical imperfections of detail they may be oppressed, which brings such truths in such manner to men, should be other than sacred and inspired.

¹ Compare Harless, *System of Christian Ethics*, Edinburgh, 1880, p. 139 f.

Especially difficult does it appear to deny such titles to the ethico-religious contents of the Bible, when we consider more particularly what are some of those truths of ethics and religion upon which the writings of the Old and New Testaments insist.

The systematizing of all their separate ethical and religious truths is accomplished through one truth, which is both assumed and openly taught; viz., that the foundation of morality is in a moral personality, and that the core of human virtue is allegiance to that personality. The contents of which we speak are not ethical *and* religious: they are all *ethico-religious*. With the doctrine of the personality of God as love are inseparably connected both of those commandments in which inhere all the Law and the Prophets. The keeping of the first commandment—itsself the summing-up of all moral obligations—becomes possible only when the personality of God, who loves man and holds communion with him in love, is apprehended by faith and love.¹ It is the experience of love which constitutes for the human soul its highest and most irresistible proof of the being of God.² Thus is the truth of a divine self-communication, with all which is necessarily involved in this truth, connected with the doctrine of the personality of God as love. All the biblical ethics has therefore the twofold basis which is laid in the complete doctrine of the divine personality and of divine self-revelation. The personal self-communication of God is made in such form that he can command and teach me, and evoke my personal affection; I can pass the line between his personality and mine, and address him in terms of personal trust and love. The God of the Old Testament is the personal source of a supernatural revelation, who announces himself as present in the daily life of man's duty, but as distinct from the impersonal law, whether written without or within.³ But in the New Testament the personality of Christ becomes the source of ethical life and ethical law. God comes near to man in a concrete personality; he awakens the highest and most devoted affection, and stirs to their depths the springs of moral endeavor and action. He, moreover, presents one who is not a mere example to copy, but is himself possessed of divine power and

¹ Compare Pfleiderer, *Die Religion*, I. p. 186 f.

² Compare J. H. Fichte, *Psychologie*, I. p. 730.

³ Compare an article by Hermann Schmidt, *Die ethischen Gegensätze in dem gegenwärtigen Kampfe der biblischen- und der modern-theologischen Weltanschauung*, Stud. und Krit., 1876.

divine wealth in self-communication. Faith attaching itself to Jesus Christ thus becomes the source of Christian morals. The central element and essential characteristic of all ethical impulse becomes fidelity to Him. Fidelity to Christ is not so much, then, an isolated virtue, as the saving quality, the conservative principle, of all the virtues (see Rev. ii. 10).

It is thus that the element of personal allegiance is made so prominent in the ethics of Christianity. Christ as a person fulfilling the divine law, and bringing to men the divine love, does not stand to the forces of moral and religious life simply in the relation of a supplement. The moral and religious consciousness of the believer turns with full conviction to his word as to that which is infallibly true. Modern culture, to a large degree, attempts to separate the system of morals which Christ inculcated, from the doctrines and modes of contemplating ethical and religious truths which he believed and transmitted to his Church; but the morals are cold and lifeless when separated from the personality which is their life.

The foregoing thoughts lead to the remark, that the biblical view of conscience and of the ethical nature of man evinces the claims of the biblical writings to contain an inspired revelation of ethico-religious truth. As revelation cannot be held to be simply the activity of the conscience when filled and enlightened with the contents of revelation, so conscience cannot be considered simply as one of the normal activities of man acting independently of revelation. Conscience is not merely an inner law-book. The fundamental fact of all ethical philosophy, viz., that man finds an unconditional law in his own rational nature which claims control over the appetites, thoughts, impulses, and choices, is by no means unknown to the biblical writers. This fact is repeatedly recognized by Paul.¹ The heathen have a law written in the heart (Rom. ii. 15); this is a law of the inner man, and manifests itself in the facts of consciousness. The activities of conscience are not laid aside in the Christian life; a believer may have a weak (1 Cor. viii. 10) or a pure (Acts xxiii. 1, xxiv. 14-16) and spiritually illumined (Rom. ix. 1) conscience. These activities, indeed, accompany and guide

¹ See an article by Bruch, *Die Dignität und Stellung des Pflichtbegriffes*, *Krit. u. Stud.*, 1848, pp. 553 ff. For a discussion of the name and conception of conscience among the Greeks, Romans, Hellenists, and in the Old and New Testaments, see *Das Gewissen*, by Martin Kähler, Halle, 1878; and for Paul's doctrine of conscience, see Ernesti, *Ethik des Apostles Paulus*, and the writers cited by him (p. 22 f.).

and limit the entire moral and religious life (2 Cor. i. 12; Tit. i. 15; 1 Tim. iv. 2).

But the admission of the fundamental interior fact of human consciousness does not obscure the great objective truth, that in moral action man places himself in an attitude of obedience or disobedience toward the will of a person which is revealed to him as a law from without. The wider meaning in which the writers of the New Testament use the word *συνείδησις* — the consciousness of any thing whatsoever, and so the consciousness or knowledge of God; and, further, the consciousness of the attitude of the self toward his law revealed within, or the knowledge of the essence of that law, — this wider meaning of the word suggests the truth, that, in the doctrine of the biblical writers, the true conception of conscience cannot be separated from the idea and fact of divine self-revelation. Such is the ethico-religious doctrine of conscience. It is only this doctrine which satisfies both the ethical and the philosophical and religious nature of man, and which unites the conception of history, regarded as an ethical development, with the true conception of man's moral reason.

It follows from those qualities to which attention has just been called, that the practical ethics of the Bible is intensely religious. From the very first its ethical stimulus consists in the effort to please God, and to be holy as he is holy. The inner law, as existing within man, is only the effect: the cause and significance of this law are to be understood only in the light of a divine self-communication. What modern ethics might call the threatenings of a guilty conscience is the wrath of God revealed within; for what modern ethics calls an operation of the human intellect is really the word of God made known to the soul.

The teaching of Christ upon ethical truths is in full accord with the permanent principles of the biblical writers. It has been thought strange indeed that the great Teacher of morals should be so silent respecting conscience, its nature, obligations, and offices, and should enforce so little the commands and pleadings of this monitor of man. But from his own point of view, which is the distinctively and intensely religious one, he surveys and depicts the entire domain of theoretical and practical morals. That light of the body, the eye, which when sound fills the whole body with light, but when evil leaves all in darkness, is indeed the practical reason (*ὁ νοῦς*); but it is this reason

considered as the organ and channel of divine self-revelation. That righteousness which is the fulfilling of the law (Matt. v. 17, compare xxii. 37-40), and which is contrasted with the righteousness of men (v. 20, ix. 10-17, xii. 1-9, xv. 1-8), he teaches as *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*; although it is an ethical goal rather than a legal condition, an inner fact rather than a judicial act; and is so far unlike the conception of Paul. The essence of this righteousness is in doing the divine will (vii. 21, xii. 50), and so attaining likeness to the divine ethical perfection (v. 48, xix. 21). Of the first importance is it, therefore, that the heart should stand in right relations toward God (v. 8, vi. 21, vii. 17, xii. 33-35, xiii. 15, 19, xv. 8, 19). The heart, although it is the source in man of every moral evil, does not lose a certain inborn susceptibility for the divine (xviii. 3, 10, xix. 14). As virtues belonging to this righteousness which is pleasing to God, and which consists in a heart right toward him, self-surrender (vi. 19-24, vii. 13, x. 37 f., xix. 21), purity (v. 8, vi. 1-18), fidelity (xxv. 14-30), forgiveness (v. 21-26, vi. 12, 14, xviii. 21-35), humility in the sufferance of wrong (v. 5, 9, 39), compassion and pity (v. 7, xii. 7, xviii. 4, xxiii. 3 f., xxv. 34), and self-denying service (xx. 25-28, xxiii. 11) are inculcated.

In all the New-Testament writers the point of view, from which the practical morals of their own time are regarded, is where the ethical and the religious elements are united by the self-communication of God to man. The virtues with which these writers deal, when discussing the practical Christian life, all have their root in the new heart as it is itself vivified and illumined by the Spirit of Christ. The works of James and the faith of Paul are alike in that both are ethico-religious.

And what an ethical power is Christian faith in the Pauline sense of the word! That change in the fundamental idea of his moral life which Paul had experienced was not due to a simple determination on his part to devote himself to keeping with increased care the obligations of conscience. In his earliest moral life he had conceived of the Mosaic law as the expression of the divine will (see Rom. vii. 25, *νόμος θεοῦ*, vii. 7); as to the zeal and fidelity with which he had kept this law, his conscience pronounced him without fault (Phil. iii. 5 ff.). It was not a better conscience, or more fidelity to the conscience he had, which he had either needed or gained on coming to Christ. He had needed and gained "the knowledge and experience of a

new objective religious relation to God;"¹ and the gaining this had totally changed the basis of his ethico-religious life. In his changed condition the principal factor was his new faith in Jesus Christ. This faith brought with itself a participation in the divine life in Christ; the inner law of the Spirit of life in Christ became the formative principle of all his thoughts, feelings, and purposes (Rom. viii. 2). And here we return once more to the fundamental truth, that a morally pure and energetic life can be enjoyed by man only as the result of a divine self-communication. But when this communication of himself by God is made complete in Christ (ὁ κολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν πνεύματι ἐστιν, 1 Cor. vi. 17), then all the moral factors and forces of humanity are united and made strong (Phil. iv. 13).

What Paul thus conceives of in one way, John conceives of in another; but their conceptions do not differ in respect to the relation which exists between the practical life of morality and the self-communication of God in Christ.

It is quite true, then, that we miss in the ethico-religious contents of the Bible any speculative teaching as to the nature of conscience when regarded simply as one of man's rational faculties, or any system of duties in which a man may walk blameless as respects his conscience although his heart is not right toward God. For these ethico-religious contents are the truths of the biblical revelation in the full import of the word "revelation." They comprise the various factors and increments of that historic process of communicating himself to man which God undertook in a special way with ancient Israel, and which he brought to its culminating energy in the Spirit of Christ. These contents, then, prove the sacredness of the Scriptures only for a mind that already accepts the reality of revelation, and accepts also the fundamental assumption of biblical revelation; viz., that God is redeeming the world by the communication through Christ of his own life. For such a mind, however, the very mode in which the Bible presents these contents is a most convincing proof of its sacredness.

For ethics and religion are, both in fact and in a true philosophy, so joined together as the Bible presents them to our view. No speculative view of morals, and no system of ethical maxims for the conduct of the practical life, could accomplish much for the moral purifying of mankind. The wisdom and power, as well as the gracious condescension, of God, belong to the

¹ See Ernesti, *Ethik des Apostles Paulus*, p. 3.

method of revelation. It is because the ethical truths of the Bible are *ethico-religious*, in their entire circuit and to their very core, that they have had such power of moral purifying over mankind.

All the ethical and religious truths which have moved and moulded men have, indeed, had their origin in divine self-revelation. We are not among those who grudge the remoter nations their dimmer light from the heavenly source. There has been the true Light which lighteth every man coming into the world. Nor has inspiration — even in that sense of the word which confines it to a quickening and elevating by the Divine Spirit of the ethico-religious nature of man for the purpose of communicating to the world new moral and religious truth — been confined to Jewish and Christian writers alone. But since the claims of the Bible to revelation and inspiration lie especially in its ethico-religious contents, it is to the superiority of such contents that we must look for establishing its special claims. In the manner and degree in which the ethico-religious contents of the biblical writings differ from those of all other writings, can the writings themselves claim to differ from all others. The question as to the nature and origin of the Sacred Scriptures is, then, with respect to these ethico-religious contents, substantially the same in kind as with respect to all the other classes of contents: it is largely a question of simple fact.

We can, then, make an appeal with perfect confidence to the pre-eminent excellence of biblical ethics upon practical subjects of the utmost importance to the daily conduct and well-being of men. Yet, in each case of appeal, the value of the comparison for apologetics will depend largely upon the way of thinking upon such subjects which different inquirers hold. Indeed, all the modern way of thinking upon moral questions is so much an outgrowth of Christianity, and so closely interwoven with Christian ethical truth, that it is very difficult even by analysis to separate the two. "Philosophical ethics in the Christian world," said Lücke, "bears, even though it be unconsciously, the Christian principle in itself." It is by comparing any Christian ethical principle with its nearest likeness in the most highly cultivated classic antiquity, that we can best appreciate its peculiar excellence. Should we, for instance, select the principle of love for enemies, we should find — as has already been said — certain precepts of classic heathen antiquity

which include this principle. But all such precepts would need to be considered organically, and as to the soil and atmosphere in which, and out of which, they sprung. The Christian principle of love for enemies undoubtedly springs out of the very life of Christianity, — out of that brotherly love which itself springs out of the divine love (compare John iii. 16; 1 John iv. 9 f., 19–21; Rom. viii. 82; Matt. v. 45 f.; and John xv. 12 f.). That which was in Mosaism rather of the nature of an external command became in Christianity so much a spontaneous expression of its new life, that Jesus can call it a *new* commandment (John xiii. 34 f.). Forgiveness is, therefore, so eminently a matter of the life, and of the law of the life, which is love, that to be lacking in it is to show a lack of that life (Mark xi. 25; Luke vi. 28; Eph. iv. 1–3, 32; Col. iii. 13). Not as a matter of form, nor of mere conscience, nor of the culture and expression of magnanimity, but as a matter of allegiance to the inmost force and law of the spiritual life, are Christians bidden to forgive (Matt. v. 44, 46 f.; Luke vi. 32–35, 38). In the forgiveness of enemies, then, his followers only follow Christ (see Luke xxiii. 34; Acts vii. 60; 1 Cor. iv. 12; 1 Pet. ii. 23). And, much as we may admire the wonderful resemblances to Christian maxims enjoining the love of enemies which the works of Plato and Antoninus disclose, we cannot for a moment admit that Christianity did not bring something new and distinctive into the world regarding this principle.

Lest we might suppose that the ethics of the Bible is quite too thin and evanescent for man to grasp and hold amid the hard conditions of human life, we must not forget to mention another phase of its ethical truth. Asceticism is very far from being inculcated by the ethics of Mosaism. The system of ethics inculcated in the Torah admits a generous use of the pleasurable things of life, a large amount even of sensuousness, as not incompatible with the true principles of ethico-religious life. After the solemn feasts of a people loyal to Jehovah had ceased to be demanded by the law, and the call to rejoice and be grateful in length of years, many children, and bountiful fruits of frugal industry, had died away, the establishment of Christian ethics laid anew the basis for a healthy and rational enjoyment of corporeal goods. Christianity does not refuse to see in God the giver of all the good things of the earthly life (ἀγαθουργῶν, οὐρανόθεν ὑμῶν ἱεροὺς δίδους καὶ καιροὺς καρποφόρους, ἐμπιπλῶν τροφῆς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, Acts xiv. 17, compare

1 Tim. vi. 17); it sees in the *κόσμος φυσικός* both an object of pleasure and a means of spiritual knowledge (Rom. i. 20).¹ How careful Paul is in commending asceticism as distinguished from a reasonable self-denial for Christ's sake, a study of his own most ascetic passages will plainly show (for example, 1 Cor. vii.).

We do not need to consider in detail any special claims which the Bible may be supposed to make through some of its distinctively doctrinal contents. Purely speculative truth, even of ethical and religious kind, is not made in Sacred Scripture the material of divine revelation and communication through inspired minds. There are present, indeed, in the Bible, both higher and lower truths,—both truths which are matters of plain common-sense, and others which present themselves to faith as mysteries; truths more distinctively practical, and others in which the element of theory is relatively prominent. But a clear distinction between the theoretic and the practical is in no case made and observed; the merely speculative, as such, is in no case introduced. Except in comparatively a few instances,—as, for example, in those proverbs which seem least intimately related to the principles of the Law,—even the most commonplace maxims of ethics are given as though connected in the mind of the writers with important religious truths. And, on the other hand, no truth of religion is so much a profound mystery, or is presented in a form so remote from experience, that it is not intended to do service in the culture of the ethico-religious life. When, then, we have spoken of the ethico-religious contents of the Bible, we have included in them the profoundest mysteries of doctrine with which the Bible deals. The prologue of John's Gospel, and the opening chapters of Ephesians and Colossians, are practical truth; the ecstatic visions of the Apocalypse are for the encouragement, comfort, and warning of the saints in their practical life upon the earth. Moreover, whatever has been said in vindication and explanation of the essential contents—historical, miraculous, or predictive—of Sacred Scripture applies indistinctly to its most distinctively doctrinal portions as connected with all these classes of contents.

We need not undertake to prove that the doctrines of the Bible, if true, sanctify the vehicle which brings them to our minds, the vessel which contains them for the continual use of

¹ See Harless, *System of Christian Ethics*, p. 35.

mankind. Such a claim as this follows at once upon the admission of those postulates under which our entire discussion and examination have proceeded. The conclusions reached by apologetics, and justified by history and experience, touching the cardinal truths of all religion, and of Christianity in particular, are assumed in a study of the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture. We need, then, only call attention by a word to the relation between the postulated truth of those other doctrines and the truth which we are seeking as a more precise statement for the particular doctrine of Sacred Scripture. Those doctrines—the central ethico-religious truths of the Bible—the writers and teachers of the Old and New Testaments, from Christ to the most obscure or unknown of them, claim to have received by revelation and inspiration of the Divine Spirit. This claim, being admitted, at once constitutes a further claim that such portions of the Bible as contain the central ethico-religious truths, *scripturally fixed*, must themselves be ascribed to revelation and inspiration. Such portions of the biblical writings, and whatever else such portions carry along with them, have, then, a direct and pre-eminent claim to be considered sacred and inspired: they are sacred and inspired because they are, in written form, the contents of ethico-religious truth which have been revealed to inspired minds. It does not follow, however, that even with regard to the central doctrines there will be no call made upon the Christian Church, or the individual seeker for truth, to discern the temporary and formal elements with which these doctrines have been moulded into their biblical shape.

From this survey of the ethico-religious contents of the Bible, as related to the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, we derive the following conclusions: These contents cannot be separated *in extenso* from the history, miracles, and predictions of Scripture, and thus considered as a class separate and apart. The history, miracles, and predictions contain, as embodied in them, the spirit and the life of the ethical and religious truth; they also contribute to this truth its various factors and elements. It is, however, to the ethico-religious truth, considered both as embodied in the history, miracles, and predictions, and also as revealed in more didactic forms, that the qualities and predicates of inspiration and revelation primarily belong.

But not all of the ethico-religious contents are equally important, nor do all evince an equal share in the qualities and

predicates which belong to them as a class. Moreover, they are not all equally perfect, as judged by the absolute ethical standard; they are not all even free from positive blemishes and faults. There are certain ethical and religious truths revealed in the Bible which constitute the very heart and brain of all its moral and religious life. These contents are the very substance and core of its truth: in them is the seat of its revelation and inspiration; from them proceed its chief claims to the titles "sacred" and "inspired." But there are different degrees in which the different portions of these contents approach their own centre, and partake of its sanctity and life. Indeed, some whole books of minor importance, and certain passages in a number of books, exhibit little or no proof of any claim to such titles through the nature of their ethico-religious contents. We find also that the ethico-religious contents have themselves passed through a process of historic revelation; or rather the divine self-revelation, which has its record in the Bible, has observed the laws of historic development in the communication of its ethical and religious truths to men. Nor can we fail, in perfect candor, to admit that certain immoral views and feelings, as well as certain maxims of at best doubtful morality, have in places pressed their way within the compass of Sacred Scripture. To make such discoveries and admissions we are not only permitted, but even impelled, by that revelation of ethical and religious verity which is given to us in Christ.

But the fact that the ethico-religious truths of Sacred Scripture were communicated by those degrees and stages of approach to perfection which characterize all the divine self-communication, does not militate against the claims of the Bible: it rather confirms a reasonable estimate of these claims. Nor need we be appalled over the discovery of such sympathy with deeds of lying and cruelty, when the deeds are believed to be in a good cause, as is expressed in the history of Jael. For these, and all other similar cases, even including the imprecations which depress the moral tone of some of the sacred songs, are relatively insignificant in contrast with the complete revelation of ethico-religious truth. In the Bible we have conveyed to us such contents of a moral and religious kind as have the most conclusive claim to an origin in revelation through inspired servants of God. These contents, in so far as they constitute the moral and religious doctrines of Sacred Scripture, transfer their claim directly to so much of the Bible as they

constitute. They, moreover, by their indirect influence, by their reflected radiance, so to speak, illumine and sanctify the whole of that vessel in which they are found. The most important facts and truths of ethics and religion are given to us scripturally fixed in the Bible as they were received from divine revelation by inspired minds.

The further explanations and proofs of the last statements belong, however, to other divisions of our theme.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE AUTHORSHIP AND COMPOSITION OF THE BIBLICAL BOOKS.

THE intimate and important relations which exist between the inquiry into the origin of the biblical books, and the general inquiry into the nature of Sacred Scripture, have been made apparent in almost every previous chapter of our work. The former inquiry is, indeed, when considered in itself, of a purely critical character; the latter is necessarily a mixed question of a partly critical and partly dogmatic kind. Who was the author of a certain ancient writing? To what date shall its composition be ascribed? Is it a composition which came as a total product from the mind and pen of a single author? or is it a compilation from various works left by other authors, still more ancient and perhaps unknown? May it not even be of so complex construction, and of parentage so manifold, that it must be called a *growth* rather than a *work*? These are, in themselves considered, simple questions of fact. They are such questions of fact, however, as are competent to determine, with more or less of clearness and strength of convictions, how much of the biblical contents is true history, genuine prophecy, ethico-religious truth of revelation; and how much is the reverse of all these. Indeed, the supernatural character and origin of Christianity can be neither scientifically established nor maintained in entire independence of such critical questions.

And yet criticism has itself suggested one of the opinions to which experience constantly forces us anew, when it has divided the sources and grounds for its conclusions into the internal and the external. The division suggests the opinion, that, although *subjective* and *objective* may sometimes blend in one common beam of light upon the obscure inquiries of criticism, they will also not infrequently so disturb each other as to deepen the twilight into utter darkness. That the former dogmatic man-

ner of regarding these critical questions, while it claimed to weigh carefully the purely external and historical sources for its affirmations, was in reality largely subjective, in the worst sense of the word, there can be no dispute. But there ought to be just as little dispute, that much of the more modern criticism, whether it please to call itself external or internal or neither, is just as largely subjective, in quite as bad a sense of that word. The difference between the older so-called critics and many of the more modern ones consists largely in this: the former had a childish trust in untrustworthy traditions, while the latter have a conceited confidence in the vagaries of their own minds.

It is the distinguishing characteristic of the best modern critical inquiry into the origin of the biblical books, — the really “higher criticism” of the present century, — that it strives to marshal and handle all its forces of criticism according to a genetic idea of human history. The history of revelation is human history; the record of the kingdom of heaven upon the earth is, therefore, a record to be studied in the historico-genetic method. But this same source of all its excellences is also the snare and delusion of the higher criticism. For a certain fundamental inquiry of a dogmatic kind largely controls all the critical inquiries. This fundamental inquiry may be stated somewhat as follows: What are the elements which enter into this genetic idea of criticism? and what is the inmost nature of the process of unfolding which criticism endeavors to understand and describe? It can readily occur, then, that what seems to the critic most objective and scientific is rather in reality most thoroughly and viciously subjective. For the unverified ideas of the investigator are quite as likely to shape his alleged results of criticism, as these results, when independently established by others, to modify his ideas. It is only by long-continued investigation that the investigator can attain the true guiding ideas of criticism; and yet, meanwhile, his whole course of investigation may itself be largely shaped by false ideas assumed as guides. It is only by the reciprocal influence of ideas, assumed as guides, and of ascertained facts of history, that any critic can finally work his way toward, if not completely into, the position where truth of fact and true idea coincide. To convince himself how much the highest and most confident criticism may base itself upon conjecture and prejudice, any thoughtful reader need only go faithfully through with what

has been written upon any of the biblical books, — notably, for instance, upon the Pentateuch, the Synoptists, and the Gospel of John. The way of critical inquiry into the origin of most of the sacred writings is rough and, in places, very unsafe, even after it has been prepared by all the workmen, and guarded by all the hosts, of the very highest modern criticism.

But shall we, therefore, content ourselves with an uncritical tenure of the old traditions? Shall we continue to believe that the Pentateuch was composed throughout by Moses, because such was the synagogical tradition in the time of the apostles? Shall we hold by the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel on the sole ground that thus the Church has believed since at least the middle of the second century? Shall we even aver that the Apostle Matthew with his own hand composed the Gospel to which his name is attached, simply because of the tradition which is embodied in so loose an attachment? And, if we find that what appear to be two or three different compositions have immemorially been bound together in the same synagogue rolls, shall we think ourselves competent to pronounce without examination upon the integrity of Daniel, Isaiah, or Zechariah? Why, moreover, shall we not go yet farther in deference to certain traditions, and so assert that Canticles and Proverbs were written by Solomon, and all the so-called Psalms of David were the products of this ancient royal poet? The nature of the answers which different persons return to these several questions would be a sufficient justification, in each one's opinion, of at least *some* criticism. We certainly cannot receive information on all these points from unquestioned tradition. There are cases in which even the conjecture of unanimous criticism will rightly outweigh a thousand years of tradition. And, if the path is in places a rough and unsafe one, it is nevertheless the only path along which the friends of Sacred Scripture can meet the attacks of its enemies. It is also the path along which, walking with just agreement as to certain ascertained truths and with charitable zeal of research into disputed matters, both friends and enemies might hope to enlarge the domain of human knowledge.

We are far, indeed, from wishing by the remarks just made to depreciate the method and results of modern criticism. As has just been asserted, its method fundamentally considered is the true one; how large and encouraging are some of its results, the present chapter will enable us to bring additional evidence

to show. Certainly, no tenable doctrine of Sacred Scripture can be inductively established without adopting this method in the scrutiny of its own results. And yet it is only after much painstaking, within certain rather narrow limits, and with much reserve and caution upon many points, that satisfactory results can be obtained from the method of criticism. The importance of these results, within the limits which must be assigned, has been repeatedly asserted and enforced in previous pages. A brief summary of the results is, however, necessary as an introduction to the detailed discussion which will follow.

The relation which exists between critical inquiries into the authorship of the sacred writings and the alleged supernatural and miraculous origin of Christianity is pre-eminently important. This relation does not, indeed, cover all the alleged miraculous contents of either the Old Testament or the New. It becomes most apparent when we raise the question of the authorship of the Gospels, and among them especially of the Gospel of John. For upon this question of date and authorship it largely depends, whether we have an authentic record of the miraculous personality, works, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Upon the critical question of the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel depends the question, whether we are to lose, or not, our only direct and apostolic eye-and-ear witness of the entire course of the miraculous ministry of our Lord; and also, whether we are to lose the impression made upon a deeply religious personality by the personal teaching and communion of that Lord.

With questions of criticism those considerations which concern the historical or unhistorical character of much of the biblical narrative are also most closely intertwined. The conclusions to which the critic comes as to the date and authorship of the different portions of the Pentateuch, of the historical Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, and also of the different prophetic writings, will largely determine his views upon the entire history of Israel. The position taken by Kuenen in this regard has already been briefly passed in review. The clearness and cogency of the reasons by which he connects our judgment upon questions of criticism with that upon questions of historical verity will now be made yet more manifest. One's views of the history will of necessity change according as prior antiquity is assigned to either one of the two great portions of the Mosaic Torah, — the so-called prophetic or popular, and the

so-called priestly and ritualistic; or according to the arrangement made of so-called Elohist and so-called Jehovistic documents. Indeed, the most decisive question of the history of Israel may now be said to be the critical question as to the relative antiquity and credibility of the Elohist (and priestly) or Jehovistic (and prophetic) version of the Law. Thus Wellhausen considers it the one misleading fault of the criticism of Riehm,¹ that the latter tries to vindicate the historic authority of the so-called *Grundschrift*.² The same author in the opening sentences of his own history declares that his work will be distinguished from the preceding similar ones in that criticism will have as much place in it as history: with him, the whole view of the history turns upon the question, whether the Mosaic Law is the point of departure for the history of *ancient* Israel or of *Judaism*, — “the sects which survived when the nation was annihilated by the Assyrians and Chaldeans.”³ The question of the so-called “history of Israel” really hinges, therefore, upon the critical question as to the relative antiquity of the component parts of the Pentateuch. Thus also does Kuenen, while commending Colenso for his searching examination of the unhistorical character of the so-called ancient writings, lay it to the charge of the latter that he did not make his argument complete by showing the late date of these writings. In the New-Testament writings, how closely their authorship and time of origin is connected with the historical foundations of Christianity, we do not need to show. And here again the genuineness of John is of pre-eminent importance.

Our doctrine of prophecy, and so of the nature of prophetic inspiration, is also directly connected with the critical inquiries into dates and authorship. The element of *prediction* in prophecy always raises a question of dates. He does not predict an event who does not speak before the time of its occurrence. Indeed, the critical theories of Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen begin with the assumption that alleged instances of prediction are invariably, when they cannot be accounted for in a natural way, to be assigned to a later date than the alleged fulfilment. But not all the force of modern criticism can break the bond which connects Christ with ancient Hebrew prophecy;

¹ Articles in the *Studien und Kritiken* for the years 1868 and 1872.

² Wellhausen in Bleek's *Einkl. in das A. T.*, ed. 1878, p. 177.

³ See *Geschichte Israels*, I. p. 1; and compare *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1876 and 1877.

even though it should succeed in dragging both the prophecy and the personality down to the level of ordinary experience.

Nor can the ethical and religious contents of the biblical books be so sorted out as to save them from all contact, and danger through contact, with such critical inquiries. Not only the contact, but also the close connection, of these supreme contents with such inquiries, is already established by the course of history and its organizing ideas. The ethical and religious contents of the Bible are embedded in the history; they are in part contents of alleged revelations and miracles and predictions of events which shall come to the kingdom of God upon earth. It is a gallant attempt which Professor Robertson Smith makes to rescue the verity of all the necessary contents and truths of revelation, and yet surrender the field formerly contested upon critical questions. But the attempt must be pronounced of at best very doubtful success. We cannot avoid thinking, that, however fully he may himself have considered the relations of certain critical questions to the general doctrine of Old-Testament Scripture, he has failed in his writings to acknowledge their full significance.¹ We would not quote, in opposition to such an attempt and as a satisfactory argument, the coarse remark of Klostermann,² that the view which Kuenen proposes of the origin of the Old-Testament books is related to the traditional view very much as "a picture of Munchausen drawing himself by his own pigtail out of the swamp, to another in which Peter by the word and presence of his Lord is kept above the waters." The reality of a supernatural revelation to Israel and to the world through Israel, and the possibility of tracing the history of Israel according to the general plan presented in the ancient Hebrew Scriptures, are not dependent wholly upon the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, nor upon the historical equality of Chronicles and the earlier historical books. But certainly the predetermination rigidly to exclude every thing which has the least appearance of the supernatural; the rejection, as substantially and almost utterly untrustworthy, of all the alleged history of the Old Testament lying back of 800

¹ See *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, New York 1881, especially Lectures I. and III.; pp. 316 ff. Smith desires to show that the place which Christian theology gives to the Mosaic Law is "altogether independent of the critical question as to the authorship and composition of the Pentateuch." The Law may be regarded as "inserted in the historical context" and as "in a certain sense independent of the historical narrative."

² See *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1877, p. 402.

B.C.; the easy ascription of literary forgery, "tendency-writing," myth-making, and fiction, to the authors of this history; and the resolve at all hazards to bring every writing down to the very latest possible date, — are very significant features of the general attitude of certain critics to the entire question of revelation and Sacred Scripture. These elements *are* themselves integrant parts of a doctrine concerning the ethical and religious contents of Sacred Scripture. In the words of Kuenen,¹ "The case speaks for itself: as soon as it began to be clear that the testimony of Israel's sacred books could not stand the test of a searching inquiry, as soon as it appeared that they were least trustworthy just in those places where their accounts seemed to afford the most unequivocal proof of the truth of supernaturalism, — from that moment, especially in connection with all the other motives which lead to the rejection of supernaturalism, its fall was an assured fact."

That which the school of critics who follow Kuenen have done for the Old Testament, the Tübingen school of critics have done for the New. They have made necessary a revision of all our views of Sacred Scripture and of its contents, in order to adjust them to the established facts of modern criticism. For to critical questions must be given a most important influence in estimating all the contents — miraculous, historical, predictive, ethico-religious — of both the Old and the New Testaments.

But besides these more indirect though most important connections of criticism with the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, there are certain very obvious more direct connections. Whenever the separate books or portions of books may have come into existence, their present existence is a certainty. They can just as certainly be traced back in a general way to the time of the origins of our historical religion; the writings of the New Testament to the origins of Christianity, those of the Old to the origins of the Hebrew religion. These writings were, then, written by believers in either the Hebrew or the Christian religion. They contain the record in some form of the beginnings and growths of their religions; they contain the expression of the great ethical and religious ideas out of which our religion sprung, and from the revelation and divinely guided growth of which it has reached its present form. All this gives us a very direct interest in the personality of the writers, and in the nature of the composition of their books. For it is evident

¹ Religion of Israel, I., p. 11 f.

that we can affirm that the contents of the books are truths of revelation given through inspired persons, only as we know something either of the authors as persons, or of their works as seen from the ethical point of view, or of both.

In most cases of the Old-Testament writings, however, and in some cases of the New, the authorship can never be known. We cannot, therefore, attribute to the works a certain divine quality inferred from our belief that the authors were themselves inspired. The argument by which we connect the inspiration of an Old-Testament prophet or a Christian believer with his writings, when he writes upon subjects to which his inspiration extends, is direct and conclusive. What is written by a Moses, a Samuel, an Elijah, an Isaiah, or by some apostle or Christian companion of an apostle, upon themes which concern the kingdom of God, will be likely to bear at least as much of the impress of the Divine Spirit as belonged to the speech and conduct of these men. Especially direct and cogent is the argument by which we infer the inspiration of a writing from an apostle of Christ concerning the life of the Master, or concerning the nature and applications of his doctrine. It may readily be seen, then, how important it is that we should be able to regard the Fourth Gospel and the greater Pauline Epistles as having apostolic authorship; and, also, that we should be able to trace the Synoptists back to presumptive apostolic authority. Nor can any one deny that we should regard the Pentateuch differently if we could consider it as coming in its present form from the speech or pen of the great inspired law-giver, Moses. Now, it is one fact which criticism establishes, that the tradition as to the authorship of biblical books, in certain cases where it had long been regarded as based upon sound reasons, is undoubtedly invalid.

We are invited, then, to enlarge our conceptions of inspiration and inspired Scripture. When we have once gained a clear notion of the way in which an inspired personality, however limited by ignorance of fact or misconception of doctrine, gets itself wrought into a sacred writing, we may then with some confidence reverse the previous argument. We may reason, then, from the apparently inspired writing to a presumably inspired personality. All this, however, will not help us to determine just who this particular personality was, and what were his name and date, and means of information. The answer to such questions, criticism must attempt. But the inference

from the quality of a known work to the divine gifts of its unknown author is one which must be made by the religious and Christian consciousness. It is just here, then, that the history of the Canon becomes of importance to the settlement of certain disputed questions. For the unconscious argument of the Church in forming its Canon has lain in both directions: some writings have come to be accepted as inspired and sacred because they were traditionally referred to well-known inspired authorship; others have come into a similar acceptance because, being found on hand — so to speak — as helpful and edifying writings, they gained for themselves a supposititious attachment to some such authorship.

But none of the above-mentioned cases are among the most difficult. For, what shall we say of those books which have obviously had a most complex authorship, and have been growing into their present condition through scores or hundreds of years? Of such writings we might for convenience make two classes, the more distinctively composite and the more largely compiled. Yet the distinction itself is one which admits of degrees. There are various degrees of authorship, according as the so-called author is more purely the composer of what he records, or more nearly a simple redactor. Thus, in the New Testament, we recognize the Fourth Gospel as the work of one author in the fullest sense of the words; but the writers of the Synoptic Gospels, although authors indeed, are nevertheless authors who are even verbally dependent to a considerable extent upon the sources from which they draw their material. In the Old Testament, the Book of Isaiah leads us to the question of a double authorship. The so-called Book of Psalms is to be judged in detail according to the authorship and ethical and religious quality of each one of its members. The earlier historical books present upon the surface only a claim to faithful compilation from oral and written sources, which is helped out in parts by eye-and-ear witness. The later historical books exhibit the same phenomena as the earlier, with the addition of some material whose trustworthiness cannot be so well established, because it shows the marks of the misconceptions of a later age as thrown back over the past. And, finally, the Pentateuch seems to exhibit the work of various authors using an indefinite number of sources, and of various redactors or editors handling its material somewhat freely an indeterminate number of times.

In the most difficult cases of compilation or composite structure and growth, how shall we make tenable, or even conceivable, any doctrine of inspiration which belongs to the personality and then passes over into the work? Only by recalling that truth upon the acceptance of which any reasonable doctrine of Sacred Scripture largely depends, and to which our attention will be directed again and again. Revelation and inspiration belong to the community of believers; their result in Sacred Scripture is reached only as the product of a process of unfolding which is directed and energized from above. Of this community some individuals may be pre-eminently productive, others conservative; they may understand their place and their work with varying degrees of self-consciousness, and may accomplish it with different degrees of excellence. To claim inspiration, in the post-Reformation meaning of the word, for such compilations and literary growths, would be in a plain manner absurd. To make this claim, and yet accept the best ascertained results of criticism, would compel us to take such positions as the following. The original authors of each one of the writings which enter into the composite structure were infallibly inspired; every one who made any changes in any one of these fundamental writings was infallibly inspired; every compiler who put together two or more of these writings was infallibly inspired, both as to his selections and transmission and also as to any connecting or explanatory words which he might himself write; every redactor was infallibly inspired to correct and supplement and omit that which was the product of previous infallible inspirations. Or perhaps it might seem more convenient to attach the claim of a plenary inspiration to the last redactor of all; but then we should probably have selected of all others the one least able to bear the weight of such a claim. Think of making the claim for a plenary inspiration of the Pentateuch in its present form on the ground of the infallibility of that one of the scribes who gave to it its last touches some time subsequent to the date of Ezra! What value could such a claim for the books of Moses possess, after we had once been driven by criticism from the ascription of their inspiration to the inspired personality of Moses? But the claim that even these most composite and slowly growing of the literary products which enter into Sacred Scripture have been shaped by many hands, all of which labored with more or less distinct self-consciousness under the impulse of great ideas of revelation

and of an impelling Divine Spirit, — this is a conceivable, and, as we believe, a tenable claim. It may not serve to place such works upon the same level with those which can be proved to have come directly from the greater inspired personalities of prophets and apostles: it may, however, serve to justify the place which such works have in fact attained within the Bible.

Differing degrees of certainty, with which we infer different kinds and degrees of inspiration, are necessary both as postulates and results of the critical discussions. Both negatively and positively a critical inquiry into the authorship of the biblical books must affect our general doctrine of Sacred Scripture.

The complete proof and detailed illustration of the foregoing positions would involve a survey of the entire ground of Old and New Testament Introduction: such a survey is neither necessary nor possible. In addition to the materials discussed in other connections, we must content ourselves at present with a few selected examples. The presentation of these examples naturally falls into the two divisions of the subject suggested above. The relation of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture to the authorship and composition of the biblical books will be made clear as this relation is concerned in, (1) the more composite books, and (2) the books which have an undoubted unity of authorship. Of each class one example will be made conspicuous: of the former class, the Pentateuch (or rather Hexateuch) from the Old Testament; of the latter, the Gospel of John from the New. Of all possible examples, these two are the most difficult, and none can be called more important.

What, then, does modern criticism justly conclude and firmly evince concerning the authorship of the Pentateuch? To answer this question involves a special education and a lifelong period of toil. Even to understand the answer involves no small amount of cultivated attention and special research. And yet a moderate critical culture, if combined with caution and sound judgment, may lead us to a tolerably safe, if not a completely satisfying, answer. This answer we shall attain by a free and yet respectful use of the best authorities at command; and upon this subject there is no lack of learned authorities.

Very ancient traditions are embodied in the titles which we use whenever we speak of a certain portion of the Old Testament as the Pentateuch, or the Books of Moses. The former

title seems to have arisen in Alexandria (ἡ πεντάτευχος ἢ βιβλος — the five-volumed book); but there is no sufficient reason for believing, with Hävernick and Lengerke, that the division into five parts originated with the LXX.¹ The oldest translations adopted the same division. The Hebraistic Jews designated the work as the five Fifth-parts (פְּנִינִים) of the Law. The Church Fathers speak of the Pentateuch or the five Books of Moses:² they thus join with Philo, Josephus, and the Talmud,³ in ascribing these books to this author; or, rather, they only accept unquestioningly the tradition handed down through Jewish sources.

Some apparent exceptions to this view of the authorship of the Pentateuch are met with very early in the history of the Christian Church: they occurred especially among the Gnostics, and grew out of opposition to the legal part of Judaism rather than out of intelligent critical considerations. Thus the view of Ptolemaeus⁴ — which ascribed only a part of the Mosaic law to divine revelation, and attributed other things to Moses of his own motion (ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐννοίας ὁρμώμενος), still others to the elders — seems incompatible with the traditional notion. According to the Clementine Homilies (III. 47), Moses wished to propagate his religion only by word of mouth; but after his death the law was written down contrary to his design, and out of this writing the Pentateuch originated. In earlier times an ascetic sect called by Epiphanius the Nazaraeans rejected the Pentateuch; and so, according to Euthymius Zigabenus, did a sect of the twelfth century. Among the Jews of the middle ages, sporadic cases of doubt upon the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch occur, — as, for example, the case of a certain Aben Esra, or of one or two other learned Jews. The expressed doubt of Carlstadt is too well known to need mention here. Andrew Masius († 1573) in his Preface to the Book of Joshua, and in others of his writings, denied, on critical grounds, the Mosaic authorship: he ascribed the Pentateuch to Ezra, or some other inspired man. In the second half of the seventeenth century the traditional view was attacked by Hobbes, Peyrerius, and Spinoza, by Simon and Le Clerc.⁵ In the earlier half of the eighteenth century the traditional views were scarcely

¹ See Bleek-Wellhausen, Einl. in das A. T., p. 9 f.

² Rufinus, Exposit. in Symb. Apost.; Jerome, Prol. Galeat.; Origen, In Joann.

³ Especially Tr. Baba bathra, fol. 14 b.: *Moses scripsit librum suum*, etc.

⁴ Ep. ad Floram.

⁵ Le Clerc, however, in 1693, retracted his earlier views.

disturbed; John Gottfried Hasse (1785), however, for a time maintained the view that the Pentateuch was compiled at the time of the Exile, out of ancient records which were only in part Mosaic. The question was kept stirred by the works of Fulda and Otmar, until in 1805 and 1806 the non-Mosaic and later origin of the Pentateuch was positively maintained and defended in detail by Vater¹ and De Wette.²

The more modern era for the criticism of the Pentateuch was introduced, however, when the relation which had been hitherto supposed to exist between the Deuteronomic law and the laws of the middle books of the Pentateuch was reversed by Von Bohlen, George, and Vatke. This reversal of order has been fortified and rendered intelligible by the critical researches especially of Graf (whose monograph, "Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments," Wellhausen says made, in the special sense of the word, an epoch), Kuenen, Nöldeke, and Wellhausen.³ It has thus come about, that the one critical question regarding the composition of the Pentateuch—a question which affects all our conceptions of the history of Israel and of the origin and nature of Old-Testament religion—is the following: Did the ritualistic and priestly laws of the middle books of the Pentateuch, and the history belonging to those laws, originate in substance as genuine Mosaic legislation, and become substantially fixed in custom and in writing previous to the discovery of the Deuteronomic law in the time of Josiah? or did they originate after the Exile, under the stress of priestly influence, and were they largely fabrications of imaginary laws, set in a fictitious history, and foisted into the law-book which then existed, but had not hitherto contained them? Essentially the same question is proposed by a recent critic⁴ in the following form: Does the Elohist constitute the oldest, or the latest, one of those sources of materials which entered into the Hebrew books from Genesis to Joshua? or—since the Jehovist is gen-

¹ Kommentar über den Pentateuch, III. pp. 391-728.

² The researches of De Wette were begun independently of Vater, and while he was a *Privat-docent* at Jena; but the result was published, in view of the appearance of Vater's work, as *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins A. T.*, 1806. His *Dissertatio de Deuteronomio* (*Opuscula Theol.*, pp. 151-168) shows the glow of youth over his discovery in its opening words: "Pentateuchum non esse a Mose conscriptum . . . neminem adhuc esse puto qui neget, praeter eos qui auctoritatis suae magis tuendae causa, quam veritatis studio ducti," etc.

³ For the history of the movement, see Wellhausen, in Bleek's *Einleitung*, pp. 152-178.

⁴ Giesebrecht, in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 1881, p. 178.

erally agreed to have written in the time from 700 B.C. to 900 B.C., and the Deuteronomist not long previous to 621 — did the Elohist write before 900, or after 600?

But the very form of this question, which is thus declared to be the chief critical inquiry regarding the composition of the Pentateuch, makes obvious the fact of a great separation between the ancient synagogical tradition and the accepted results of modern criticism. Whether Genesis, and, indeed, all the Hexateuch, be composite or not; whether criticism can prove the existence in these books of various writings which belonged originally to different authors and eras, and of various redactionary processes, or not; whether, in brief, all the laws, with their historical setting, came from the authorship of Moses, or even from his era, or whether they be not of many eras, and fused into their present unity only as the result of work done in and about the time of Ezra, — these are questions which lie already some distance behind the alleged conclusions of criticism. The uniform tradition of two thousand years upon these questions stands directly opposed to the unanimous verdict of criticism. For, that the Pentateuch in its present form was not the work of Mosés, but was rather a growth from the work of a number of authors and redactors extending over several hundred years, is the quite unanimous verdict of criticism. To say that the advocates of the traditional view of the synagogue are, among scholars of every shade of opinion, too few to be worthy of counting, would scarcely overstate the fact. Is criticism, then, competent to reverse the uniform ancient tradition? and on what grounds has it come to regard the tradition as already left far behind by its own established conclusions?

We may assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that the tradition itself, although so ancient, has absolutely no claims to precedence. Its claims are not those of the biblical writings themselves; nor can they be connected with real testimony to the fact by carrying the tradition back to a time when it becomes trustworthy as testimony. The Bible itself makes no direct claim of Mosaic authorship for the writings from Gen. i. to Josh. xxiv., with the exception of the so-called Book of the Covenant, the body of Deuteronomy, and a few small fragments. Moreover, we have found no indirect claim which has been asserted by themselves, or vindicated by others, so as to make the biblical writers authorities concerning the authorship and date of an ancient writing. The facts in the Bible

and in the history of the Canon are such as, in part, to account for the tradition, but not to verify it: they teach us how the Jews came to suppose that the Moses who received from Jehovah the original Torah was the author of all the writings which recorded both this Torah and all the subsequent laws, together with their real or supposed setting in history.

The traditional view of the Jews is, then, no longer debated by modern criticism. By way of approach, however, to that critical question which is now in debate, we pass in very brief review some of the facts and reasons upon which criticism relies for rejecting the ancient tradition. This may be done by raising these two inquiries: What are the proofs that the Pentateuch is a composite literary product of different authors and ages? and, How far can criticism go toward discriminating the different portions of this composite product, and depicting the relations in which they have stood one to another?

In answer to the first inquiry, we may call attention to the fact, that, even on the traditional view of its Mosaic authorship, certain parts of the Pentateuch are plainly of composite structure. In this regard Genesis differs from the following books, for its close brings the history down only to within several hundred years of the Mosaic era. The other books of the Pentateuch, however, deal with alleged events presented as contemporary with the traditional author of the writing which records them. The composite structure of Genesis is, therefore, not necessarily incompatible with its Mosaic authorship; for even Moses, if he were its author, must have received its contents either by direct revelation, or from oral tradition and pre-existing documents. But the composite structure of writings which record events contemporary with Moses, if it be plainly such as to show that different parts of the record are separated by considerable spaces of time, also plainly shows the non-Mosaic authorship of the writings in their present form. That all the books of the Pentateuch are in fact of composite structure, the following summary of some of the proofs will suffice to evince:—

1. The laws of the Pentateuch, considered as an entire body of enactments, bear the marks of having originated at different and widely separated periods of time. It seems to us undeniable, that many of the Mosaic laws are such in form and expression as would be fit only for a people in the circumstances and stage of development which belonged to the Mosaic era. Traces

of such great antiquity are found in the dismissal of the he-goat into the *wilderness* (Lev. xvi. 10, 21 f.); in the references to the *camp*, without which the victims of certain sacrifices were to be brought and burned (Lev. iv. 11 f. and vi.); and in the laws for the purifying from leprosy (Lev. xiii. 46 and xiv. 3). The silence of many of these laws, upon points concerning which we should expect an utterance in case they were of much later origin, tends to prove a similar antiquity. Thus Bleek claims that the failure to mention the king in the law of the sin-offering (Lev. iv.) proves this law to antedate David.¹ The same author would reverse the argument of Kuenen, and maintain that the frequent designation of the priests as the "sons of Aaron," in the early chapters of Leviticus (i. 5, 7, 11, ii. 2, 10, iii. 2, 5, 13, vi. 9, 14, 18, 20, 25, vii. 10, 31, 33, 34), favors the view that these laws were enacted when Aaron and his sons actually enjoyed the priesthood. Thus also are we to suppose that the law which forbids the slaying of animals elsewhere than before the door of the tabernacle (Lev. xvii. 1 f.), and which was certainly contravened by the custom subsequent to Moses, was adapted to the time when the tabernacle was easy of access, but became impossible to keep under changed circumstances. The prior antiquity of this law would then further be shown by the distinction (verse 3) between "in the camp" and "out of the camp;" as well as by the provision against sacrificing to he-goats (verse 7, שְׂעִירִים), which, as in the similar case of the Greek satyrs, were early regarded as inhabited by demons. The circumstantiality of the description of the construction and cultus of the tabernacle (Exod. xxv.-xxx.), of the accounts of the numbering of the children of Israel (Num. i., ii., iv.), and of the arrangements for service in changing the place of worship as the place of camping changed, imply the existing circumstances of the Mosaic era. But whether the claims of Bleek and others against those of Kuenen and his followers be admitted as valid in the cases mentioned above, or not, it remains true that both parties agree in distinguishing different strata of laws as embedded in the one history.

On the contrary, among the instances of laws which cannot well be assigned on any tenable theory to the Mosaic era, are the following: the law for the kings (Deut. xvii. 14-20), unless we suppose a most unlikely prophetic and anticipatory form of enactment; the ordinances concerning wars with the Ca-

¹ Einl. in das A. T., p. 31.

naanites, especially sentences in Deut. xx. 15 f.; the law against the removal of landmarks (xix. 14); the laws for the selection of forces to go out to battle (xx. 5 f.); the law for the prompt offering of the first-fruits of the field and vineyard (Exod. xxii. 29 f. and xxiii. 16); the laws for management of fields, vineyards, and olive-orchards (xxiii. 10 f.); the laws for purifying houses (Lev. xiv. 33 f.).

The repetitious and apparently contradictory versions of certain laws and ordinances also evince this composite structure of the Pentateuch. In this respect, the case of Deuteronomy is very peculiar. Deuteronomy cannot, indeed, be considered as a compilation of laws in the same sense in which these words may be used of the legal contents of the middle books of the Pentateuch. It is not a law-book, but a hortatory re-enforcement and re-exposition of the ancient popular law.¹ So far as the main parts of its contents are concerned, — viz., i.-iv. 40, iv. 44-xxvi., xxvii.-xxx., — its unity is unique and remarkable. And this very fact serves by contrast to make more apparent the composite nature of the Pentateuch as a whole. Without introducing at this point the question of priority of origin, the following among the many particulars in which the Deuteronomic law differs from the laws of the middle books will suffice. Certain legal enactments recited by the former in substantial agreement with the latter are changed to suit the purpose of the author. Such are the command forbidding to marry the wife of one's father (compare Deut. xxii. 30 and Lev. xviii. 8); the command punishing adultery with death (compare Deut. xxii. 22 and Lev. xx. 10); the provision for the pay of the day-laborer (Deut. xxiv. 14 f. and Lev. xix. 13).² The exact verbal repetition of the ancient command forbidding to cook the kid in the milk of its mother (compare Deut. xiv. 21 and Exod. xxiii. 19) seems unnatural from the point of view of a common authorship for both passages.

In certain other cases the version of Deuteronomy seems to contain additions to and supplements of laws which are given in their older form in the middle books of the Pentateuch. Thus may we regard the law of Exod. xxii. 16, concerning seduction, as supplemented, Deut. xxii. 28 f., by the declaration that this act makes an indissoluble marriage-bond. The law of Exod. xxii. 25, against interest, is supplemented, Deut. xxiii.

¹ See Dillmann, *Exodus und Leviticus*, p. viii.

² See Kleinert, *Das Deuteronomium und der Deuteronomiker*, p. 48 f.

20, by permitting it to be received from strangers. The brief law of Exod. xxii. 20, banning idolatrous cities, and the law banning the Canaanitish cities (Exod. xxiii. 32 f.), are expanded, Deut. xiii. 12-18 and xx. 16 f. The enactments against witchcraft (Exod. xxii. 18; Lev. xix. 26, 31, xx. 6, 27) are given detailed exposition, Deut. xviii. 9-22.¹ In other cases the simple and cursory notice of some ritualistic observance, as given in Deuteronomy, must be contrasted with an explicit and detailed treatment elsewhere: as, for instance, when the notice to make memorial borders for the garments (Deut. xxii. 12) is expatiated upon, Num. xv. 37 f.; and the simple proscription of blemished offerings (Deut. xvii. 1) becomes, Lev. xxii. 17-24, a detailed classification and specification of blemishes. Different if not contradictory views of certain points of law emerge on continuing this comparison. Examples of such difference are found in laws for the provisions for the Levites (compare Deut. xiv. 22-29 with Num. xviii. 20-32), for their residence in separate cities (Num. xxxv. 1-8 as contrasted with what is implied in Deuteronomy); and, indeed, the undoubted fact that in the middle books the Levites are only temple-servants, and the priests are the "sons of Aaron," while in Deuteronomy the priests *appear* to be the "sons of Levi" in general.

But even within the first three legal books, instances of repetition or apparent contradiction of the legal enactments prove their composite structure. Some of these may be seen upon comparing Exod. xxi.-xxiii. with xxxiv. 18-26 (especially xxiii. 17-19 with xxxiv. 23-26), and Lev. xviii. with xx. Minute apparent contradictions, such as can be best explained by reference to two versions of one law, or of two laws enacted at different times upon one subject-matter, also occur: for example, in Num. iv. 3, 22, 30, 47, the service of the Levites extends from thirty to fifty; but, viii. 23-26, from twenty-five to fifty.

2. The historical notices and accounts of the Pentateuch exhibit marks of an origin at different and widely separated periods of time. The existence of repeated, various, and apparently discrepant accounts of the same event, within the same extended history, is a proof of its composite structure. For the Book of Genesis, the two narratives of the Creation (Gen. i. 1-ii. 3 and ii. 4-iii.); the two accounts of the Flood, which are pieced together into one narrative (vi. 5-ix. 29), yet

¹ Kleinert, *Ibid.*, p. 49; and compare an article in review of Graf, by Riehm, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1868, pp. 350-379.

not in such manner as to avoid the appearance of discrepancy (especially as to the number of clean beasts taken into the ark); the two accounts of the origin of the names of Bethel (xxviii. 19 and xxxv. 9-15) and of Beersheba (xxi. 22-34 and xxvi. 17-38); the divergent traditions as to the names of Esau's wives (xxvi. 34 and xxxvi. 2) and of Israel (xxxii. 27 f. and xxxv. 10), — will suffice as instances. But the same proofs of composite structure extend through the remaining books of the Pentateuch. The giving of the quails in connection with that of the manna is recorded, Num. xi. and Exod. xvi. In Exod. vi 2-12, the summons to Moses to appear before Pharaoh seems to be the first summons, although previous appearances in court are narrated (chaps. iii., iv., and v.); and even subsequently the narrative of vi. 28-vii. 7 gives a general statement of events as though no previous statements had been made. So does the visit of Jethro to Moses, which is narrated, Exod. xviii., seem to imply the previous establishment of the tabernacle and its service (especially the phrase "before God," 12 and 19); whereas only in the following chapter does the account of its establishment occur.

Cases of unnatural order, as where the genealogy of Moses and Aaron is interpolated (Exod. vi. 14-27) between two portions of narrative, and yet gives points of history mentioned before, further show a composite structure.¹ Discrepancies in chronology may not infrequently be ascribed to differences in the original sources which have been admitted into one narrative without being worked over and blended. The chronological notices do not always fuse well with the traditions which they bind together. Thus may we best account for the fact that Abraham, after he had found it difficult to believe the promise of a son when he was a hundred years old (Gen. xvii. 17) should be represented forty years later as taking another wife, and having by her six sons.² In respect to numbers, as well as dates, the same inference obtains. When, for example, the number of the males among the Levites is given (Num.

¹ The original contents of the interpolated genealogy are given (verse 26) as containing the heads of the Levites according to their families: the notice of verse 26 — "This is the Moses and Aaron," etc. — is scarcely compatible with the Mosaic authorship of the interpolation.

² Compare also Gen. xvi. 16 with xvii. 1, 17, xxi. 5 with xxi. 14 f. When Isaac was a hundred years old (Gen. xxv. 26, xxvi. 34, xxvii. 46), and ready to die, Jacob departs for a wife, but returns eighty years later to bury his father (xxxv. 28).

iii. 39) at 22,000, — although 7,500 (verse 22) and 8,600 (28) and 6,200 (34) make 22,300, — and the number of the Israelites fit for war is given (i. 46 and ii. 32) as 603,550, or about twenty-seven times as many as the number of the Levites who took the place of the first-born, we are inclined to explain such an obvious discrepancy between the number of the nation's first-born and the number of its men of war by the theory of different sources and different workmen. Instances of historical repetitions, divergences, and obvious contradictions, in the Hexateuch outside of Genesis, might be indefinitely multiplied;¹ but our present purpose does not require further detail.

The relation of such phenomena as those given above to the historical trustworthiness of the writings in which they occur has already been considered, and is not now the special subject of inquiry. Their relation to the question of authorship, which is the special subject of our present inquiry, is almost as obvious. These are certainly not the characteristics of contemporaneous records, all made at first hand by the chief actor in the history which they record.²

3. The atmosphere and tone of the speech, as well as certain more direct allusions incorporated in the narratives, show the composite structure of the Pentateuch. It is difficult to believe that the tone in which the Mosaic Torah is spoken of throughout Deuteronomy belongs to the same author and the same age with that of the middle books. The former presupposes the actual occupation of the sacred land: the latter make references to the journey through the wilderness as still in progress. "The land which I will give to you" is the formula of Exod. xx. 12; Lev. xiv. 34, xxiii. 10, xxv. 2; Num. xiii. 2, xv. 2.³ Scattered throughout the entire Pentateuch are found occasional allusions which seem plainly to imply a community of authorship, or at least a repeated revision of more ancient writing, and the incorporating of comment into a text already existing. We read (Gen. xii. 6), "And the Canaanites were at that time in the land." Here the word *at* (at that

¹ Compare Reuss, *Geschichte der heil. Schriften A. T.*, I. pp. 85 ff., 156 ff.

² The Jewish Rabbi Popper argued from alleged unhistorical and impossible elements in the account of the tabernacle (Exod. xxxv.-xl.), and of the inauguration of the priests (Lev. viii.-x.), that these accounts must be in origin more recent than those concerning the same circumstances in Exod. xxv.-xxxl. See Bleek's *Einl. in das A. T.*, p. 155 f.

³ Compare Bleek, *Ibid.*, p. 110 f.; Kleinert, *Ibid.*, p. 38.

time) plainly points to the fact recorded as having existed much previous to the time of the writer; for even if we admit that the remark is designed to emphasize the divine promise (verse 7), and to assert that the heroes who then occupied the ground which the divine plan assigned to Abraham must yield it, still it is most unnatural except as made by one who looks back from the time when the Canaanites were actually no longer in possession.¹ (Compare Gen. xiii. 7, which has less the appearance of an interpolation.) The words of Gen. xxxvi. 31—“And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel”—could scarcely have been written in the Mosaic age; and the list of Edomite kings must itself be reckoned from immediately before the beginning of the kingdom in Israel back toward Moses.² In the same direction point also such expressions as the following: “And when the Israelites were in the wilderness they found a man,” etc. (Num. xv. 32); “These are the words which Moses spoke unto all Israel beyond Jordan” (Deut. i. 1, *בְּעֵינֵי הַיַּרְדֵּן*, implying the residence of the writer west of the river); the phrase “unto this day” (Deut. iii. 14; especially when considered in connection with the other tradition as to the origin of the name Jair, Judg. x. 3, 4); “Thou shalt not remove the landmark . . . which thy ancestors have established” (Deut. xix. 14); the name Dan (Gen. xiv. 14) for the city of which we are told (Judg. xviii. 29, compare Josh. xix. 47) that it did not bear this name until the time of the Judges; the phrase, “the land of the Hebrews” (Gen. xl. 15); and the mention of Agag the contemporary of Saul (Num. xxiv. 7). What further shall we conclude when we find the treatment given to the Horim by the sons of Esau compared with that given by the Israelites to the people of Canaan; or find Og designated as the last of the giants, and his sarcophagus or bedstead elaborately described (Deut. iii. 11), who himself died at the latest only a few months before Moses? (Num. xxi. 33 f.)

4. And, further, the very manner in which certain isolated portions of the Pentateuch are ascribed to their antecedent written sources, or are especially referred to Moses as their

¹ See Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, *in loco*.

² The attempt to explain the statement solely by reference to the promises of xvii. 6, 16, and xxxv. 11, is unsuccessful. The statement rather shows that all three passages belong to the period when Israel, as well as the other nations sprung from Abraham, had had experience of kings. See Dillmann, *in loco*.

author, shows its composite structure as a whole, and suggests the fact that not all of its contents belong to this author. The Book of the Wars of Jehovah, to which reference is made, Num. xxi. 14, could scarcely have had any material adequate to its title previous to the death of Moses. If, for example, the claim that Moses himself wrote the list of camping-places (Num. xxxiii. 1-49) be admitted, the composition of this passage, and its relations to the rest of the book, are an argument against the Mosaic authorship of Numbers. The author of the list could not be the author of the detailed history in which it is incorporated (especially if we consider the discrepancy between verse 45 and xxi. 12 f.).

And even that writing which, of all the component parts of the Pentateuch, shows most of unity cannot, in its present form, be referred to one author alone. That Moses wrote the account of his own death, not even the traditional view has ventured uniformly to affirm: the Talmud hesitates before this step. Nor does the author of Deuteronomy in its present form mean to claim Mosaic authorship for the whole book in like form. He asserts, indeed (xxx. 9), that Moses wrote this Torah (תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה), referring to a definite record of the law from the beginning of chap. xxvii. onward.¹ But in the earlier chapters also (i. 5 and iv. 8) he clearly distinguishes himself from Moses, the speaker and commander of the Torah. His attitude toward that which he records is further indicated in the antiquarian notices of ii. 10-12, 20-23, iii. 11, and iv. 41, 47, 49: he even puts into the mouth of Moses an observation, which is clearly his own, on the geographical situation (see iii. 25). The Torah which he ascribes, for substance at least, to the written record of Moses, is at most (besides the law of xxvii. f.) that legislation which lies between iv. 44-xxvi. 15. But there are many indications, besides those already given, that he is handling this law freely, rather than copying it precisely from some one document.² And the further question may be raised, how far the author meant to go in asserting that even this main legal section of the book was lying before him as written by Moses. For the command of Moses is recorded (xxvii. 3), that all the words of this Torah shall be written on plastered stones;

¹ See Kleinert, *Das Deuteronomium*, p. 29 f.; and compare Deut. xxvii. 3, 8, 26, xxviii. 58, xxix. 27, xxx. 10, xxxi. 11, 12, 26, xxxii. 46.

² Certain differences of coloring and of statements of fact, between the main legal section and the introduction and conclusion within which it is fitted, can be pointed out. Compare iv. 41 and xix. 1 f., ii. 29 and xxiii. 3 f.

and this it is difficult to understand of a verbatim record of twenty-one chapters. The writer of the entire Book of Deuteronomy, then, on his own testimony makes the impression of one putting together, from sources which he supposed to be Mosaic, a new and hortatory version of the ancient national law. To claim that the entire writing in its present form came from the pen or lips of Moses, is quite as far from the true case as to claim that the pen which did finish the writing in its present form was itself fabricating the law ascribed to Moses.

5. But, finally, the entire structure of the Pentateuch is plainly such as to reveal a number of component parts, and the work of various original authors and redactors. The Pentateuch is a composite structure: this one fact is, as Strack argues, decisive against its Mosaic authorship.¹ Indeed, to one who has gone over the evidence, it seems almost like superfluous trifling to enumerate the proofs of such a statement. The legal and the historical contents, when considered both in themselves and in their mutual relations, have the appearance only of such a unity as results from an historic and literary growth, and involves the work of different authors who worked under differing circumstances. There is, indeed, a manifest unity to the so-called Mosaic Torah; and we have no warrant for speaking of a prophetic Torah and a priestly Torah as two antagonistic forms of law which struggled together throughout the entire history. "Every thing," says Hermann Schultz,² "from the most insignificant ordinances for external purification to the fundamental principles of the moral law, is a unity." But this unity is one which belongs to the one spirit of revelation, rather than to a oneness of authorship. The law of the middle books is theocratic and symbolical; that of Deuteronomy, ethico-religious and democratic.³ The reflective tone which justifies the divine wisdom and mercy before men, even by frequent use of the *argumentum ad hominem* (see Deut. vii. 7 f., ix. 4 f., x. 12, 14 f., xi. 10); the founding of the legal relations in the principle of divine love (vi. 4, vii. 6, xi. 1, xiii. 3 f., xix. 9); the advocacy of beneficence and kindness to animals, — are pre-eminent in the fifth book of the Pentateuch. Yet the theocratic conception of the divine holiness appears also in Deuteronomy (xxiii.

¹ See article Pentateuch in Herzog and Plitt, p. 441.

² *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 135. Compare the conclusions of Bertheau, *Die sieben Gruppen Mosaischer Gesetze*.

³ See Kleinert, *Ibid.*, p. 41 f.

1-14, xvii. 1, xix. 8); while the middle books have passages setting forth the principle of the divine love (Exod. xx. 6), and of love for one's neighbor (Lev. xix. 34), as well as injunctions to varied forms of beneficence and kindness.¹ Moreover, that minute analysis of the entire legal contents, to which we shall soon refer, succeeds in detecting various groups and strata of laws in this body of ancient writings. We conclude, then, that a certain unity which constitutes the legal contents of all these books one Torah, is as little to be denied as is the conclusion which analyzes the same contents into different elements of the one growth. The law given by Moses became the medium, or menstruum, within which all the legal enactments received by the nation in the divine process of self-revelation were caught, dissolved, and held. The Torah developed as essentially one, and from a strong and broad Mosaic root; but it developed in a course of providential dealing along two main lines of movement, — viz., the ceremonial and priestly, and the ethical and civil, including the rights of citizens.

By the same view of the various authorship and composite structure of the Pentateuch, we are able to account for the fragmentary and spasmodic nature of its history. It is wholly unlikely that any one writer, and especially Moses, would have left such an historical composition as the Pentateuch.

The further consideration of the whole subject may fitly at this point introduce us to the second inquiry raised above. How far can criticism detect these various elements of the composite structure, and go over again in description the process of literary growth once accomplished in fact? The conception of the work of Pentateuch-criticism which Wellhausen² has set forth is admirable indeed. We must regard it as our task not only to discriminate the various elements, but also ideally to reconstruct them in the relations in which they originally stood; we must strive to present the whole literary and religious product called the Hexateuch, in the aspect of a living process. And yet the possibility of accomplishing this reconstruction with confidence in our details is beyond our reach.

The proof that criticism can within certain limits be trusted in its analysis is, however, as complete as can fairly be required in such a case. He who, on account of its varying conclusions

¹ See Exod. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9; Lev. xix. 13; Exod. xxii. 25 f., xxiii. 6, 11; Lev. xix. 9.

² See *Geschichte Israels*, I. Einleitung, and pp. 312 ff.

with respect to individual relations and details of growth, refuses to trust criticism at all, will be as far out of the way as he who reposes in it, for all these relations and details, a complete trust.

The conjecture of a French physician of the Roman-Catholic confession,¹ who assumed an Elohim-writing and a Jehovah-writing as the fundamental sources, and who supposed that out of these and fragments from ten other documents Moses compiled the Book of Genesis, marked an epoch in Old-Testament criticism. Between this original conjecture, and the later conclusions which may be regarded as well established in the minds of modern critics, there lies a laborious and much-traversed way. But the result of its laborious traversing may be affirmed to be as certainly accomplished as any similar result of criticism can be. There exist in the Pentateuch two different original documents, which may be distinguished by various characteristics, but which, especially throughout Genesis and the first six chapters of Exodus, are most readily distinguished by the use of the divine names Jehovah and Elohim. This distinction of these two fundamental sources is, however, no longer to be regarded as dependent upon a different use of the divine names; and the terms Jehovistic and Elohistie are not to be understood as though it were thus dependent. Indeed, it is questionable whether these terms might not profitably be abandoned.² A further distinction of two groups of writings in the Elohistie portions, the one of which is mainly historical and the other of which is mainly legal and ritualistic, may also be claimed by the almost uniform consent of critics.³ According to Reuss,

¹ J. Astruc (†1766), *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux, dont il paraît, que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse*.

² Reuss (*Geschichte der heil. Schriften A. T.*, I. p. 249) objects to the name Jehovist, on account of its connection with critical theories; and proposes the title, Book of the Sacred History.

³ For the characteristics which enable the critic to distinguish these three groups, — so to speak, — into which the contents of the Hexateuch outside of Deuteronomy are broken up, see a brief description in De Wette-Schrader, *Einkl. in das A. T.*, p. 270 f. The work of Hupfeld — *Die Quellen der Genesis* — secured credence to the affirmation that the different parts of the so-called Jehovistic writings are not simply the supplementary notices of a redactor, but portions of an independent work. According to the earlier view of Graf, the foundation of the Pentateuch is an Elohistie historical work, which in the middle of the eighth century B.C. was revised by the so-called Jehovist who added materials in part from oral and in part from written sources. This historical work contained certain legal portions: e.g., Gen. xvii.; Exod. xiii., xx.-xxiii., xxxiv. But the so-called Levitical laws arose later, and are to be ascribed in part to Jeremiah and Ezekiel, though more largely to Ezra and other post-exilic authors. When, however, Graf acknowledged (Merx, *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung*

Wellhausen, and others, the lesser one of these Elohistie documents had become incorporated with the Jehovistic long before the existence of the greater Elohistie document. The analysis of Deuteronomy is thought to enable criticism to distinguish clearly the work of at least two authors in it: to one of these is due the substance of legal contents, which for the most part constitute the book; to the other, the revision and re-editing of these contents, together with the introduction of considerable new material. The hand of this latter workman is thought to be apparent also throughout Joshua, and perhaps, as that of a redactor, throughout all the books. In Joshua, as well as in the first four books of the Pentateuch, the three groups of writings may still be distinguished. Several other (an indefinite number of them) smaller documents, and also oral traditions, have been incorporated at different places; and the whole has been worked over by various redactors, but without seriously changing either its structure or its essentials of form and aspect. Ancient songs, separate legal enactments, groups of laws, scraps of tradition and history, — all regarded as items in the divine self-revelation, — have been woven in with the longer and more serious products of composition in written documents.

Such in its main outlines, and without seeking to justify the details of either process or result, may the verdict of modern criticism upon the authorship of the Hexateuch be described as claiming to be. The evidence upon which the claim is made may fairly be said to be no less than the whole so-called science of Old-Testament criticism. While referring for the more complete presentation of this evidence to the different special works whose duty it is to accomplish such a task, we offer the following tables as showing to the eye about the amount of agreement which has been reached as to the separate conclusions of criticism.¹

des A. T., I.) that the ritualistic laws of Leviticus, Exodus, and Numbers, show a unity of authorship with the fundamental historical writing of the Pentateuch, and that the Jehovist was not merely a supplementer of ancient documents, he was by force of theory obliged to hold further, that the whole of the so-called *Grundchrift* of the Pentateuch must be ascribed to a post-exilic author. The history of these books becomes then a kind of subjective framework, fabricated to hold the laws. It is, as Nöldeke expressed it, the result of an effort to frame the history and the giving of the law according to theoretic points of view.

¹ The works of the authors whose views are thus tabulated, which have been drawn from in forming the tables, are the following: Knobel, *Die Bücher Numeri*, etc., 1861, pp. 491-604; De Wette-Schrader, *Einl. in das A. T.*, pp. 270-325; Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, 1875, and *Exodus und Leviticus*, 1880; Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1876 and 1877, and *Geschichte*

The first table exhibits the amount of agreement arrived at by four independent critics with regard to those passages in the Book of Genesis which should be ascribed to its fundamental document (called the *Grundschrift*, the Annalist, the Writing of the older Elohist, or the Source (Q) of Wellhausen).

The second table shows the same thing with regard to the Book of Exodus.

The third table shows those passages in the Book of Exodus which these same critics would assign to the other chief source, — viz., the work of the so-called Jehovist or prophetic narrator, the Judaico-prophetic writing. It should be observed, however, that Knobel and Wellhausen both profess to distinguish the elements of this source: the former alleging a so-called *Kriegsbuch*, or Book of Wars (the passages in brackets in the table), as used by the Jehovist; the latter ascribing the work to the Yahvist making use of the compound source called J E.

The fourth table shows the agreement of these critics as to the apportionment of the Book of Leviticus between the fundamental document referred to above as the *Grundschrift*, or work of the older Elohist, and its other sources, one or more.

The fifth table shows the agreement of three of these critics as to the presence of this same fundamental document in the Book of Numbers.

The sixth table shows the agreement of the same critics as to the passages in the same book which must be ascribed to the other chief source.

The seventh table shows their agreement as to all the sources which enter into Deuteronomy. It should be observed, however, that the apparent discrepancy amongst these critics is here made greater than the real discrepancy by the fact that Knobel has broken up one of the sources into a so-called *Rechtbuch* (Book of Rights) and a *Kriegsbuch*, — documents for the separate existence of which he is quite without proof.

The eighth and last table shows the agreement of the same three critics as to the different sources which enter into the Book of Joshua.

Israel, vol. I. In the case of the former two authors, their own tabulated statement leaves little chance for mistake: in the case of the latter two, the statement of the tables has been gathered with great painstaking from a reading of several hundred pages, but must be received without perfect confidence as to every detail. It is believed, however, to be exact. The chapters and verses are numbered according to the Hebrew.

I. — GENESIS.

KNOX, 1901. Grundschrift.	SCHRAEDER, 1909. Annalistic Narrator.	DILLMANN, 1876. A, or Writing of the Older (<i>Älterer</i>) Elohist.	WELLMANN, 1876. Book of Four Covenants. Source, Q (Quatuor).
i. 1-ii. 4a	i. 1-ii. 4a	i. 1-ii. 4a	i. 1-ii. 4a.
v. 1-28, 30-32	v. 1-28, 30-32	v. except verse 29	v. except verse 29.
vi. 9-22	vi. 9-22	vi. 9-22	vi. 9-22.
vii. 4, 6, 7, 8b-10a, 17-24	vii. 6, 7-9,* 11, 18-16, 18-21, 22,*	vii. 6, 11, 13-16a, 18-22, 23,* 24.	vii. 11-viii. 5, except 12, 16c, 17, 23 f., viii. 2b.
viii. 1-19	viii. 1, 2a, 3b-5, 13a, 14-19	viii. 1, 2a, 3b-5, 13a, 14-19	viii. 13-19.
ix. 1-17, 28-29	ix. 1-17, 28 f.	ix. 1-17, 28 f.	ix. 1-17, 28 f.
x. 1-7, 13-24, 25,* 28-32	x.	x. revised by R.	x. with considerable exceptions.
xi. 10-32	xi. 10-32	xi. 10-27, (28-31?), 32	xi. 10-26, 27-32 except 29.
xii. 4b-6, 8,* 9-10	xii. 4b-5	xii. 1-9, by R after C, B, and A.	xii. 4b, 5.
xiii. 1, 3, 5-8, 10,* 11-12, 18a	xiii. 6, 11b-12b	xiii. by R after C and A (B?)	xiii. 6, 11b, 12.
xvi. 1, 3, 15, 16	xvi. 1a, 8, 15, 16	xvi. after C and A	xvi. 8, 15, 16.
xvii.	xvii. 1,* 2-27	xvii.	xvii. 1-27.
xix. 29	xix. 29	xix. 29	xix. 29.
xxi. 1b-5	xxi. 1b-5	xxi. 1-21 after A and B	xxi. 2b, 8-5.
xxii. 20-24	xxii. 20-24	xxii. 20-24 by R, after A and C.	
xxiii.	xxiii.	xxiii.	
xxv. 1-20, 24, 26b-28	xxv. 7-18, 19f., 26b	xxv. 1-11, 12-17 after A, 19-34 by R after A, B, C.	xxv. 7-11a, 12-17, 19, 20, 26c.
In this column the asterisk signifies that the passage over which it stands is only partially from the source.		In this column the asterisk signifies that the passage over which it stands contains certain elements from other sources.	

I. — GENESIS, — CONTINUED.

KNOBEL, 1861. Grundchrift.	SCHRAEDER, 1899. Annalistic Narrator.	DILLMANN, 1876. A, or Writing of the Older (<i>Älterer</i>) Elohist.	WELHAUSEN, 1876. Book of Four Covenants. Source, Q (Quatuor).
xxvi. 34-35	xxvi. 6, 34 f.	xxvi. 34-xxviii. 9, out of A and C.	xxvi. 34, 35.
xxvii. 46 }	xxvii. 46-xxviii. 9.		xxvii. 46.
xxviii. 1-9			xxviii. 1-9.
xxix. 16, 17, 24, 29, 35b			xxix. 24, 28b, 29 (?).
xxx. 9, 17, 19, 22			
xxxi. 18	xxxi. 17b-18	xxxi. 18	xxxi. 18.
xxxii. 18	xxxii. 18, 19*	xxxii. 18	
xxxiv. 1-4, 6, 15-18, 20-26		xxxiv. 1, 2a, 4, 6, 8-10, 14-17,* 20-24, 25, 26a.	
xxxv. 1a, 5-6, 9-16, 19, 21-29	xxxv. 6a, 9,* 10-15, 23-29	xxxv. from A, B, and C	xxxv. 9-15, 22c-23.
xxxvi.	xxxvi. 1-19, 20-30, 31-39, 40-43 (?).	xxxvi.	xxxvi. 6-8, 40-43.
xxxvii. 1-4, 23-27, 28,* 31-32a	xxxvii. 1, 2a	xxxvii. 1, 2a	xxxvii. 1, 2.
xxxix. 1, 2b, 6-20.			
xl. 1-6, 7-8,* 9-13, 16-23.		xl. -xlv. belong to B and C, but xiv. includes elements from A also, especially 19-21a.	
xli. 1-13, 14,* 15-39, 41, 42, 43b, 45a, 46-48, 50,* 51a, 52a, 54a, 55-57.*			
xlvi. 5b-27	xlvi. 5b-27	xlvi. 5b-27	xlvi. 6 f., 8-27 (?).
xlvii. 7-10, 11,* 12, 28	xlvii. 7-10, 11,* 27,* 28	xlvii. 7, 8, 9, 11,* 27, 28	xlvii. 5-11 except 6b.
xlviii. 1-7.	xlviii. 3-6	xlviii. 3-6, 7 (?)	xlviii. 3-7.
xl ix. 1a, 28b-33	xl ix. 1a, 28b-33	xl ix. 1a, 28b, 29-32	xl ix. 28 (?), 29-33.
l. 12-13	l. 12 f., 22*	l. 12 f., 22, 26	l. 12 f.

II. — EXODUS.

KNOBEL. Grundscrift.	SCHAEFER. Annalistic Narrator.	DILLMANN. A, Older Elohist.	WELLHAUSEN. Sources Q.
i. 1-7, 13-14	i. 1-6, 7, 13, 14	i. 1-5, 7, 13 f.	i. 1-6, 7, 13, 14.
ii. 23,* 24, 25	ii. 23b-25	ii. 23b-25	ii. 23-25.
vi. 2-7, 9-30	vi. 2-7, 8 (?), 9-30 }	vi. 2-vii. 7, 8-13, 19-22*	vi. 2-vii. 7, 8-13, 19, 20a, 21c, 22,
vii. 1-13, 19-22	vii. 1-13, 19-22 }		23.
viii. 1-3, 11,* 12-15	viii. 1-3, 11b, 12-15	viii. 1-3, 11,* 12-15	viii. 1-3, 11b, 12-15.
ix. 8-12, 35	ix. 8-12, 35	ix. 8-12	ix. 8-12.
xi. 9-10	xi. 9, 10	xi. 9, 10	xi. 9, 10, some traces of Q.
xii. 1-23, 28, 37a, 40-51	xii. 1-23, 28, 37a,* 40-51*	xii. 1-13, 14-20, 28, 40 f., 43-50, 51.	xii. 1-21, 28, 37a, 40 f., 43-51.
xiii. 1, 2, 20	xiii. 1, 2, 20	xiii. 1 f.	xiii. 1, 2, 20.
xiv. 1-4, 8-9, 15-16,* 17-18, 21-23, 26, 27,* 28-29	xiv. 1-4, 8, 9, 15 f.,* 17 f., 21-23, 26-27a, 28, 29	xiii. 17-xv. 21, by R out of A, B, and C; the song, xv. 1-21, belonging to B.	xiv. 1, 2, 8b, 9, 15, and some words in 4 and 10.
xv. 19, 22, 23, 27	xv. 27	xvi., with interpolations from C.	xvi. 1-3, 9-18a, 16b-18, 22-28, 31-34, 35a, and xvii. 1.
xvi. 1-2, 9-26, 31-36	xvi. 1-3, 6-26, 32-35	xvii. 1	
xvii. 1	xvii. 1a b	xix. 1, 2a, xx. 11, xxiv. 15-18.	
xix. 2a	xix. 1, 2a b	xxv.-xxxi. 17, with some changes by the redactor (R), 18.*	xxv. 1-xxxi. 17, and xxxv.-xl., in the mass, to Q.
xxv.-xxxi. 11 }	xxv.-xxxi. 17	xxxiv. 29-35.	
xxxi. 12-17* }		xxxv.-xl., with proofs of revision in the passage xxxvi. 8-xxxviii. 20.	
xxxv.-xl.	xxxv.-xl.		

III.—EXODUS.

KNOBEL. Kriegsbuch, or Book of Wars, as used by Jehovist.	SCHRAEDER. Prophetic Narrator	DILLMANN. Judaico-Prophetic Writing (C).	WEILHAUSEN. Yahvist, using the Sources J E.
ii. 23,* (11-22)	ii. 15-23a	i. 10, 12, 20a, 21	i. 6, 8-12, 15-22.
iv. 1-17, 28b, 30b	iii. 7, 8, 15-22	ii. 6 f. (?), 15-23a	ii. 11-23a.
(iv. 19-26, v.) }	iv. 1-18, 20d-23, 28-31.	iii. 1-vi. 1, ingeniously put to-	iii. 1-9, 10-15 from E, 16-22.
vi. 1, (8)	v.-vi. 1, 8 (?).	gether by the redactor (R),	iv.
vii. 14-18, 23-29	vii. 14-18	from materials taken out of	v. 1-vi. 1.
(viii. 4-10, 11,* 16-28)	viii. 4-11a, 16-28.	the Jehovist (C) and E.	vii. 14-18, 20b, 21a b, 24, 25-29.
(ix. 1-7)	ix. 1-7, 13-34	vii. 14, 16-viii. 11 for the most	viii. 4-10, 11a, 16-28.
x. 1-6, 12,* 15,* (7-20)	x. 21-29.	part.	ix. 1-7, 13-35.
xi. 1-3, (4-8)	xi. 4-8.	ix. 1-7, 13-xi. 8, for the most	x. 1-20 (with only traces of E),
xii. 29-34, 39, (37b-38)	xii. 24, 27, 29-36, 37b-39	part, except parts of ix. 19-34,	21-29.
(xiv. 5-7, 10-14)	xiii. 8-19, (21, 22)	x. 12, 18a, 14a, 15b c, 20, 21-27.	xi. 1-10 (1-3 being from E).
(xvi. 3-8, 27-30)	xiv. 5-7, 10-14, 27b c, 30, 31	xii. 29 f., 34, 39	xii. 29-39 (with only traces of J),
xviii. 2b	xv. 19, 20-28	xiii. 3-10, 11-16	42.
xix. 23, (20-22, 24 f.)	xvi. 4-5, 27-31, 36	(See the table above)	xiii. 3-16 (?), 17-22 from E.
	xvii. 14-16	(See the table above)	xiv. except those portions given
	xix. 3c-19	xvi. 4-5, 25-30.	above as Q.
	xx. 1-17, 18-26.	xvii. 2-7;* xviii. 1-11, traces of	xv. 1-xvi. 36, except what is given
	xxi.-xxiii. 19, 20-33.	C.	above as Q.
	xxiv. 3-8, 12-15, 18.	In chaps. xix. and xxiv. 1-11,	xvii. and xviii. except xvii. 1.
		some passages are from C.	xix.-xxiv. and xxxi. 17-xxxiv. 35
			are composed by the author of
			J E, using his sources freely,
			and in xxxiv. introducing a
			third source. J is prominent

(xxxi. 19-17)*	xxxi. 18-xxxii. 14, 21-35.	xxxii. 1-14, 15,* 19-24, 30-34.	in xix. 20-25, xx. 23-26, xxi.-xxiii., xxiv. 3-8.
xxxii. 7-14, (21-26, 35) }	xxxiii. 1-11, 12b, 13, 17-23.	xxxiii. 1-5, by R from C, 12-23.	
(xxxiii. 12a, 14-16)	xxxiv. 1-4, 9-35)		

IV.—LEVITICUS.

KNORR. Grundschrift.	SCHRAEDER. Urschrift Elohim.	DILLMANN. A, Older Elohist.	WELHAUSEN. Priester-Codex, the kernel of which is Q.
i.-x. 15 xi.-xvi. xxi.-xxii. xxiii. 1, 2,* 4-17, 18, 19,* 20 f., 23-38. xxiv. 1-9. xxv. 1-17, 23-55. xxvii.	The entire Book, with certain exceptions given below, belonged to this Elohist writing, which was especially consecrated to giving the <i>Law</i> .	i.-v. and viii.-xv., a complex of laws contained substantially in A. xvi. xvii.-xxvii., compiled by R (redactor), in part, from an edition of an ancient code (S) as given in A; see below.	i.-xxvii. The entire legal part of the Book of Leviticus belongs to the source Q, considered in its widest extent as the basis of the so-called Priester-Codex. This Priester-Codex is a conglomerate in which different strata have crystallized about the source Q.
Kriegsbuch. x. 16-20. xvii.-xx. xxiii. 2,* 3, 18-19,* 22, 30-44. xxiv. 10-23. xxv. 18-22 xxvi.	Other sources than the Urschrift Elohim. xviii.-xx. xxv. 18-22. xxvi. 8-45.	Other chief sources than A, as used by R. vi. and vii., special document of priestly use. xvii.-xxvii., compiled by R from two editions of an ancient document containing the so-called Sinai-laws (S); see above.	xvii.-xxvi. comprises an ancient collection of Laws, originally independent of Q in the narrower sense, but incorporated into the Priester-Codex.

V.—NUMBERS.

KNOBEL. Grundschrift.	SCHRAEDER. Annalistic Narrator.	WELLHAUSEN. Priester-Codex, the kernel of which is Q.
i.-viii. 22, except iv. 17-20 and vi. 21-27.	i.-viii. 22 }	i.-x. 28.
ix.-x. 28	ix.-x. 28 }	
xiii. 1-17a, 21, 25, 26, 32.	xiii. 1-17a, 21, 25, 26b c e, 32-33a c d.	xiii. 1-17a, 21, 25 f., 32.
xiv. 2a, 5-7, 10b, 34, 36-38.	xiv. 1a, 2-8a, 10, 26-38 .	xiv. 26-29, 34-36.
xv. 1-16, 22-30.	xv.	xv.
xvi. 1-2, 4, 16-24, 27a, 32-35.	xvi. 1a, 2b c, 3-11, 16-24, 27a, 32, 35.	xvi. 1,* 2, 8-11, 15a, 16-22, 36-50.
xvii. 1-26, xviii., xix. .	xvii.-xix.	xvii., xviii., xix.
xx. 1,* 2, 6, 22-29. . . .	xx. 1a, 2, 3b-13, 22-29 .	xx. 1a, 2, 3b, 6, 12, 22-29.
xxi. 10, 11	xxi. 4a, 10,* 11.	xxi. 4a, 10, 11.
xxii. 1.	xxii. 1.*	
xxv. 6-18.	xxv. 6-9, 10-19. . . .	xxv. 6-18.
	xxvi. 1-8, 12-65	xxvi.
	xxvii. 1-11, 12-23 . . .	xxvii. 12-23 (?).
xxvi.-xxx.	xxviii.-xxx. 1	xxviii.-xxx., for the most part from Q.
	xxx. 2-17.	
	xxx.	xxx.
xxxii. 1-2, 16-19, 24, 28-30, 33-38.	xxxii. 1,* 2-4, 16-19, 20a, 24 f., 28, 29,* 30-32, 33,* 34-38.	xxxii. 16-19, 24, 28-33. The other verses contain stray elements from Q.
xxxiii. 1-51, 54.	xxxiii. 1-49, 50 f., 54 . .	xxxiii. 50-xxxvi. 13, with a foreign element in xxxiii. 50-56.
xxxiv.-xxxvi.	xxxiv.-xxxvi.	

VI.—NUMBERS.

KNOBEL. Kriegsbuch as used by Jehovist.	SCHRAEDER. Prophetic Narrator.	WELLHAUSEN. The Jehovist using J E and other sources.
(iv. 17-20.)		
(viii. 23-26.)		
(x. 29-32) }	x. 29-xi. 35	{ x. 29 ff.
(xi. 4-35) }		{ xi.
xii. 16.	xii. 16	xii.
xiii. 33, (17b-20)	xiii. 27b, 29b, 33b	xiii. 17b-24, 27-33, except 21 and 32.
xiv. 1,* (2b-4, 8-10a, 26-33, 35).	xiv. 8b, 11-25, 39	xiv. 3, 4, 8 f., 11-25, 30-33, 39-45.
(xv. 17-21, 31-41.)		
(xvi. 8-15, 25 f., 27b) . .	xvi. 24, 27a	xvi. 3-5, (6, 7), 12-15b, 23-34.
(xvii. 27-28.)		
xxi. 4,* 14a, 17a, 27,* (1-3, 14b-15, 17b, 18a, 27,* 28-35).	xx. 1b, 3a. xxi. 4b.	xx. 4-11 (except 6), 14-21. xxi. 1-3, 4b-35, except 10 and 11.

VI. — NUMBERS, — *CONTINUED.*

KNOBEL. Kriegsbuch as used by Jehovist.	SCHRADER. Prophetic Narrator.	WELLHAUSEN. The Jehovist using J E and other sources.
xxii. 2. (xxv. 1-5) xxxii. 1,* 29,* (3-15, 20- 23, 25-27, 31 f., 39-42). (xxxiii. 52 f., 55 f.) . .	xxii. 22-35; xxiv. 20-24. xxv. 1,* xxvi. 9-11 . . xxxii. 1,* 5-15, 20b-23, 26, 27, 29,* 33. xxxiii. 52 f., 55 f. . . .	xxii.-xxiv. xxv. 1-5. xxxii. 1-15, 20-27, 34-42. These verses are, how- ever, "tinged with Q." xxxiii. 1-49 J E and Q.

VII. — DEUTERONOMY.

KNOBEL. Grundschrift . . . (G). Rechtsbuch . . . (R). Kriegsbuch . . . (K). Jehovist . . . (J). Deuteronomiker . . (D).	SCHRADER. Annalistic Narrator . (A). Theocratic Narrator . (T). Prophetic Narrator . (P). Deuteronomiker . . (D).	WELLHAUSEN. The view of this critic makes Deuteronomy a growth which may be described, in brief, as below.
i.-iv. 40 f. (D) iv. 41-44, 46-49 (R) . . . v.-x. 5 (D) x. 6-9a (R) x. 9b-xiv. 29 (D) xv. 1-4a, 6a (R). xv. 4b, 5, 6b-xvii. 20 (D). xviii. 1-4 (R). xviii. 5-xxi. 23 (D). xxii. 1-5a, 9-12, 13-29* (R). xxii. 5b-8, 29,* 30 (D). xxiii. 1-5a, 8-9, 16-19 (R). xxiii. 5b-7, 10-15, 20-25 (D). xxiv. (D) except 5-6 (R). xxv.-xxx. (D) except xxvii. 5-7a (R). xxxi. 1-13, 26,* 27-29 (D). xxxi. 14-16a, 23-25, 26* (R). xxxi. 16b-22, 30 (K). xxxii. 1-43 (K), 48, 49,* 50-52 (G). xxxii. 44 f. (J), 46 f., 49* (D). xxxiii. (R) xxxiv. 1-3, 7-9 (G) . . . xxxiv. 4-6, 10 (R), 11 f. (D).	i.-iv. 40, 44-49 (D). iv. 41-43 (T). v.-ix. (D). x. 6-9 (T). x. 1-5, 10-xxx. 13, 24-30 (D). xxxi. 14-23 (P). xxxii. 1-44 (P), 45-47, 52 (D). xxxii. 48, 49,* 50 f. (A). xxxiii. (P). xxxiv. 1-3, 5,* 7,* 8, 9 (A). xxxiv. 4, 6 (P), 5, 10-12 (D).	Three stadia are to be dis- tinguished in the literary process which resulted in the present form of this book: (1) The original Deuteronomy xii.-xxvi. was intended as an ex- panded edition of the Book of the Covenant; some parts of this kernel of the whole, especially the curses in their ori- ginal form, are lost. (2) Two independent en- larged editions of this original. Deuteronomy arose: viz., i.-iv., xii.- xxvi., xxvii.; and v.-xi., xii.-xxvi., xxviii.-xxx. (3) These editions were combined, and united with the Hexateuch, — which then consisted of J E, and not J E + Q, — by the same hand which had worked over J E. This hand is the Deu- teronomist, as distin- guished from the Deu- teronomiker, or author of xii.-xxvi. J E + Deut. + Q by the Re- dactor.

VIII.—JOSHUA.

KNOBEL.	SCHRADER.	WELLHAUSEN.
Grundschrift . . . (G). Rechtsbuch . . . (R). Kriegsbuch . . . (K). Jehovist . . . (J). Deuteronomiker . . (D).	Annalistic Narrator . (A). Theocratic Narrator . (T). Prophetic Narrator . (P). Deuteronomiker . . (D).	Source (Q). Elohist (E). Jehovistic (J). Deuteronomist . . . (D).
i. 1, 2, 10-16 (K) . . .	i. 1, 2, 10-16 (P) . . .	i. (D).
i. 3-9, 17-18 (D) . . .	i. 3-9, 17, 18 (D).	
ii. (R)	ii. (T)	ii. (J).
iii. 1, 7-17 (R), 2-6 (K) .	iii. 1, 7-17 (T), 2-6 (P) .	iii. 1, 5, 9-17* (J), 2-4, 6-8 (D).
iv. 1a, 4-7, 14, 18, 20-24 (R).	iv. 1a, 4-7, 14, 18,* 20-24 (T).	iv., difficult to separate sources; but 12-14, 20-24, and 6, 7 (D), 1-3,* 8 (J), 10 (Q).
iv. 1b-3, 8-13 (K) . . .	iv. 1b-3,* 8-13 (P).	v. 2-9, 13-15 (J E).
iv. 15-17, 19 (G) . . .	iv. 15-17, 19 (A).	v. 10-12 (Q).
v. 1-9, 13-15 (R) . . .	v. 1-8, 13-15 (T) . . .	vi., composite.
v. 10-12 (G)	v. 9 (P), 10-12 (A) . . .	
vi. 17b, 22 f., 25 (J), rest (K).	vi. (P)	
vii. 1-24, 25* (K), 25* (D).	vii. 1-26 (P)	vii. (J), except 24 f.*
viii. 1-11, 14-20 (K) . .	viii. 1-11, 14-20 (P) . .	viii., mostly (J E), 12-13 variant.
viii. 12 f., 30, 31,* 33,* 34,* 35 (R), 31,* 32, 33 f.* (D).	viii. 12-13 (T), 30-35 (D).	viii. 30-35 (D).
ix. 1-26, 27* (K) . . .	ix. 1-15a, 16, 22-27a b (P).	ix. 2-14 (J).
ix. 27* (D)	ix. 15b, 17-22 (A), 27c (D).	ix. 15c, 17-21 (Q), 24 f. (D).
x. 1-11, 16-43 (K), 13* (J).	x. 1-11, 16-43 (P) . . .	x. 1-15 (J), 1,* 8 (D).
x. 12-15, except 13* (R).	x. 12-15 (T)	x. 16-27* (D), 28-43 (D).
xi.-xii. (K)	xi. 1-20, 23 (P), 21 f. (D).	xi., prepared over by (D).
xiii. 1, 7 f. (J), 2-5, 6,* 9-14 (K).	xii. (P)	xii. (D).
xiii. 6* (D), 15-33 (G) .	xiii. 1-6a, 7-14 (P).	
xiv. 1-5 (G), 6-15 (R) .	xiii. 6b (D), 15-33 (A) }	xiii. 15-xiv. 5 (Q).
xv. 1-13, 20-44, 48-62 (G).	xiv. 1-5 (A), 6-15 (T) }	
xv. 14-19 (R), 45-47, 63 (K).	xv. 1-13, 20-44, 48-62 (A).	xv. (Q), except 13-19.
xvi. 1-9 (G), 10 (K) . .	xv. 14-19 (T), 45-47, 63 (P).	
xvii. 1-10 (G), 11-13 (K), 14-18 (R).	xvi. 1-9 (A), 10 (T) . .	xvi. 4-8 (Q), 1-3, 9 f. (J E).
xviii. 1 f., 11-28 (G) . .	xvii. 1-10 (A), 11-18 (T).	xvii. 1-10* (Q), 5, 8, 9, 10b, 11-18 (J E).
xviii. 3-10 (K)	xviii. 1, 2, 11-27, 28* (A).	xviii. 1, 11-25 (Q).
xix. 1-46, 47 (K), 48-51 (G).	xviii. 3-10 (P)	xviii. 2-10 (J).
	xix. 1-46, 48-51 (A), 47 (P).	xix. (Q), except 49 f.

VIII. — JOSHUA, — *CONTINUED.*

KNOBL.	SCHRAEDER.	WELLHAUSEN.
Grundschrift . . . (G). Rechtsbuch . . . (R). Kriegsbuch . . . (K). Jehovist . . . (J). Deuteronomiker . . (D).	Annalistic Narrator . (A). Theocratic Narrator . (T). Prophetic Narrator . (P). Deuteronomiker . . (D).	Source (Q). Elohistic (E). Jehovistic (J). Deuteronomist . . . (D).
xx. 1, 2, 3,* 4-5a, 6,* 7-9 (G). xx. 3,* 5b, 6* (D) . . . xxi. 1-40 (G) xxi. 41-43 (K) xxii. 1-4, 6, 12, 16-20, 22-29, 33b, 34 (K). xxii. 5 (D), 7f. (R) . . . xxii. 9-11, 13-15, 21, 30-33a (G). xxiii. (K), except 2,* 4-8, 11, 16 (D). xxiii. 1b, 2b (J) xxiv. 1* (D) xxiv. except 1* (R) . . .	xx. 1, 2, 3,* 4, 5a, 6,* 7-9 (A). xx. 3,* 5b, 6* (D). xxi. 1-40 (A) xxi. 41 f. (P), 43 (D). xxii. 1-4, 6, 16b, 18a, 22-29,* 34 (P). xxii. 5 (D), 7f., 12, 16c, 18b, 19b, 22-29,* 33b (T). xxii. 9-11, 13-15, 16a, 19a, 21, 30-33a (A). xxiii. (D) xxiv. 1a c-29a, 32 (P) . . xxiv. 1b, 31 (D). xxiv. 29b,* 30, 33 (A).	xx. (Q). xxi. (Q), except 43-45, which is later. xxii. 1-6 (D), 7a, gloss, 7b, transition, 8 (J). xxii. 9-34 (Q). xxiii. (D). xxiv., by (D) from the Jehovistic book of history.

A careful review of all the eight tables shows that the amount and kind of agreement arrived at by the representative critics is indeed remarkable. As to the necessity for some such distinction of sources, the agreement of the critics of every school is practically unanimous.¹ In some cases, as conspicuously in those of Genesis and Joshua, the agreement covers nearly the entire book; in others it extends to the separation of considerable portions of a single book from their setting, and the pointing-out of their kinship with similar portions of other books; frequently it reaches the minutest particulars, so that even single verses or subdivisions of verses are by common consent

¹ Compare Strack, *Ibid.*, p. 443. Fault will doubtless be found with the author for going even thus far in affirming the results of critical research. Some students would much prefer the statement that criticism has failed hitherto to reach any conclusions as to the composition of the Hexateuch; others would force the re-affirmation of the tradition of the synagogue; still others would desire the full and unquestioning assertion of all the details of the theories of Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen. But we stand upon the facts. Certain general conclusions wholly adverse to the traditional view are as well established as any critical results can be. It is simple statement of fact to say, that in Germany—so far as we are aware—Kell remains the only advocate of a view at all resembling the traditional one. Even Delitzsch—so far as can be judged from his statements, which are always commendably cautious but often obscure and wavering—could be claimed in support of most of our very moderate conclusions.

assigned either to some one of the assumed original authors, or to the interpolation of a redactor. We notice further, that the causes of apparent disagreement lie largely in the attempt of some one critic to introduce his special theory in order to justify a more minute analysis than is attempted by the others; as, for instance, when Knobel tries to make out that the Jehovist put together a supposititious War-Book and Rights-Book, or when Wellhausen tries to work the theory of a so-called Book of Four Covenants, or to adjust too subtly the relations of his so-called Source (Q) with his so-called *Priester-codex*. And, moreover, it is of the utmost importance that we should distinguish between the primary question, as to the existence of these separate sources in the present Hexateuch, and the secondary questions, as to the chronological and logical and literary relations which exist amongst them. This primary question may be regarded as already settled, but many of the secondary questions will probably always remain unsettled. Accepting the conclusions of criticism concerning the former question, as they have already been stated in somewhat loose and general form, and with so much of confidence as belongs to a subject of this nature, we proceed briefly to consider the chief one of the secondary questions.

The chief critical question of the present time concerning the origin of the Hexateuch—the question which, indeed, both affects and depends upon all our conceptions of the religion and history of Israel—is one of adjustment in time and interior relations amongst these various component parts. But this question may be considered as two: the first concerns the origin and date of Deuteronomy; the second concerns the relations of the Elohist document, which contains the main part of the ritual of Israel, to Deuteronomy and to the other chief source (the Jehovistic) of the Hexateuch. (1) When and by whom was Deuteronomy written? (2) Did the ritualistic laws as a body, with the history pertaining to them, originate either previously to, or contemporaneously with, Deuteronomy? or did they originate about the time of the Exile, in the attempt to enact ritualistic laws for the post-Chaldean Judaism, and to give to these laws the force of historic precedent and of the great name of Moses? To present briefly certain important points of the varied discussion over these two questions, will quite exhaust the possibilities open to us.

What date and authorship, then, shall we assign to the Book

of Deuteronomy as at present constructed? That its authorship as a written composition is not to be ascribed in its entirety to Moses, we have the implicit testimony of its author. That its contents do not all belong to one era, especially to the Mosaic era, an examination of them seems to show. We might, then, conclude at once that the work, in its final written form, was produced long after the time of Moses, by some author, who, on the basis of Mosaic tradition and Mosaic writings, promulgated a hortatory and prophetic revision of the law of the nation popularly ascribed to the ancient lawgiver. Obviously he has brought forth out of his treasure-house things both new and old. That he has acted in good faith, even where he has most modified and supplemented the ancient version, is beyond doubt. That he has adopted the literary form of making Moses utter his own law, is to the discredit neither of his honesty nor of his general accuracy. That the substance of the law which he ascribes to the enactment and composition of Moses really goes back to that era, and may well enough have even been left in writing by Moses, we can find no sufficient reason to deny.

We need add little here to the proofs already furnished for the existence of both ancient and more recent elements in the legislation of Deuteronomy. The laws which the author reproduces belong largely to the same section of the Torah as Exod. xx.-xxiii., xxxiv., and Lev. xvii.-xxvi.; but these are the very laws which constitute the most ancient parts of the entire Torah.¹ There are traces of great antiquity in the facts that the command of Deut. xxi. 23 corresponds to the treatment given to the corpse of the king of Ai (Josh. viii. 29); and the law of Deut. xvii. 19 is apparently referred to by the "testimony" laid upon the king at the crowning of Joash (2 Kings xi. 12). The relation of Israel to the surrounding nations, as depicted Deut. xxiii. 4, 7 f., seems to point to the Mosaic era. And, as Kleinert argues,² the critic who can believe that Ezekiel (xl.-xlviii.), when in exile, had the faith and courage to make laws for his people on their promised future return to Canaan, should find no insuperable difficulty in believing that Moses had the same faith and courage with reference to their first entrance. Nor can we admit that expressions like the "house

¹ See Kleinert, *Das Deuteronomium*, p. 52; and compare Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des A. T.*, pp. 19 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

of Jehovah" (xxiii. 18), and the apparently definite and polemical allusion to the worship of the stars, and the term "all the host of heaven" (xvii. 3), prove a late origin for these portions of the book.¹ Nor are the frequent references to one place as the expected sanctuary of the nation definite enough to constitute a cogent argument.²

But, on the other hand, instances of what we must regard as anachronisms, upon the supposition of its origin in its present form within the Mosaic era, might also be greatly multiplied. As we have already seen, it is presupposed that the people have been for some time enjoying the promised land, and owing gratitude and service for it to Jehovah. Moreover, the constitution of the nation seems already to have changed from its most ancient form. The chiefs of tribes (שְׂטָיִים) who were supporters of Moses and Aaron, the prefects (שָׂרִים) who acted as judges and leaders in war, have disappeared; and the senators (זִקְנִים) appear no longer as "elders of Israel," but as "elders of the city;" while the priests have added the function of judging to that of teaching.

This same complexity of most ancient and more modern elements is seen even in the so-called Song of Moses, xxxii. 1-43. (Compare the Introduction, xxxi. 16-22.) On the one hand, we find writers like Klostermann³ asserting that this song could never have originated, or have been propagated, unless it had been in its present form the prophetic utterance of Moses: on the other, we find those who like Kamphausen⁴ are clear that Moses could never have been its author. It is only the middle position, however, as taken by Knobel⁵ and others, which leads us to see how an ancient song, originally Mosaic and genuinely prophetic, might in the hands of redactors come to contain many elements of a later time.⁶

¹ The very ancient law of Exod. xxiii. 19 has the expression "house of Jehovah" (compare Josh. vi. 24; 1 Sam. i. 7, 24, iii. 15); and "house of Elohim" is applied to the tabernacle (Judg. xviii. 31), and to the private sanctuary of the Ephraimite Micah (Judg. xvii. 5). And, although the worship of the stars is first noticed as actually existing in Manasseh's time, the very presence of the title "Jehovah Zebaoth" indicates a much earlier idolatry of this form. See Ewald, *Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1840, p. 418; Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II. p. 270; Herzog, *Real-Encyklopädie*, XVIII. p. 400.

² The place which Jehovah will choose (see xii. 14, 26, xiv. 25, xv. 20, xvi. 7, 15, xvii. 8, 10) to place (or let dwell) there his name (xii. 5, 11, 21, xiv. 23, 24, xvi. 2, 6, 11, xxvi. 2).

³ *Das Lied Moses und das Deuteronomium*: Stnd. u. Krit., 1871 and 1872.

⁴ *Das Lied Moses*, Leipzig, 1862.

⁵ See *Die Bücher Numeri*, etc., pp. 324 ff.

⁶ Compare Bleek, *Eini. in das A. T.*, pp. 43 f. and 118 f.

We conclude, then, that the Book of Deuteronomy in its present form was composed by an unknown author on the basis of documents and traditions which he supposed to go back to Moses, and that criticism has discovered as yet no sufficient reason for denying the general validity of the author's supposition; but also that there is no doubt as to the free way in which this author handled his traditional material in the accomplishment of his purpose to promulgate the ancient law as a living force for the people of his own day.

Precisely when, however, did the author thus compose this writing? This is a question which we cannot answer. The common opinion of criticism is, that the composition of Deuteronomy is connected with the discovery of the written book of the Torah as recorded 2 Kings xxii. 8 f. (compare 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30 f.). It seems to us highly probable, if not certain, that this written Torah was the one incorporated into the present Deuteronomy, and nearly identical with it as forming the substance of the legal contents of the book:¹ it is possible, but by no means certain, that it contained also considerable other portions of the Pentateuch. But, however much it contained, it is certain that this written Torah, when discovered, was not a recent composition.² As we have already seen, we are forced back to a remote antiquity for the origin of many of the contents of this alleged Mosaic writing.³

If we suppose, then, that upon the basis of the ancient written law discovered in the reign of Josiah, and with great fidelity to its contents (although with considerable authorial freedom such as belonged to his purpose and method), some pious and zealous Jew of the same reign constructed the present Book of Deuteronomy, we seem to do justice to all the demands of criticism. But, on the other hand, we do not by this supposition in the

¹ Such is the prevalent critical view; although some names, even among those who have not held to the tradition of the synagogue, — e.g., De Wette, Bertheau, and Knobel, — can be cited on the other side. Compare Wellhausen in Bleek's *Eint. in das A. T.*, p. 158; Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher*, p. 5 f.; Riehm, *Die Gesetzgebung im Lande Moab*, p. 78 f. That the reforms of Josiah are such as imply his new acquaintance with the special provisions of Deuteronomy, see Reuss, *Geschichte der heil. Schriften A. T.*, I. p. 354 f.

² The attempt of Graf (p. 5, note) to overthrow the assertion that the phrase of 2 Kings xxii. 8 (סֵפֶר הַחֻקִּים) indicates that the law-book was recognized, is unsuccessful.

³ The difficulties which stand in the way of assigning the composition of the Deuteronomic law to the reign of Josiah (Reuss, Knobel, Lengerke), or that of Hezekiah (Vaihinger), or Manasseh (Bleek and Riehm), or any time later than early in the kingdom of Israel, are presented by Kleinert at length.

least impeach either the honesty of its author, or his general historical trustworthiness, or the general correctness of his impression that he was republishing the ancient law as given by Moses, or his claims to credence and inspiration; unless, indeed, in the last case, we are willing to make the claims for the inspiration of the authors of Sacred Scripture depend upon their critical ability to tell with perfect certainty and accuracy the original authors of the sources from which they draw.¹

We now consider briefly that critical question which is the key to all the important positions regarding the origin of the Hexateuch. Did the ritualistic laws, and the alleged history in which they are set, as far as these are recorded in the so-called *Grundschrift* or fundamental document (the Source Q, expanded into the *Priester-codex*, according to Wellhausen: see Tables), originate about the time of the Exile, in the attempt of the Jewish priesthood to establish the later Judaism upon the basis of Mosaic authority? It is plain that the answer to this question is one which admits of distinctions and degrees. Precisely how far the work of change may have been conducted, and the doctrines and impressions of the post-Exilic period carried into the ancient Hebrew usages and writings, we have only scanty means for affirming in all cases. We are compelled to believe that the process which gave to us the Hexateuch in its present form was not complete until the close of this period. But the question as stated above, or in any one of the many forms which it has received at the hands of Graf, Kuenen, Duhm, Nöldeke, Wellhausen, and others, we answer in the negative. For this negative we present, in addition to the material given in other chapters, the following statement of reasons. These reasons do not all of them, however, hold with equal force against the modified form of the theory which Reuss² announces in these words: "It is self-evident that the existence of a Levitical tradition in relation to ritual as early as the time of the kings cannot be denied: we cannot speak, however, of a written, official, and sacred codex of this kind."

1. The theory of so late an origin for the Elohist writings is opposed by a true historic conception of the age of Ezra and his successors. We may not, indeed, theoretically limit the pos-

¹ We cannot share the opinion of Professor Curtiss (*Levitical Priests*, p. 151 f.), that such admissions (?) are fatal to our belief that Deuteronomy is a divinely revealed book. This opinion seems to us more dangerous to Sacred Scripture than are the so-called admissions.

² *Geschichte der heil. Schriften A. T.*, I. p. 76.

sibilities of revelation, or of the composition of Sacred Scripture, so as to exclude this age from them. The age of Ezra not only left its impress upon the entire Old Testament, but also gave us certain books of the Hebrew Scriptures. It canonized the Pentateuch and other sacred writings then existing. But the theory which ascribes to it the main original work of the Hexateuch is directly contrary to what little is known of this age. The Talmud does not represent Ezra as an author, but as a scribe, of Sacred Scripture. The Talmudic precepts, which are ascribed to Ezra, differ utterly in spirit and expression from the laws of the Elohist part of the Pentateuch.¹ On the other hand, the theory of Wellhausen leaves the earlier formative and fundamental periods of the history of Israel almost completely without a literature, in order that it may concentrate all the productive energies of the nation in the age of Ezra.²

2. The theory of Graf, Wellhausen, and Kuenen is opposed to all right conceptions of the nature and history of Old-Testament revealed religion. If this theory can be independently established upon critical grounds, we must, indeed, either abandon our conceptions of Old-Testament religion, or else modify them to suit the fact. But it is apparent to every thoughtful student of the criticism, that these same so-called critical conclusions are themselves largely shaped by the previous conceptions of the critics as to the nature of the religion. The critical theory of Kuenen is not without reason connected by many of its advocates with the naturalistic conception of the development of the Hebrew religion. This naturalistic conception the theory professes to derive from a study of the earliest trustworthy pictures of the condition of the people and of the character of prophecy in the eighth century before Christ. That the multitude of Jews in the time of Hosea, Amos, and Micah did not distinguish between Jehovah with his pure worship and the idolatrous and licentious worship of heathen divinities, may, indeed, be a fact (see Hos. ii. 8, 16 f., iv. 13 f., viii. 5 f.; Amos ii. 7 f., v. 26 f., viii. 14; Mic. i. 5 f.). The existence of rhabdomancy and other forms of divination, of Penates, of the custom of swearing by the dead, and even of occasion-

¹ See Delitzsch, *Talmudische Studien*, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1877; compare Dillmann, *Exod. und Lev.*, p. viii.; and Riehm, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1868, p. 355.

² Compare Strack, *Ibid.*, p. 451.

ally devoting the living to Jehovah, may be admitted. Heathenish conceptions of the possibility of buying off Deity with sacrifices were no doubt popular enough (see Mic. iii. 9-11, vi. 6-8); and even a prophet might seem to identify the presence of Jehovah with the presence of offerings and priests. But all this, and much more, is very far from justifying a conclusion like that of Duhm,¹ who would abolish at one stroke the entire heroic and legal age of the people, confine their earlier notions of their Deity to the elements of his dreadfulness and pre-eminence among the gods, and introduce Amos and the other prophets as the founders of an ethical and spiritual religion in Israel. But the work of the earliest prophets, as we have repeatedly been made aware, rests down upon, and refers back to, the existence of a divine covenant and a spiritual government. According to the conceptions and experience which they refer back to Mosaism (Hos. xii. 13; Mic. vi. 4), to the dealings of God with the nation under his promise and law, they threaten and comfort, command and accuse. Their work implies a long course of previous religious development (see Amos iii. 9-15, iv. 1 f., ix. 1 f.), and a certain definitely fixed and recorded code of laws:² the relation between Jehovah and the morality of the people is already long established (Hos. iv. 1, v. 1, vi. 5 f., x. 4, 7, xii. 7).³ The Prophetism of the eighth century is not the beginning of spiritual and ethical religious conceptions in Israel: on the contrary, this century shows, by the character of its prophecy, a great degeneracy and corruption of the previous national religious life, of monotheism as taught by Moses. This is the view of Ewald, Oehler, Schultz, Smend, and of the great majority of critical students of Old-Testament religion.

3. This theory is opposed to an adequate conception of the personality of Moses, and of the condition of the people Israel under his prophetic leadership. With a different meaning from that of their author we quote and emphasize the words of Reuss:⁴ "His spirit, proving itself in this regard like one

¹ Die Theologie der Propheten dargestellt als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion, pp. 52 f. and 103 f.

² The sentence (Hos. viii. 12), "I may prescribe my laws to him by myriads," cannot be considered as a wholly hypothetical declaration without reference to an existing reality, as Duhm would consider it.

³ In refutation of Duhm, see the article of Smend, Ueber die von den Propheten des achten Jahrhunderts vorausgesetzte Entwicklungsstufe der israelitischen Religion, Stud. u. Krit., 1876.

⁴ Die Geschichte der heil. Schriften A. T., I. p. 70.

divine, gave stamp and direction to the national development." A large and influential development of religion under the impulse and guidance of divine self-revelations lies back of the earliest form of Prophetism. Such a development is legal Mosaism, and Mosaism is due to the influence of the inspired personality of Moses. To the same influence must we also attribute the fundamental characteristics of the civil polity of Israel.¹ The greatness of this personality and of its influence is due not simply to Egyptian learning and natural gifts, but chiefly to personal revelation conditioned upon previous revelation made to his ancestors. All the history and literature of Israel presupposes a great prophet who is the founder of its development, long, long before the eighth century B.C.² No tradition of the nation is older or more firmly fixed than this: Moses communed with God (Exod. xxxiv. 29-35, compare xxxiii. 18); he knew God face to face (Num. xii. 6; Deut. xxxiv. 10).

We are not forced to suppose, however, either that all the sacred forms in which the divine truths were revealed through Moses were invented by him as wholly new, or that he delivered them in their minutiae of written form. But the ascription of its divine fundamental law to Mosaic authorship is wrought into the very life of the nation; and in such fashion that all its law came to be considered as Mosaic Torah, and the Book of the Torah became the word of the Lord to Israel. That the people forgot this law after reaching Canaan, and even came to be largely ignorant of its existence in any written form, is scarcely stranger than the fate which Christian truth and Christian writings suffered in certain dark ages of the Christian Church.

How traditional lines of evidence may agree upon a most important fact in the history of so remote a personality, is seen in the case of the two narratives of the appearance of God to Moses with a revelation of Himself under a new name, Exod. iii. 1-6 and vi. 2-8. The conviction that the name Jehovah, as the solemn and acknowledged title of God, — the Redeemer of Israel, — is distinctively of Mosaic origin, belongs to the national self-consciousness (compare Hos. xii. 9 and xiii. 4). This truth is not damaged, even if we admit with Wellhausen,³ "Moses could have done nothing more senseless than to introduce a new name for the God of their fathers, to whom he was

¹ Compare Reuss, *Ibid.*, I. p. 82 f.

² See Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 130 f.

³ *Geschichte Israels*, I. p. 359.

pointing the people." In this revelation of the divine name made by Moses, there is surely enough both to institute and to condition all the minor legal enactments and the ritual which belong to the Mosaic era.¹ Instead of finding mere theory in these narratives, as does the author just quoted, we find in them the traditional and trustworthy account of those very foundations in which all the subsequent law, history, ritual, prophecy, and literature of Israel were laid.

4. The so-called *Grundschrift*, or fundamental Elohistie and legal document of the Pentateuch, contains large and numerous sections of material which are demonstrably very ancient, if not of Mosaic origin. Its very composition and its relations to the other parts of the Hexateuch are such that its origin must have been for the most part long previous to the age of the Exile. The kernel of this Book of Law may probably be best designated by comparing Lev. xvii.-xxvi. with Exod. xx.-xxiii. and xxxiv., and with the legal body of Deuteronomy.² These laws, as we have already seen, are the most ancient of the entire legislation of Israel. We by no means deny, however, that many of the details of arrangement and language, as well as perhaps the incorporation of some of its ordinances and historical notices, may have been the work of this later age. The fundamental part of the *Grundschrift* is, according to Wellhausen,³ Exod. xxv.-xl. except xxxii.-xxxiv.; Num. i.-x., xv.-xix., xxv.-xxxvi.; and Lev. i.-xxvii. Surely this is productive activity come suddenly to its bloom, when in one age, centuries after the alleged facts, so many laws and so much history could be fabricated, and foisted upon the community as genuinely Mosaic! When all the ancient and genuine legal contents of the Pentateuch preceding Deuteronomy are reduced to a few verses and parts of chapters, such as Gen. xvii. and Exod. xiii. and xxxiv.,⁴ we are forced to conclude that there is good reason why these critics should attempt to lay in the prophecy of 800 B.C. a substitute for the foundations which they have so completely removed. But they have removed the goodly stones of history, and can only put in their stead a few

¹ Even should we press the meaning of the title Yahveh so as to make it an assertion of the metaphysical doctrine of divine self-existence, we might appeal to the antiquities of Egypt for a similar thought, or to the Persian name for God as the "self-posit-ed."

² For references in these chapters of Leviticus to Deuteronomy and to the Book of the Covenant, see Reuss, *Ibid.*, II. p. 453.

³ *Geschichte Israels*, I. p. 6.

⁴ Compare Graf, *Ibid.*, p. 94.

perishable timbers of wood. Their foundation itself needs founding. We cannot reduce the most ancient legal ordinances, and records of legal ordinances, to such inferior proportions. For, in spite of the silence which is so much complained of as pervading all the early history of Prophetism, there are proofs of a much richer inheritance of ritualistic and other ordinances, and of written records of these ordinances.

The fact of the composite nature of some of the sections of this fundamental Law-book must be admitted; but this fact is adverse rather than favorable to the claim of a late origin for the larger contents of these sections. The whole truth may be illustrated by the case of Lev. xxiii. We have here a double superscription, the first part of which (verses 2 and 3) seems superfluous; then a subscription (verse 37); and then, further, a division of the whole into smaller sections, between some of which (e.g., 9-22, 23-25, 26-32, 33-43) other superscriptions occur. This collection of laws differs, moreover, from the other notices of the Jewish feasts (Exod. xxiii. 14 ff., xxxiv. 18 ff., and Deut. xvi.), in that the latter give regulations only for those feasts which comprised the entire people, and required pilgrimages (תָּיִיב); whereas the former, beginning with the sabbath, includes all the days on which solemn assemblies or set sacrifices were appointed. We cannot argue, then, that Lev. xxiii. belongs to a late age, and shows signs of a priestly extension of festival seasons and a centralizing of the cultus;¹ for its author does not design to represent all these "convocations" as involving a pilgrimage of the whole people to Jerusalem (as תָּיִיב). On the contrary, he leaves the offerers free to bring their gifts, and thus gives a token that the laws he records are earlier than the law of Deuteronomy; for, while the regulation of a pilgrimage was much insisted upon in post-Exilian times, a cessation from labor for a holy convocation accords with the most ancient customs of the Jews and of all antiquity.² Also the passage Lev. xvi. 23 ff. proves its superior antiquity by being the only one to mention the feast of the new moon, which we know from the early prophets (Hos. ii. 11; Amos viii. 5) and from 1 Sam. xx. 5, 18, 24, to have been one of the most ancient and important of the feasts.

Again, the apparent repetitions and late glosses which char-

¹ So Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels*, I. p. 107 f.; compare Dillmann, *in loco*.

² See Cicero, *De Leg.*, 2, 12. For other references, see Dillmann, *Exod. und Lev.*, p. 577.

acterize Exod. xxxv.-xl. when compared with xxv.-xxxi., and the departures of xxxvi. 8-88 and xxxix. 2-31 from xxix. 1-35, do not prove that either one or both of these composite sections can be relegated at once to the products of rabbinical studies in the age of Ezra, or even later.¹ These chapters are not instances of mere repetitions throughout; for we have additional accounts of the zeal of the people in executing the work (xxxv. 22-28 and xxxvi. 2-6), and of the descent of the glory of Jehovah (xl. 34 f.). Nor are the repetitions merely mechanical, as is shown by the case of xxxix. 2-31 when reproducing xxviii. Indeed, the same author might easily have produced both narratives from interest in his theme and from the feeling that he must preserve all the information from both tradition and written documents. The text of the LXX. for this passage presents a translation very unlike the present Hebrew: changes in order occur, and entire verses have been omitted. But we cannot argue that xxxvi. 8^b-xxxviii. 20 (the passage which contains the most important deviations) was not in existence when the Septuagint was made, or that the LXX. represent the original condition of the Hebrew; since the Samaritan Pentateuch, with the exception of certain minor points, here agrees with the Hebrew.

The existence of a somewhat elaborate cultus, and of a somewhat extended written law of the cultus, goes back to the Mosaic era (compare Exod. xxiv. 6 ff.; Deut. xxx. 10; Ps. xcix. 6, 9), and is required in order to understand at all the religious development of the nation. The existence of ordinances concerning things clean and unclean, of sacred places, and set and acceptable forms of worship,² is implied in the composition of Deuteronomy. The history of the temple of Solomon implies the same cultus; and so do the declarations and utterances of the earliest prophets.³ Much of this ritualism, instead of being later than Ezra, is probably older than Moses.

We are also at liberty in part to explain the silence of the earlier history concerning many of the earliest ritualistic observances by certain general assumptions which are derived

¹ Compare Graf, *Ibid.*, p. 86 f.; Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, II. p. 106 f.; Wellhausen, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1877, p. 415 f.

² See Deut. xii. 13 f., xv. 19, 22, xxvi. 13 f., xxii. 9; and compare Smend, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1876, p. 643.

³ The existence of a pre-Exilian priestly cultus is implied in such prophetic passages as Mic. iii. 11; Jer. xviii. 18; Ezek. vii. 26; Zeph. iii. 4; Hos. viii. 12 f. Compare Strack, *Ibid.*, p. 451.

from what we know of the history of religion in other nations. (a) The people as a body had little to do with keeping to the letter of the written law. It was often wholly unknown to them; and even to the priests it was only partially and very imperfectly known. (b) Laws were enacted which never, or never for any considerable time and to any large extent, went into execution. Graf¹ admits this with respect to the release of claims upon the Hebrew servant in the seventh year. No large collection of old laws is familiar to even the lawyers of a people unless the laws be kept in force. (c) Many laws in themselves imply the establishment of time-honored custom antecedent to the written enactment which but expresses the law as already in vogue. (d) The laws regarding many subjects were constantly changing, and the codification of them was enlarged from time to time. The theory of Graf, Wellhausen, and Kuenen constantly makes an unwarrantable use of the argument from the non-observance to the non-existence of such laws as it wishes to eliminate from the early history of Israel.

Thus—to illustrate the last two statements by the very plausible view of Dillmann—the latest portion of Lev. i.–vii. is chap. iv. But this fact does not justify the late date which Wellhausen would assign to the passage on the principle, that, so long as the service of offerings existed as a *praxis*, there was no inducement to codify it.² The record was no doubt made as the *praxis* grew; and codification does not so much altogether follow as accompany and reciprocally influence the *praxis*. Nor have we any right to assert that the more carefully legalized forms which belonged to the central sanctuary always followed the looser and more multiform habits of scattered high-places and sanctuaries. Two or more forms of cultus may have developed at the same time along different lines, and then have been codified simultaneously. How dependent upon custom the written law is, may be illustrated from the ordinances separating clean and unclean animals. What is an unclean animal? The reply of Ewald, Sommer, and Schultz is most intelligible. Those animals are clean which from time immemorial have really been used as food by the people.³

¹ Die geschichtlichen Bücher, p. 23.

² Geschichte Israels, I. p. 62.

³ See Schultz, Alttestamentliche Theologie, p. 341. Thus when in Deuteronomy the grasshopper, which was reckoned clean in the law of Lev. xi. 21 f., is left out of the list, an actual change in custom is implied as having taken place.

We may confidently assume that Moses did not in his legislation neglect the regulation of ritual. "In general," says Reuss,¹ "we cannot think of a religion without cultus in Semitic antiquity." Some of the distinctive features of the Israelitish ritual—such as those which concern the nature of the offerings, the treatment of the blood, the fat and the carcass—belong to the most ancient legislation (see Exod. xxiii. 18, xxxiv. 25; Lev. vii. 25–27, xix. 5–8). But the developed ritual is to be understood as Mosaic, only in the sense that it rests upon a Mosaic basis and conforms to the Mosaic type; and that the written record of the ritualistic laws was all by the hand of Moses we are nowhere told, and have ample reason to deny.

The preceding observations enable us to understand the position of the earlier prophets, who, although they never imply that the law in their day was non-ritualistic, nor speak disparagingly of sacrifices and offerings as such, do nevertheless relatively exalt the ethical and disparage the ritualistic, in a manner very difficult to reconcile with the belief that the entire *Grundschrift* then existed, and was recognized as part of the fundamental law of the nation revealed by Jehovah through Moses (see especially Amos v. 25 and Jer. vii. 22).

This general position touching the origin of that great Law book which enters into the composition of the present Pentateuch might be illustrated in many particulars. Of such illustrations we choose the few following.

A. *The Feasts.* The feasts of passover and unleavened bread are represented by all the historical sources alike as having their origin in the beginnings of the national life (for the former, see Exod. xii. 1–13, 21–27; for the latter, Exod. xxiii. 15, xii. 14–20, 34, 39, xiii. 3–10, xxxiv. 18; Deut. xvi. 1, 3). But according to Wellhausen,² the Mazzoth originally celebrated the beginning, as Pentecost did the end, of corn-harvest. By claiming that the earlier Jehovistic account reverses the relation of the Exodus and the passover feast (see Exod. x. 9 and viii. 25 f.), and by assuming that Exod. xiii. 3–16 is the work of the Deuteronomic redactor, the same author would bring the historic testimony for the origin of this feast down to a late date. All we can affirm, then, is an ancient tradition that the escape from Egypt coincided with that spring festival which this nation kept in common with a large part of antiquity as a result of their nature-worship. But for the origin of Mazzoth in the

¹ Geschichte der heil. Schriften A. T., I. p. 80. ² Geschichte Israels, I. p. 87 f.

beginning of harvest there is, as says Dillmann,¹ absolutely no proof; and against it may be urged that in all the laws of the festivals except Lev. xxiii. there is no allusion to the harvest, that its duration for seven days does not correspond to the one day of the Pentecost, and that the desert was no suitable place to celebrate a harvest-feast. We see, then, no reason to break the firm connection between these religious festivals and the early history of the nation; no reason, in the fact that they refer to the year's course and correspond with the usages of other nations, why we should either distrust the history, or exclude the claim of revelation.

B. *Sanctifying of the First-born.* There is uniformity of testimony from all the historical sources for the origin of this rite. In memory of the deliverance from Egypt, the first-born of man and beast were devoted to Jehovah. This historical connection is implied (Deut. xv. 19-xvi. 8) in the literary connection of the law of the first-born with that of the feast of unleavened bread, in the theory that the Levites were substituted for the devoted first-born of the nation (Num. iii. 13 and viii. 17), and in the tradition of the address of Moses (Exod. xiii. 1-16; compare xxxiv. 18 f.). Such specific and legalized devotement and redemption of all the first-born of the nation is peculiar to the Israelites, and no other satisfactory reason for its enactment can be given than the one which lies in the alleged facts and their related ideas. By the deliverance from Egypt the entire nation became the possession of Jehovah, to be redeemed and to acknowledge its redemption in the person of its first-born children.

C. *Offerings and Sacrifices.* In Exod. xxix. 38-46, the law of the daily burnt-offering is announced in connection with the same great event; viz., the redemption of Israel from Egypt by Jehovah. But even this daily sacrifice of two year-old lambs Wellhausen considers² as smuggled into the Pentateuch ritual after the time of Ezra, and "*factitiously* made a fundamental part of the service of God." Dillmann fitly calls this opinion of Wellhausen a *reductio ad absurdum* of the critical principle, that every law which cannot be shown, by other books than the one in which it occurs, to have been in use, is to be assigned an origin subsequent to those books. The laws relating to offerings are, indeed, not given complete in any one place: the main collection of those relating to the five general classes being

¹ Exod. u. Lev., p. 581.

² Ibid., I. p. 81 f.

found, Lev. i.-vii.; while Lev. xxii. 17-30 and Num. xv. 1-16 supplement this collection with respect to the animals allowed and the relations of the vegetable offerings to the animals used in the burnt and thank offerings, and Num. v. 5-10 and xv. 22-28 contain additional matter concerning the sin and trespass offering. This legalized system of sacrifices is referred to Moses for its institution. It is not said, on the one hand, that Moses invented all these forms of sacrifices;¹ nor is it implied, on the other hand, that the custom of the nation subsequent to Moses always complied with his Torah. The question is in each case pertinent: How far was the author right in ascribing the particular law of sacrifices to the enactment of this one lawgiver?

D. *The Day of Atonement.* According to many of the critics, this law is another fabrication resulting from the theoretical tendency of the later age of Judaism.² These critics can find the germ of this observance only in the time of Ezekiel (xlv. 18-20), who on the first of the first and seventh months ordains a great purification of the sanctuary. Wellhausen³ asserts that the great day of atonement (Lev. xvi.) was unknown to Jeremiah, and not in force 444 B.C., the year of the publication of the Pentateuch by Ezra. But the introduction, after the time of the Exile, of such a feast into the ancient Book of the Law as a Mosaic institution, may be pronounced with Dillmann "absolutely incredible." Indeed, we can test the value of the *argumentum e silentio*, as Wellhausen makes use of it, by this example. According, then, to this argument, the day of the atonement did not originate until the first century of the Christian era! For the first mention of it, outside of the Levitical law, occurs in Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament.⁴ That this festival is not mentioned in the prophetic legal writings is, considering its nature, not very strange. It is more definitely a priestly affair, and must have been less impressive upon the popular religious life. The silence of Ezekiel concerning it is no more difficult to explain than his silence concerning the feast of Pentecost. The need of special days of purification was felt by other ancient nations, and was fostered by the Mosaic idea of moral purity in the worship of Jehovah. Moreover, traces of a remote antiquity appear in the law of Lev. xvi.: such are

¹ On the contrary, see Lev. i. 3, ii. 1, iii. 1, which imply only the regulation of existing custom.

² So Vatke, George, and Graf.

³ *Ibid.*, I. p. 114.

⁴ Acts xxvii. 9; Heb. ix. 13.

the ceremony with the goat (verses 10 and 21), and the prominence given to the ark (verses 2 and 13 f.).

E. *The Tabernacle*. The following reasons led writers like Von Bohlen, George, Vatke, Nöldeke, and De Wette, to regard the description of the tabernacle (Exod. xxv. ff.) as resting upon a fiction: (1) its costliness, (2) its elaborate art, (3) the brevity of the time allowed for the execution of the work, (4) the fact that no trace of its existence appears in the history between Moses and the first temple. These objections except the last may be answered in detail, but even then the chief difficulties have not been reached. The history, according to Wellhausen,¹ only permits us to suppose that a tent may have existed as a covering for the ark in the Mosaic era, since we learn from Hos. ix. 6 that tents were among the most ancient coverings for idols. But the tabernacle of Exod. xxv. ff. is nowhere found in the veritable history of Israel as recorded in the books of Judges and 1 Kings. When we are told (2 Chron. i. 3 ff.) that Solomon solemnized his accession to the throne by a great sacrificial feast at Gibeon because the tabernacle and brazen altar of Moses were there, we are forced to notice, says Wellhausen, that the Chronicler is contradicting the earlier narrative of 1 Kings iii. 1-4. That the Chronicler misunderstands the earlier narrative, Wellhausen thinks evident from the fact that he misuses the phrase, "a great Bamah."

The original tabernacle certainly appears to have been a much simpler affair than the one described in Exodus. It is called אֹהֶל כְּהִנִּי (tabernaculum testimonii; σκηνή τοῦ μαρτυρίου, LXX.; "tent of assembly," Gesenius; *Offenbarungs Zelt*, Dillmann). It does not seem to have been the sole place for offering sacrifices, nor does the ark appear at first to have had there its sanctuary (see Num. x. 33). After the conquest of Canaan the tabernacle and ark appear at Shiloh, where through the period of the Judges until the death of Eli we find the chief sacred place of the nation. Upon the founding of the new sacred place on Zion by David, the ark is brought from Kirjath-jearim, and a new tabernacle made for it (2 Sam. vi. 17; compare 1 Kings i. 89, ii. 28-30); this tabernacle was the one brought by Solomon into his temple (1 Kings viii. 4). Early in the time of the kings, then, neither the Mosaic tabernacle, nor—as we judge from all the critical indications as to the date of this part of the ritualistic law—its description in Exod.

¹ *Geschichte Israels*, I. p. 40 f.

xxv. ff., were in existence. It may be held that this description gives many features of the tabernacle in its more magnificent condition, under David; while the norm and law of it belong to Moses. We must believe that the temple of Solomon was copied from this tabernacle, rather than the description of the tabernacle given according to an ideal of the second temple, — since this second temple was only a weak imitation of the first, without its ark and cherubs and magnificence, — unless we are ready to reverse the entire order of the history.

F. *The Priesthood.* Upon the difficult and important question as to the origin and nature of the Levitical priesthood, we can affirm neither one of the two extreme opinions. We do not believe that the origin of the distinctive priesthood of the sons of Aaron is of post-Exilian legislation, and was prepared for by Ezekiel, who (xliv. 6–16) degrades the Levites from their ancient position of equality, and assigns the priestly prerogatives, formerly enjoyed by the entire tribe, to the sons of Zadok.¹ But neither can we accept any of the attempts which have been made to reconcile the legislation of the middle books with the historical position implied in Deuteronomy and the historical portions of the Old Testament.² An examination of the above-mentioned passage in Ezekiel shows us that the prophet is constructing by progressive approaches — so to speak — an ideal priesthood for his ideal temple with its ideal service. But in degrading the Levites for their infidelity, and in making a few faithful ones from a selected branch of the priestly family alone worthy of this ideal honor, he supposes himself to be re-enacting the proper and ancient order of things. He regards this order as having been disturbed by the illegitimate practices of the era immediately preceding. He does not create, but presupposes, the legitimacy of this distinction (compare xl. 45 f., xlii. 13, xliii. 19). Furthermore, even in Deuteronomy we find the germ of a distinction between the priests and other Levites, as that distinction is made in the full Levitical law. Thus (Deut. xxvii. 9 ff.) the priests are distinguished from the tribe out of which they sprung; and, although any Levite on settling himself at Jerusalem is not to be excluded from the priestly functions and revenues, yet only those Levites

¹ See Kuenen, *Theol. Tijdschr.*, III. p. 463; and Wellhausen, *Ibid.*, I. p. 127 f.

² See especially Curtiss, *De Aaronitici Sacerdotii Origine, and Levitical Priests*, Edinburgh, 1877.

who are at the central sanctuary are considered as *priests*, in distinction from those who wander about, exercising in an illegitimate manner their priestly functions (xviii. 6 ff.). The house of Aaron appear to have held the priesthood at the national sanctuary of Shiloh (see especially Josh. xix. 51). The house of Eli, which we find exercising the priestly function as a traditional inheritance reaching back to the Exodus (1 Sam. ii. 27 f.), is declared by the author of 1 Chron. xxiv. 3 f. to have been of the descent of Ithamar.

But, on the other hand, other portions of the Pentateuch and of the earlier historical books agree only partially with the view of the so-called *Grundschrift* touching the exclusive prerogative of the family of Aaron. In the ancient account of Exod. xxiv. 5, the young men of the nation are sent by Moses to make burnt-offerings; in the provisions for sacrifices (xx. 24 ff.), it seems implied that any Israelite may offer upon an altar to Jehovah. Not Aaron, but Moses and his attendant, who is an Ephraimite, are represented (xxxiii. 8-11) as frequenting the sanctuary. The subsequent notices of ritual seem very unlike the stately and set forms of the Levitical laws.¹ In the time of the earlier kings, the functions of sacrifice appear not to have been confined to priests. Saul offers sacrifices without rebuke for his profanity (1 Sam. xiv., xv.). David appears in priestly linen, wearing the ephod, and offers burnt-offerings and peace-offerings before the Lord (2 Sam. vi. 14, 17 f.); Solomon pronounces the blessing at the close of the sacrifice (1 Kings viii. 22, 54, 55). Moreover, it is difficult to interpret the Deuteronomic law so as to bring it into accord with that of this fundamental Law-book. The writer of Deuteronomy seems to teach (x. 8, xviii. 5, 7)² that God at Sinai separated the entire tribe of Levi from the other tribes for the exercise of priestly functions. So also (xxxiii. 8-11) are the Urim and Thummim and the ministration at the altar made the portion of the *tribe*. We are told (Exod. xix. 22 f.) of priests before the giving of the law; and Aaron himself is spoken of (Exod. iv. 14) as though he came to his distinction from his membership in the tribe. That the Deuteronomist uses the

¹ See the case of Samuel and Hannah in their approach to the sanctuary (1 Sam. iii. 3 f.). Wellhausen considers this (I. p. 134) to involve a "colossal contradiction" of the *Priester-codez*.

² It will scarcely do to refer the words, "the Lord thy God hath chosen him" (xviii. 5), to the priestly representative of the tribe; for see verse 7, the words, "as all his brethren the Levites do."

terms "priests" and "Levites" or "sons of Levi" *as though* they were interchangeable, there can be no doubt.¹

We are brought, then, to the opinion, if not to the fixed conclusion, that a difference of view and practice existed at different times as to the relations in which the Levites outside of the family of Aaron stood to this family touching the priestly rights and functions. The clergy were doubtless as tenacious of privilege under the Old-Testament religion as they have ever been. Sharp conflicts arose; for both traditional views had their foundations of truth in ancient laws and practices, running back to the Mosaic era.

5. The style and language of the so-called *Grundschrift* do not favor its late, not to say its post-Exilian, origin. It must be admitted, that upon these points the conclusions of criticism are very uncertain and conflicting; yet, on the whole, they justify the above statement. As to style, what one critic regards as manifestly ancient on account of its concrete and objective manner, another for that very reason pronounces guilty of all the circumstantiality and jejuneness of the post-Exilian and priestly redactor. As to the possibility of imitating or cultivating the style of an age long remote, it is difficult to pronounce with confidence. The second Isaiah is instanced as a writer who was prevented by his peculiarly classic and noble cast of mind, and by his familiarity with the best models, from falling into the degeneracy of his age. Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, although subsequent to the Exile, belong with the writers of the previous age. Why may not, then, the Elohist so saturate himself with the style of the earlier books, and so enter into the spirit of the antiquity of his nation as he conceived it, that surprisingly few traces of the age in which he actually wrote shall appear in his writings?

But what is the precise truth as to the grammar and etymology of the author of the *Grundschrift*? This question is still in dispute. The means for making the necessary comparisons are few; and all our conclusions may be largely vitiated by our ignorance as to how we shall distinguish between writings which are in a body of late date, and early writings into which certain words and phrases of late form have been introduced at a late date. Delitzsch is doubtless right in denying the correctness of many of the earlier statements of Graf, Popper, and Kuenen. But his own positive affirmation—

¹ See xvii. 9, 18, xviii. 1, xxi. 5, xxiv. 8, xxvii. 9, xxxi. 9.

"The so-called Elohist language is ancient throughout: . . . there is no trace of the peculiar exilic forms and syntax"¹—is at best very doubtful. The thorough examination of Ryssel led him to the following conclusions. The language of the Elohist portions of the Pentateuch would assign them, so far as its Aramaizing is concerned, to the second period of the language; viz., that between Josiah and 586 B.C. It is conceded by Ryssel, however, that certain parts of Numbers, in themselves considered, should be referred to the time of the later books of the Old Testament. But many of the conclusions of this author have been most seriously shaken by the searching criticism and independent research of Giesebrecht. According to this critic, a large proportion of the words and roots distinctive of the Elohist can be shown to be either Aramaic or Aramaizing.

Nevertheless, as the matter now stands, we find no sufficient reason to depart from the most general conclusions of the former critic, if only we allow due scope to the influences of the latest work of redaction upon the language of the writings revised.²

(1) The book of the Elohist can none of it have been composed subsequent to the Exile.

(2) The laws belonging to the priestly service, garments, and ritual, are for the most part later than the rest, and were written in the second age of the language.

(3) The principal part of the Elohist, the superior laws and histories, belong to the earliest age of the language.

The results arrived at by this somewhat detailed examination of the single case of the Hexateuch³ may be made, after taking

¹ Introduction to Curtiss's *Levitical Priests*, p. x.

² It was the first intent of the author to present in detail the argument from the style and language of the *Grundschrift*, but the lack of space and the technical nature of the subject have prevented. It remains only to indicate some of the writings consulted: Riehm, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1868, pp. 350 ff., and 1872, 283 ff.; Wellhausen, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theol.*, 1877, p. 457 [note]; Klostermann, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theol.*, 1877, pp. 401 ff.; Ewald, *Die Propheten*, etc., II. p. 543 f.; Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici Sermone*, Leipzig, 1878; Giesebrecht, *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1881, pp. 177-276.

³ So much more space than its intrinsic importance might seem to demand has been given to the Hexateuch, for the following among other reasons: (1) The great activity and interest at present manifested in this criticism; (2) The intricacy of the problem, which fits its discussion to present all the lights and shadows of the general work of Biblical Criticism; (3) The importance of the discussion with reference to our conceptions of Old-Testament history and revelation; (4) The fact that in this case criticism makes out the most complete refutation of that traditional view which has been mistakenly supposed to be essential to a true doctrine

into account the modifications appropriate to each case, to cover all the composite works of Sacred Scripture. Of such works many of the books of the Old Testament are examples, although no other one can be called a *growth* in the same sense in which the word applies to the Hexateuch. In the New Testament, the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts — and they only in a much-modified form — constitute the sole examples. These different examples of composite structure exhibit the same phenomena in different degrees: they may all, with perhaps the exception of Proverbs, be contrasted with the Hexateuch in this respect, that they show a unity of authorship uniting all the composite material, while the Hexateuch shows rather a unity of redaction. Indeed, in the other cases, although with varying degrees of emphasis, the unity of authorship is the emphatic consideration.

The following few words will suffice with reference to the case of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. That these three books were originally but one work of the same author, has been confidently affirmed as an assured result of criticism by such critics as Zunz, Ewald, Bertheau, Dillmann, Graf, Nöldeke, and Schrader. This view was pronounced problematic by Bleek; according to Nägelsbach, it is still by no means beyond the borders of scientific controvertibility. That the books of Ezra and Nehemiah were both written by Ezra, is the tradition of the Talmud; that Ezra-Nehemiah was originally one work, may be regarded as fairly established. Assuming that this complex book was by the same author as the two books of Chronicles, the composite nature of the contents of the whole, when regarded as united under one work of authorship, raises many interesting inquiries. We have the difficult task of detecting the sources of which this author, who was also a redactor, made use. It is enough for our present purpose to assert, that these sources are really historical, and are used by the author in good faith, although not without large influence from his own conceptions of the history and religion belonging properly to ancient Israel. That Ezra and Nehemiah bear this trustworthy historical character, can scarcely be denied: this fact is a witness to the like character of Chronicles, on the theory of modern criticism that they all were written by the same author. And yet the nature of the different parts of this com-

of Sacred Scripture; (5) The inaccessibility of most of the material to the reader of English only.

posite and complex whole varies widely. Even in Ezra-Nehe-miah several sources must be acknowledged. In Ezra vii. 27-ix., the person Ezra speaks in the first person; in Ezra vii. 1-11 and x., the same person is spoken of. Neh. i. 1-vii. 5 seems to have been written by the person Nehemiah; perhaps also x. 1-37 and xii. 27-42, but apparently not xii. 1-26; while from xiii. 4 on, we have again the work of the same author. We seem, then, to have in the Book of Nehemiah a work of the person Nehemiah which has been interpolated in certain passages; and then the whole has been worked over, and incorporated into the Book Ezra-Nehemiah.

Chronicles is the most extended and elaborate historical work of the Old Testament: its history reaches from Adam to the end of the Exile under Cyrus. All our previous conclusions, therefore, teach us to believe that the character of the book—since its late composition is undoubted—must depend upon the sources to which the author had access, and the use which he made of them. That the chronicler was acquainted with our canonical books of Samuel and Kings, has been held by Graf, Ewald, Bleek, by Bertheau in his later view, and with qualifications by Dillmann; it has been denied by Keil, Hävernick, and others; it has been called by Zöckler the *πρώτον ψεύδος* of Graf's theory of this book. We believe that the author of Chronicles used writings which were substantially identical with our present books of Samuel and Kings; but we deny that he, out of pure subjectivity and caprice, changed these sources. Other sources than Samuel and Kings can be pointed out in this composition, especially the work to which reference is frequently made; viz., "the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah." The spirit of the work is undoubtedly somewhat intensely Levitical and ritualistic: this spirit has to some extent not only given tone to the work, but has also controlled the management of its material. The character of the work is secondary, and its representations of history on the whole not so trustworthy as those of the earlier books. But all this may be admitted without finding ground to consider it wholly unhistorical, or to accuse its author of arbitrary and unscrupulous falsifying of history. And, according to the principles of judgment already established, all this may be admitted without denying the work a place in Sacred Scripture.

The origin of the Synoptic Gospels is the most wonderful of all literary problems: in itself considered, and in its relations to

our theme, this problem is among the most important. But after what has already been said in this and preceding chapters, a very brief statement rather than a discussion of the subject will suffice. The problem, as related to the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, concerns both the origin and nature of the contents of these Gospels, and also the personality of their authors.

In considering the origin and nature of the contents of the Synoptic Gospels, as related to the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture, we are forced to regard very remarkable phenomena, both of similarity and of difference. The phenomena of difference are such as belong to a real authorship and authorial unity, and yet this authorship and unity are of a peculiar kind. That different writers will differ in narrating the same history is an inevitable result of their authorship. This difference will involve the selection and management of their material, the order and style of their composition, the pragmatic and dogmatic complexion of their product, the *minutiae* of the selection and arrangement of words. It is already evident that the writers of the Synoptic Gospels do thus differ among themselves, and are therefore *authors* in the full meaning of the term. But that writers of narratives whose work it is to give a brief picture of the same events and the same personality should agree as do the first three Evangelists, this is a rare and stimulating phenomenon. And these writers do agree, not only in having the same general progress and main divisions of their history, but also in tying together certain groups of incidents, in surprisingly extended and exact verbal coincidence, in the common use of rare words and turns of expression, and in the phrasing of certain quotations from the Old Testament in which they together depart from both the Hebrew and the LXX.¹

To explain these complicated phenomena of agreement and difference we are obliged, therefore, to rely upon the power of the constructive imagination, as that power is furnished and guided by the results of careful criticism. The general reasons for the phenomena may, indeed, be understood and described without great difficulty. The contents of the Synoptic Gospels are themselves the result of a previous process of preaching, writing, hearing, and reflecting; they are, moreover, related, one to another, in some form and order of acquaintance, and in the use made by one author of the materials furnished or used

¹ For a description of these phenomena, see articles by the author in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January and April, 1869.

by the others. But when we attempt with greater precision to discriminate and describe the precise extent and order of this process, our critical means fail us. After all the previous researches have been taken into the account, we cannot fix with absolute confidence upon the order of the origin (Matthew, Mark, Luke; or Mark, Matthew, Luke; or Matthew, Luke, Mark) of the Synoptic Gospels.¹ Nor can we tell how many and what sources Luke acknowledged himself to be using; or what precise form (if any) of the translation of an Aramaic Matthew, or a Greek *λόγια*, may silently lie underneath the present First Gospel; or perhaps whether some more original form of Mark may not have preceded the present Gospel. We find good grounds for accepting what may be called the prevalent critical view, — in spite of the objections of Keim and others, — viz., that the priority among the Synoptic Gospels in their present form plainly belongs to Mark.² We might proceed with hypothesis, and describe a supposable form of constructing the Synoptic Gospels. But, whatever form this hypothesis might take, it is important to notice that the following three classes of elements would enter into each one of these Gospels: (1) elements of oral tradition, whether as fixed by the early preaching of the gospel, or as coming to the author's knowledge by verbal communication of some one informant; (2) elements from previous written documents, whether one or two of our canonical Gospels, or one or more of the written sources out of which these Gospels were formed; (3) elements of personal reflection and individual linguistic and other authorial peculiarities.

As to the personality of the authors of the Synoptic Gospels, we have, what we do not have in the case of the Pentateuch as a whole, the assistance of a tradition which can justify itself against the attacks of criticism. None of these Gospels, indeed, can in its present form be traced to an apostle: it is even doubtful how far any one of the written sources used by them

¹ No other *résumé* of the state of the case, and proposal of a probable theory for these relations, is perhaps on the whole so captivating as that given by Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, I. pp. 24-84. The oldest of all the sources of our present Gospels is the Greek translation of that Aramaic version of the sayings of our Lord which was made by the Apostle Matthew. Mark was constructed on the basis of tradition derived from Peter, and with the use of the original Matthew; Mark and this original Matthew were both used by the present writer of the First Gospel.

² The priority of Mark among the Synoptic Gospels in their present form appears more evident as seen in the comparative and party-colored text of Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*, London, 1880.

was an apostolic work. But two of the three — viz., Mark, and with especial confidence Luke — may be claimed to have been the work of trained and trusted companions of apostles. Of our present Matthew, the author must remain unknown; but the contents of this work, either through the other Evangelists or through some writing common to them all, may be indirectly connected with the personality of an apostle. That this apostle was the one according to (*κατά*) whom the Gospel is affirmed by the ancient tradition to have been constituted, there is good reason to believe.

We may sum up the case of the Synoptic Gospels, regarded as works of composite contents put together by minds who imparted enough of their own thought and ideas to the contents to justify us in calling them true authors of the works, in the following way. The contents of these writings came to their authors at second or later hand. They are, however, historically verified for the substance of their statement by all the proofs belonging to such contents, and they are indirectly referable to apostolic and early Christian authority. So far as the elements contributed to the contents by the authors of the writings are concerned, they may be referred in two instances to men who were companions of apostles. In the remaining instance, the composition must be left to speak for itself; this witness to itself it gives by the very nature of the composition in such manner as to satisfy all reasonable demands. In all three cases the contents are such as to make pre-eminent claim to the title of Sacred Scripture; for they are substantially true records, written in the spirit and from the point of view furnished by revelation, of the life and teaching of Him who is the centre of all Scripture, and of all revelation as well. Moreover, this claim from the nature of the contents is enforced by the fact that the personality of the authors is both the channel of apostolic impulse and inspiration as promised by Christ to his apostles, and also the seat of Christian inspiration as vouchsafed to all believers.

We consider now the cases of those books which have an undoubted unity of authorship in the stricter sense of the word; we consider them as illustrated in the capital instance of the Gospel of John. In this instance the personality of the author is raised to the highest grade of importance. Of the Hexateuch we may say, that, when once its composite nature and various origin is pointed out, we have only a literary interest in the

question, who wrote each separate part of the entire record. In respect to that part of Deuteronomy which the author of the entire book refers to Moses as his written version of his own Torah, we have, indeed, a further interest: we have this interest, that the author should be correct in making the claim when understood as he intended to make it. But even if we could not substantiate this claim, we might simply have to confess again in this instance the general truth: The writers of Sacred Scripture were not critics, and were not made infallible in their estimate of the date and authorship of the writings which they employed as sources. But with regard to such a book as the Gospel of John, the whole aspect of our inquiries is changed. The inquiry into the authorship of any writing in Sacred Scripture, which has a clear claim to be esteemed the product of one mind and heart, necessarily lays emphasis upon the quality of that mind and heart. Sometimes we can discover this quality only by the writing itself. This is the case with the Epistle to the Hebrews, on the quite certain conclusion that it was not the product of the Apostle Paul. This is the case with the Apocalypse, on the probable conclusion that it was not written by the Apostle John. This is the case also with portions of Isaiah and Zechariah, on the assumption that they were not written by the prophets of those names; and so with most of the Psalms, and with passages scattered throughout many of the Old-Testament writers. We do not know who were the authors of these portions of Sacred Scripture; but many of them we hold to be in the highest sense sacred and inspired, on the ground that the contents of the writings are obviously sacred, and obviously show their authors to have been men of inspired mind and heart. In such cases we may be quite indifferent, except as we are interested in all such literary problems, to the question of authorship. Some one composed these writings; they are with us as portions of Sacred Scripture; they are more or less obviously the work of inspired men. What, then, if others than David composed hymns of praise, aspiration, confession, to Jehovah? What if some one better than Solomon exhort us to wisdom by proverbs? And if the second Isaiah is not also the first, he is certainly quite as much beloved and blessed of God in his prophecy as was that earlier prophet whose work has been united with his in the same manuscript-roll. If the so-called second Isaiah be an unknown prophet, he is none the less the "great unknown." To be sure, in cases

where the dispute as to authorship lies between a known apostolic and an unknown non-apostolic source, we cannot regard it as a question of merely literary import. We should certainly be inclined to regard Hebrews differently, if we knew it to be the work of the Apostle Paul; the Apocalypse also, if we knew it to be the work of the Apostle John. But even in such cases, we have only to substitute — the contents remaining the same — the guaranty of Christian inspiration in the apostolic age for the guaranty of apostolic inspiration according to the special promises and opportunities of the chosen eye-and-ear witnesses of Jesus Christ.

But in the case of the Fourth Gospel the inquiry is a much more serious one. We shall not say that the genuineness of John's Gospel is a question of life or death with our present conception of Christianity; for this conception would remain substantially the same if constructed from the Christian consciousness upon the elements of fact and doctrine given in the other writings of the New Testament. And yet, what other writing of the New Testament has so influenced this conception as the Gospel ascribed to the Apostle John? What other has so moulded Christian experience? We cannot rashly assert what changes in doctrine and life would be wrought by the accepted proof that this writing is a forgery, its alleged history of subjective origin, its doctrine of Christ the semi-Gnostic speculations of the second century. That such a case is vastly more important than that of any of the alleged spurious Epistles, or of Daniel, there can be no doubt. The history of the Canon will show us why, for instance, the Second of Peter, or James, or Canticles, or Daniel, can never make the same claim to acceptance which belongs to the undisputed books of Sacred Scripture. Moreover, the contents of these books are not to be compared for importance with the contents of John.

For the full treatment of this most important critical inquiry, the reader must be referred to the standard authorities.¹ We shall only present some of the salient points as they are most intimately related to our general theme.

We begin by asserting the great antecedent improbability, not to say full impossibility, that such a forgery should be committed and foisted in the writings of the early Christian Church.

¹ For the literature of this question, see Gregory's Appendix to the English translation of Luthardt's work, "St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel," Edinburgh, 1875; and article in Smith's Bible Dictionary (American ed.).

Köstlin¹ has attempted, indeed, to show how by the two forces of conservatism and progress, operating upon the material of the Old Testament, a history might be changed in character by the substitution of idea for fact. Thus that idealizing way of construing the Old Testament which is met with in Paul (for instance, Gal. iv. 22), and throughout Hebrews, developed into the method used in the writings of Justin, Tertullian, Lactantius, and the Epistle of Barnabas. Justin is so certain that the Jewish codices ought to contain these needed passages of Scripture, as frequently to charge the Jews with having expunged them.² In the epistles ascribed to Ignatius, the same idealizing process is applied to the person and history of Jesus. The Christology of the Epistle to the Trallians finds itself much too lofty and mystical to conform to the facts as given by the Synoptic Gospels. In Ignatius³ the birth of Jesus is accompanied by the appearance of a star which outshines all the others, and gathers them about itself; his baptism is no longer the pious conformity to a religious custom, but takes place *ὡς τῷ παθεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ καθάρσιον*.⁴ The very natural fact that there was great popular eagerness to hear traditions concerning Christ and the apostles resulted, Köstlin thinks, in much looseness of principle and practice for the sake of gratifying this eagerness. Soon strong motives to refer constantly to the apostolic authority as a source of doctrine were everywhere felt, such motives were partly apologetic, partly irenic, partly anti-heretical. Moreover, there was not the same reverence which the Church afterward felt for the apostles, with respect to the use of their names and the effort closely to follow them in doctrine. These appeals to apostolic authority to apologize for Christianity, to pacify the Church, to oppose heretics, and to set forth new doctrine with prestige, resulted, therefore, in many *pseudo*-apostolic writings.

As to the diligence and discrimination of the early Church with respect to pseudonymous literature, when applying for admission to the Canon, we shall remark elsewhere. It is enough to say here, that the Gospel of John constitutes a case largely unlike any other pseudonymous work, whether actually received into the Canon or applying for such reception at the hands of the early Church. This writing is prevented from the comparison with any other case of pseudonymous Christian

¹ Die pseudonyme Literatur der ältesten Kirche, Theol. Jahrb. 1851, p. 149 f.

² Dial. cum Tryph., 71, 72, 73, 120.

³ Ep. ad Eph., c. 19.

⁴ Ibid., c. 18.

writing: (1) by the subtle way in which it claims apostolic authorship as contrasted with the general ethical character of the book; (2) by the fact that its history requires careful analysis to reconcile it with the synoptic history, while the differences are great and obvious; (3) by the fact that a case cannot be made out against the author as perverting any of the facts of history for subjective considerations; (4) by the superior scrutiny which the very contents of the book challenge; and, finally (5), by the fact that the acknowledgment of the book as presumably genuine can be traced back too early to admit of its foisting in as a forgery. It should require, then, the very strongest proof to convince us that *such* a work was composed and accepted within the early Church, although spurious and unauthentic.

We turn now to the establishing of the last of the above-mentioned objections to the possibility of regarding the Fourth Gospel as ungenuine. That the external evidence for the Gospel of John shows no weakness or gap which justifies the denial of its genuineness, is admitted by some of the opponents of that genuineness; thus Keim¹ admits that the external testimonies reach about as far back in its case as in that of any one of the Evangelists. We note at this point the important truth, that criticism has been growing more conservative upon this question, and that there has been a recession from the late dates fixed by Baur and Schweigler. Few now venture to fix the writing and promulgation of this Gospel later than 140 A.D.; while Keim at one time dropped the date of its origin down even to 100-117.² As to the existence of a uniform and firmly fixed tradition of the Church in the second half of the second century, we need present little evidence; for the fact is not disputed, and neither is the fact that the tradition of this period underlies all the subsequent forms of tradition. Irenaeus († 202), whose connections with Asia Minor make his testimony especially valuable, designates John as the latest of our Evangelists, and reports that he wrote his Gospel during his residence in Ephesus, and directed it against the errors of Cerinthus and the Nicolaitans.³ He regards it as a kind of moral necessity that there should be four, and only four, Gospels.⁴ Clement of

¹ *Geschichte Jesu*, 1867-1872, I. p. 137.

² See Mangold's note in Bleek, *Einl. in das N. T.*, p. 258 f.; Dr. Ezra Abbot, *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 11 f.

³ *Adv. Haer.*, III. 1, 1, and 11, 1.

⁴ III. 11, 8 and 9.

Alexandria reports that John wrote last of the Evangelists, and because he perceived that in the other Evangelists the things somatic were made evident (τὰ σωματικά δεδῶνται), and that at the request of his followers, and inspired by the Holy Spirit, he composed it as a pneumatic Gospel (πνευματικὸν εὐαγγέλιον).¹ When we add to these most direct testimonies such others as might be gathered from individual writers and from the presence of this Gospel in the earliest lists of canonical New-Testament Scripture, we are founding in assured facts an argument which reaches back beyond the facts themselves. This general and unquestioning acceptance, involves a preceding process. Different critics may differ as to the amount of time necessary for the completion of this process, but none can fairly admit that the case is not so strong as to need much evidence for its overthrow. It is undoubted truth, that in the last quarter of the second century the scattered parts of the Christian community had already for some time come unquestioningly to regard the Fourth Gospel as the work of the Apostle John.

In examining history for traces of the existence of this Gospel previous to the middle of the second century, the amount and clearness of the evidence recognized will depend largely upon the presumptions taken into the examination. Those who find these traces unsatisfactory err in one or more of the three following ways: they expect a different kind and degree of evidence from that which belongs to the age; they make an unwarranted use of the argument from the silence of the ancient authors; they readily resort to supposititious and assumed apocryphal writings to account for the very phenomena for which the admission of the existence of John's Gospel is itself the best account. The meagre and indirect and disputable nature of much of the testimony is explained (1) by the paucity of early Christian writings; (2) by the loose and uncertain character of all the citations (even from the Old Testament) which these writings contain; (3) by the fact that no definite canonical authority had as yet been given to any of the New-Testament writings; and, in many cases, (4) by the nature of the treatise, or the persons addressed, where the alleged citation occurs.

The shifting use of the *argumentum e silentio* characterizes the entire controversy. Hilgenfeld² asserted in 1850 that the Clementine Homilies contained not a single example of the use

¹ Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., VI. 14.

² Krit. Untersuch. über d. Ev. Justins, p. 388.

of John. But when in 1853 Dressel edited, from a codex in the Vatican, the missing conclusion of the Homilies, there appeared in it¹ a significant citation from John's narrative of the man born blind (ix. 2, 3). The other "echoes" from this Gospel contained in the Homilies could then no longer — as Hilgenfeld had formerly done — be assigned to a supposititious source in the Gospel of Peter. The silence of the Homilies could no longer be claimed to show that the Fourth Gospel did not exist prior to 160. But the paucity of citations could still be made to show that it was then regarded as somewhat new and interloping.

The ready assumption of new and unknown apocryphal writings, or of passages suited to meet the case from writings about which little more than the name is known, was more resorted to some years since than of late. Thus Davidson² was ready to follow the expedient of Volkmar and others, when pressed to acknowledge an objective connection between Justin and John. Both Justin and the author of the Clementine Homilies, it was affirmed, drew from the "Gospel according to the Hebrews." Davidson was even ready to assert the priority of Justin to John. And "Supernatural Religion," in order to escape the charge of temerity which it brings against Tischendorf for claiming Justin as a witness for the Fourth Gospel, labors through some fifty pages to the conclusion that "the writings of Justin not only do not furnish the slightest evidence of its existence, but offer presumptive testimony against its apostolical origin."³ But that Justin was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel can be maintained from his doctrine of the Logos; for, although Justin was probably much affected upon this point by Philo and the Alexandrine philosophy, he could have derived his doctrine of the *incarnation* from this Gospel alone.⁴ That the doctrine of Justin is developed from that of the Gospel, Professor Drummond and others have placed beyond reasonable doubt. Indeed, after the examination which Dr. Ezra Abbot has given to the claim that the celebrated passage in the sixty-first chapter of the apology is so unlike John iii. 3-5 that it could not have

¹ Hom. XIX. 22.

² Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, London, 1868, II. p. 374 f.

³ Vol. II. pp. 271-316.

⁴ See especially the phrase *ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος*, Apol., I. cc. 5, 23; and a score of references given by Dr. Ezra Abbot, Ibid. p. 42. Compare the articles by Professor Drummond from which these references are largely taken, Theol. Rev., 1877, April and July.

been quoted from the Gospel, the controversy upon this point may be said to be closed. It may also be said to be settled once for all, that Justin was acquainted with the Gospel of John. Hilgenfeld¹ admits the use of John by Justin in an isolated and subordinate way. Keim² says, "It is easy to show that the Martyr had before his eyes a whole series of Johannean passages." Weizsäcker³ has declared that the writings of Justin are full of the echoes of the doctrine of the Logos in John. We have evidence in Justin Martyr, then, which carries the promulgation of the Fourth Gospel at least a decade or two back of the middle of the second century. For the First Apology of this author must in all likelihood be placed somewhere between the extreme dates, — 138 A.D. and 155 A.D. (Keim), — and probably belongs to the years 146–148.

Several unmistakable citations from John in the *Oratio ad Graecos* of Tatian, a pupil of Justin; the existence of at least two attempts at a harmony, involving the use of this Gospel, soon after the middle of the second century; the citation from 1 John iv. 3, in the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, on the only tenable supposition that Gospel and Epistle are by the same author;⁴ the charge of Tertullian against Marcion that he rejected the Gospels *quae propria et sub Apostolorum nomine eduntur*, regarded as giving the very probable opinion of the Church Father that this heretic about 140 A.D. rejected John;⁵ the acquaintance of Papias with the Gospel, which is proved by direct testimony to his acquaintance with the First Epistle, and by several forms of indirect testimony,⁶ — these and other lines of evidence carry back the argument to a like antiquity.

But still other evidence seems to reach back yet farther, and even into the first quarter of the second century. This more ancient evidence is in part derived from the unchallenged use of this Gospel which was made by the Gnostic sect of the Valentinians. That this sect did make use of this Gospel,

¹ Evangelien, p. 346; and Einl. in das N. T., p. 734.

² Geschichte Jesu, I. p. 138.

³ See article in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1867.

⁴ It is only as influenced by the desire to disprove the genuineness of the Gospel, that Baur, Schwegler, Zeller, and Hilgenfeld could deny the identity of its authorship with that of the First Epistle.

⁵ Adv. Marc., IV. 3.

⁶ Keim admits the acquaintance of Papias with the Fourth Gospel, but thinks that Papias did not regard it as of apostolic authority. So Hilgenfeld, *Der Canon*, p. 25. As to the significance of the "silence of Eusebius," we shall consider the true view in the chapter on the Canon.

Irenaeus assures us in the following words: "Hi autem qui a Valentino sunt eo quod est secundum Joannem plenissime utentes."¹ A pupil of Valentinus, Ptolemaeus, in his Epistle to Flora,² ascribes John i. 3 to "the apostle." Tertullian represents Valentinus as himself making use of John for the establishing of his false doctrine.³ But the date of Ptolemaeus' work is at the earliest not the other side of 150 A.D. (so Bleek), and the testimony of Irenaeus may be held to be valid only for the sects in his own day. We are then thrown upon the statement of Tertullian in proof that Valentinus himself was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel, — a statement which has been as much over-maligned by some as it has been over-estimated by others. Confirmatory evidence to this statement seems to be afforded by the writing of Hippolytus, first edited by E. Miller under the title "Origenis Philosophumena," Oxford, 1851. In this writing (VI. c. 33, 34) the Devil is called *ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου* (compare John xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11), and John x. 8 is given as the word of Christ (VI. c. 35). The *Philosophumena* contain abundant references to the ideas and words of the Gospel, and these ideas and words are attributed to the earliest of the Gnostic sects. But the loose manner of citation (*φησὶ*), and the compounding of the various sects into one Gnostic system without distinctions of time and development of doctrine, do not permit us to affirm with certainty that Hippolytus cites from Valentinus. When, however, this same writing (VII. 22) cites a lengthy passage, with apparently verbal accuracy, from Basilides,⁴ another founder of a Gnostic sect; and when this citation contains a passage from the prologue of the Gospel (i. 9), and an utterance of Jesus at the marriage at Cana, the argument becomes all that could be required. The attempt to make out that Hippolytus is here only citing a later Graecized form of the Gnostic system is only a subterfuge. Basilides about the year 125 A.D. used the Gospel of John.⁵

Without asserting the worthlessness of undoubted references⁶ to the Gospel in the Ignatian Epistles, on account of doubts as to

¹ Adv. Haer., III. 11, 7.

² Epiphanius, XXXIII. 3.

³ De praesc. Haer., c. 38.

⁴ See De Groot, Basilides, ed. Leipzig, 1868.

⁵ See Abbot, Authorship of the Fourth Gospel, p. 85 f., for a brief statement of the present state of critical opinion. See Jacobi, Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 1876-1877, pp. 481-544; and Hilgenfeld, Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie, 1878, pp. 228-250, — for two recent discussions on opposite sides.

⁶ Such is the reference to John iv. and vi., which is made in both the shorter Greek and the Syriac recensions of Ep. ad Rom., c. 7.

their date, genuineness, and integrity of text, we are willing to dispense with the help of their evidence.

But we have in the New Testament itself two confirmatory witnesses for the genuineness of the Gospel of John. That the entire chap. xxi. is by a later hand than that of the body of the writing (probably, with the exception of verse 24 f., by the author of the book), seems evident from the close of the preceding chapter, and especially from the declaration of xxi. 24. Without doubt the person who affirms of himself and others, "*We know (οἶδαμεν) that his witness is true (ἀληθὴς αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία ἐστίν),*" is an unknown witness to the most ancient acceptance of the Gospel. But this chapter is itself found in the earliest MSS. and translations. That 2 Pet. i. 14 recognizes the tradition which underlies John xxi. 18, we are confident; although the uncertainty of the date of the Epistle renders uncertain the value of its supposed testimony to the Gospel.

In opposition to this evidence, which carries the traces of the Fourth Gospel, with as strong probability as fitly belongs to the case, back into the first quarter of the second century, there is nothing to allege. Opponents of its genuineness on critical grounds are not to be found in the history of early Christianity, whether in the Church Catholic or among the sects. The import of the statement of Irenaeus,¹ which is preserved only in the Latin translation, when he speaks of certain ones who "*illam speciem non admittunt quae est secundum Joannis evangelium,*" is not quite clear. Probably these heretics are the so-called Alogi who denied that this Gospel was by John, — the same persons of whom Epiphanius speaks.² Those who held these views attempted to justify them in part by pointing out historical contradictions between John and the Synoptists. But the real source of their opposition to the Gospel was their opposition to every thing deemed fanatical; and so to the Logos doctrine, and especially to the claim of the Montanists that their leader was the Paraclete promised in John.³ The worthlessness of their critical judgment is seen in the fact that they ascribed the Gospel to Cerinthus.

From the days of the Alogi to the weak attacks of the last of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth centuries, the Fourth Gospel was universally accepted without question. In 1820 Bretschneider presented in their modern form and

¹ Adv. Haer., III. 11, 9.

² Haer., LI.

³ See Bleek, Beiträge zur Ev.-Krit., pp. 207-211.

critical connections the arguments against it.¹ An era of criticism respecting this writing was introduced by Strauss and the Tübingen school.

In connection with these modern attacks, and beginning with the monograph of Lützelberger,² the attempt has been made to impeach the tradition, which, since the middle of the second century, has assigned the last years of the apostle's activity to Asia Minor and Ephesus. For this attempt, almost the only impressive argument is from the silence of some of the apostolic Fathers, and especially of the Ignatian Epistles.³ But the silence of writings of such a doubtful character as these epistles cannot contravene the positive testimony of Polycrates and Irenaeus; the former of whom says definitely, in his Epistle to Victor, that John died at Ephesus,⁴ and the latter frequently refers to John as having lived there.⁵ The view of Lützelberger, after being elaborated by Keim, Wittichen, Holtzmann, and Scholtzen, has been sufficiently refuted by Hilgenfeld, Weizsäcker, Steitz, Krenkel, and others. The relation of this question to that established opinion of the Tübingen school which affirms the authorship of the Apocalypse by the Apostle John, and at the same time denies that the Apocalypse and the Gospel could have been by the same author, is decisive. If the apostle wrote the Apocalypse, he was in proconsular Asia; if he did not write it, the verity of the tradition which places him there is needed to explain the false tradition of authorship.

In conclusion, we must affirm of the external evidence for the Gospel of John, that it is so early and consentient as to require for its refuting the clearest counter-evidence. That *such* a pseudonymous writing could arise between the very last years of the first century, when the apostle was still living and teaching at Ephesus, and the later years of the first quarter of the second century, and then from the latter date be unquestioningly accepted alike by the Church Catholic and by the most influential of the sects, — this makes a great demand upon our credulity, even though we are not warranted in pronouncing it absolutely impossible.

The clearest counter-evidence is, however, thought to be

¹ *Probabilia de Evangel. et Ep. Joannis Apost. indole et origine.* In 1828, Preface to his *Dogmatik*, he explained his doubts as inquiries intended to draw out discussion, and expressed his satisfaction with the answers.

² *Die kirchl. Tradition über den Ap., etc.*, Leipzig, 1840.

³ Compare *Ep. ad Eph.*, c. 12; and *Ep. ad Tral.*, c. 5.

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, V. 24; compare III. 31. ⁵ See *Adv. Haer.*, III. 3.

found in the Fourth Gospel itself, and in its relations to the Synoptists and to the Gnostic speculations of early Christianity. Let us, then, see whether this be so. But in this kind of seeing much depends upon the state of the mind's eye. We cannot claim to be without the desire to make out a case for the genuineness of the Gospel; but this is surely no more like blind prejudice than the desire to make out a case against it.

And first of all we propose a few thoughts concerning the consciousness of the author. This consciousness is so manifestly that of the purest and loftiest Christian experience as to require neither exhibition nor argument for the critical purposes of this discussion. But it is equally manifest, that no other writing of the New Testament—not even the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, or that to the Hebrews—makes such a clear and serene claim to an inspired and true view of the inmost contents and eternal essence of Christianity as does the Gospel of John.¹ Apostle or not, this author claims to know by revelation what is the inmost personality of Jesus Christ, and what are the true divine connections of this personality. The claim, unlike any similar implied claim in such a philosopher as Philo, is an intimate and integral part of the author's Christian consciousness. Apostle or not, he claims to write as one who could verify the promise of the Spirit made by Jesus to those who were his chosen eye-and-ear witnesses (xiv. 26), as one who writes out of that consciousness which is the gift of this promised Spirit (xv. 26 f.). Moreover, by a somewhat complicated series of indications it is made clear that the author intends to be understood as writing in the name of the Apostle John. There is no doubt that the disciple repeatedly referred to (xiii. 23, xix. 26, xx. 2, xxi. 7, 20) as the one "whom Jesus loved" (ὃν ἠγάπα [ἐφίλει] ὁ Ἰησοῦς) is meant to be designated, xxi. 24, as the author of the Gospel.² The connections which the author makes between himself and the eye-and-ear witness of the Apostle John are often very subtle. In proof of the foregoing statement, examples may be found in his alleged acquaintance with the high-priest Annas (xviii. 15); the notice of his first meeting with Jesus (i. 35-42); the commission by Jesus of his mother to the disciple (xix. 26); and the fact that the author does not once find it necessary to distinguish the John

¹ Compare Köstlin, *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1851, p. 199.

² The attempt of Lützelberger to find in these words a reference to Andrew is indefensible.

(ὁ βαπτιστής) whom he does name from the unnamed apostle. The fact that he has been an eye-and-ear witness,¹ the author intends to assert, i. 14 (καὶ ἰδεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ) and xix. 35 (καὶ ὁ ἑωρακὺς μεμαρτύρηκεν).² If the claims to inspired insight, to which attention has just been called, are mere pretension, they are certainly boundless pretension; if the claims to be an eye-and-ear witness, to be indeed no other than the Apostle John, are historically false, they are also remarkably crafty and sly. But such pretension and craft we find it extremely difficult to reconcile with the manifest purity and loftiness of the author's Christian consciousness. Upon a judgment of this sort of probabilities, we decline to yield the superiority to technical criticism.

It is plain, however, that the author writes from the depths of a reflective consciousness. His insight appears to be no mere result of sudden seizure by the spirit of revelation: it is rather a growth of much meditation and affectionate care. This very fact causes the question to be raised, How far does the writer intend to give history or narrative of fact, and how far merely ideas in an historical setting? Beyschlag is quite right in objecting to the answer which Keim suggested when he affirmed that the Fourth Gospel is "in distinction from the others not a purely historical, but an eminently practical, one." For, as Beyschlag³ joins Hase⁴ in asserting, the other Evangelists also have not simply an historical, but pre-eminently a religious, purpose. That the author of John has new conceptions of Christ to introduce, we will not call in question; but then so had also the Apostle Paul. The latter is not for that reason, however, to be accused of fabricating those instances of the appearance of Jesus after his resurrection which he is the only one to introduce. That *the idea* has shaped and fused and glorified the historical facts, we do not refuse to believe. That it has in certain cases so fused itself with the facts as to make it difficult to distinguish between the bare objective facts and the author's spiritual comprehension of and commentary upon them, we are not loath to believe. But in those very portions

¹ On the self-witness of the Gospel, see Weitzel, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1849, pp. 578-538; and Köstlin, *Ibid.*, 204 f.

² The *ἰσχυρὸς* of xix. 35 has been made to refer to some third person cited by the author as his authority. That *ἰσχυρὸς* can be used of one speaking of himself, see Buttmann, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1860, p. 505 f. That the *ἰδεασάμεθα* is not subjective seeing like that in the passage from Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, v. 1, 1, quoted by Köstlin, the whole tenor of the book makes clear.

³ Zur johanneischen Frage, p. 6 f.

⁴ Die Tübinger Schule, p. 35.

of his work where the idea has its pre-eminent influence, it is always as an influence upon facts which the author claims himself to have seen and heard. And how far he is from mere speculation, the most speculative portion of his work may make us aware. How rapidly does he pass over the inviting field of doctrine pertaining to the pre-historic Logos, in order that he may no later than the sixth verse of the first chapter speak of the historical John the Baptist as the forerunner of the historical Jesus Christ!¹ It is he, the Logos made flesh, to whom the faith of those who are to become children of God must attach itself (i. 12-14). In the most mystical of his passages the fundamental historical facts of the gospel, viz., that Jesus lived and died *in the flesh*, are never lost out of sight. This may be history as understood and depicted in the light of an idea, but it is not speculation objectifying itself in a fabricated statement of facts. Here, again, to suppose that the inmost religious consciousness of the author of the Fourth Gospel would permit him to deal lightly with *such* facts, is only permissible when the strongest evidence has been produced that this was the case. So closely, indeed, does he attach his idea to the details of history, that he has been held liable to the suspicion of "rabbinizing" in his interpretation of Old-Testament prophecy (xix. 24, 36, 37).

Can, then, this strong antecedent probability derived from the external testimony, re-enforced as it is by the first impressions gained from the whole temper and style of the Gospel, be overcome by other internal evidences? In further answer to this question we must call attention to the relations in which the Fourth stands to the other Gospels. We must not forget that these relations are primarily literary relations, about some of the elements of which there need be little or no doubt.² The Fourth Gospel followed the others: it presupposed an acquaintance with them, or with the writings and traditions out of which they were composed, on the part of its author and his readers. We cannot, however, suppose that these relations are purely those of literary dependence: they are not such to the same extent as is claimed by Holtzmann and others.³ The motives

¹ Contrast with the truth the offensive declaration of the author of Supernatural Religion, who accuses John of substituting for the "sublime morality" of the Synoptists "a scheme of dogmatic theology" (II. p. 464).

² See Beyschlag, *Ibid.*, p. 54 f.

³ For the view of Holtzmann, see *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theologie*, 1869, pp. 62 ff.

and methods of the author of John's Gospel do, nevertheless, furnish us with a general reason for his omitting most of the facts and sayings which the Synoptists include. Special reasons need to be given for points of contact rather than of divergence, when this Gospel is compared with the others; this truth holds good, however, only up to the place at which the divergence becomes so great as to make it extremely difficult to believe that both pictures of Jesus are substantially correct. The entire method of Baur and his followers, when they introduce the author's idea — or rather their speculations as to his idea — to account for omissions and alleged discrepancies, is at once to be rejected. To suppose that the author of the Fourth Gospel would undertake to obscure facts which had formed the very warp and woof of evangelistic preaching and church instruction for one or two generations previous, by merely passing them over in silence, is to suppose him capable of the grossest folly. But whenever he deals with incidents narrated also by the Synoptists, and already long familiar to his readers, a probable reason must be assigned for his dealing with them at all. This reason is the design either to correct (as iii. 24, and possibly the changed time for the cleansing of the temple) or to supplement (as in the case of several minute historical notices soon to be discussed) the preceding accounts.

We do not, then, feel as a crushing weight the force of the question virtually discussed by Keim:¹ Can a Gospel which has only a selection of what is most difficult and exalted, and yet undertakes to depict a course of particulars, give a true picture? For a selection of particulars with a view to exhibit an ideal truth through them does not necessarily destroy the historical character of a production, nor even merit the unqualified charge of being one-sided; nor do we find in John's divergence from the Synoptic picture of Jesus a decisive proof of the unhistorical character of his Gospel. In general we may allege: It is to be expected that a Gospel in which an eye-and-ear witness aims, on the basis of selected incidents of history and selected discourses of Jesus, to set forth an idea of his personality which is the result of long reflection, will differ from Gospels in which those who were not such witnesses have gathered into literary products materials which were derived from the sources of oral tradition and fragmentary documents.

¹ See *Geschichte Jesu*, I. pp. 121-136. The Gospel is indeed, as Keim calls it, an *Auswahl-Evangelium*, p. 122.

But are we to be told that we must therefore take our choice between the two pictures of Jesus looked at in the gross? This we decline to do. We maintain, rather, that when due allowance is made for the nature of tradition and the limitations of compilation, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, for the effect of reflective Christian consciousness upon facts really seen and heard, the two pictures may be blended in one.

Let us briefly test this claim in several particulars; and, first, as to the difference of theological position and form. The theological position and form of the Fourth Gospel are, according to many critics, Hellenic, and belong to the second century. Especial emphasis is laid upon the external and sometimes contemptuous fashion with which its author speaks of the Jews. Their customs are alluded to as foreign (*τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, or *ὁ καθαρισμὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, etc.: see ii. 6, 13, iii. 1, v. 1, vi. 4, vii. 2, xi. 55): they themselves are in one place, it is said, represented as spoken of by Jesus as sons of the Demiurge,—a genuine Gnostic term of reproach. But this last charge¹ is built upon a pretentious and false interpretation of John viii. 44. And as to the objection, considering the time and circumstances in which the Gospel was written by the Apostle John, we have no difficulty in supposing that his attitude toward his own countrymen had become changed, as necessitated by recognition of the fact that they had persistently and spitefully rejected Jesus and persecuted his followers. We are also warranted in the opinion, that some of the precise forms of language which the author employs upon this subject mingle his commentary upon the character of the Jews with his report of what Jesus said to them.² On the other hand, plain traces of his being a Palestinian Jew are found in his expressions, "Behold a genuine Israelite" (i. 48); "salvation is of the Jews" (iv. 22), etc.; in his interest in the fate of his nation (xi. 51 f.), and in his minute historical and archaeological knowledge of the scenes and incidents in the life of Jesus. And, although we cannot claim with Bleek that his citations from the Old Testament are any of them certainly taken from the Hebrew, we can point out abundant Hebraisms in his language.³

¹ So Hilgenfeld, *Evangelien*, p. 288 f.

² For example, xv. 25 (compare x. 34), where the law of Moses is spoken of as *your law*, an expression which Mangold thinks could never have been used by Jesus. Paul also speaks in similar way of the Jews and their religion: see article of Professor Fisher, *Princeton Rev.*, July, 1881, p. 62.

³ Upon this point there is a tolerable agreement amongst critics of different

But especially do the hostile critics insist that the Christology of the Fourth Gospel is too remote from the views of the other Gospels, and of their time, to be placed earlier than the second century. Moreover, it originated from Philo and the Gnostic speculations, rather than from the reflective and inspired consciousness of an apostle, reasoning upon the basis of Old-Testament doctrine, and of facts which he had seen and truths which he had heard from Christ himself. But consider: (1) The specific Logos doctrine, so far as it is definitely taught and embodied in the word Logos, is confined to the prologue of the Gospel. It is set forth as the doctrine of the author himself, and is not put into the mouth of Jesus, or of any other character of the history. This forbearance indicates historic truthfulness. (2) So far as concerns the teaching ascribed to Christ touching his own personality, the Gospel of John is not radically unlike the Synoptists. (3) Germs of a similar doctrine existed in the Old Testament, and were developed in the apocryphal writings, especially of Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon. Moreover, certain passages in the Synoptists show that the teaching of Christ himself, as understood by the narrators of his life and doctrine in the first century, led up toward the doctrine of John. In the writings of Paul we find, without the term Logos, an advanced form of the doctrine of the pre-existence and divine nature of Christ. 1 Pet. i. 11 designates the Spirit of prophecy in the Old Testament as *τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ*. The Apocalypse (according to these critics, a confessedly apostolic writing) teaches that Christ is *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως* (iii. 14), and gives to him glorified the titles belonging to the divine name (see i. 17, ii. 8, xix. 16, xxii. 13): it even calls him *ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ*, although the words are not used in their full Johannean sense (xix. 13). (4) The intermediate position of the Fourth Gospel, as an apostolic writing, is needed to account for the later forms of the Logos doctrine. It is quite impossible to understand the language of Justin Martyr fairly, without admitting that he appeals to this apostolic authority for his doctrine of the Logos.¹ If, then, we admit with Lücke,² that the transition from the Old Testament and its apocryphal writings to the Fourth Gos-

schools. See in Sanday (Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel, London, 1872, pp. 28 f. and 289 f.), who quotes largely from Wittichen, *Ev. Joh.*, pp. 5-7.

¹ See Dial., cc. 48 and 105; and compare the argument of Drummond in the article referred to, and of Dr. Ezra Abbot, *Ibid.*, 42 f.

² Commentary, I. p. 265.

pel could only have been made through Philo, we have none the less ground for claiming that the transition from Philo to Justin Martyr, and the other Church Fathers, could have been made only through an apostolic writing like John. (5) The Gospel of John is not docetic, as are the Gnostic writings of the second century: the effort to make out a case against the Gospel upon this ground utterly fails. As to the possibility in the first century of a Jewish-Christian view of Jesus which should include the two elements of his manhood and his pre-existent divine nature, we have other New-Testament writings in proof. It has been asserted that the author of the Fourth Gospel intends by his silence, and by his form of treatment, to discredit the birth, baptism, conflict with temptation, and real suffering of Jesus.¹ His birth, however,—not to press too much the meaning of *σάρξ* in i. 14,—is alluded to (xviii. 37); his brothers (ii. 12, vii. 5), his mother (ii. 1, xix. 25), his father (i. 46), all appear as ordinary personages. He is even called “son of Joseph,” an expression as far as possible from Gnostic docetism. His bodily sufferings and weakness are alluded to (iv. 6, 7, 8, 31, xix. 28); vehement disturbances of soul are attributed to him (xi. 15 contrasted with xiii. 21, xi. 33–38, xii. 27 f.), and even strong anger (xi. 33, 38). Nor is his gradual development by any means denied. He is represented as learning of things in the ordinary human fashion (xi. 3–6, 34).

We find, then, nothing in the Christology or general doctrinal position of the Fourth Gospel which prevents our considering it as the result of apostolic and inspired reflection upon the same facts as those to which all the Gospels refer.

But the miracles recorded in this writing are a particular offence to many critics; and certainly their value to apologetics is by no means too small to account for this offence. Besides the general objections against all miracles, in which these have their full share, we are warned that the miracles of the Fourth Gospel are unlike those of the Synoptists, and are regarded by their narrator from an unreal and speculative point of view. Now, if we had to admit exaggerations and misunderstandings of the miraculous deeds of Jesus in this Gospel, this would not of itself prove the author not to have been an eye-and-ear witness. But we are compelled to no such admission; for it is not true of the seven miracles recorded by John, that all or any of them are so essentially different from those of the Synoptists

¹ Compare Keim, *Geschichte Jesu*, I. p. 110 f.

as to suggest the theory of another and higher kind of influence than that elsewhere attributed to Jesus. Indeed, one of the most stupendous of all the miracles—the miraculous multiplication of the loaves—is attested by all the Evangelists. And, as Beyschlag¹ insists, the very fact of *selection* involves the choice of what is more astounding and extraordinary, or at least more impressive for the author's purpose. The theory of Baur, that the author is engaged in setting up miracles that he may show the valueless character of a faith which is attached to them, is absolutely without proof.² The purpose for which the miracles are brought forward, the writer of the Gospel sufficiently defines (σημεῖα, xx. 30, 31): it is in order that faith may be produced in Jesus Christ as the Son of God. This purpose is such as makes an accusation of fabricating the history of the miracles no less grave than an accusation of impious fraud.

Again, the discourses of Jesus, as recorded in the Fourth Gospel, show a marked peculiarity. This peculiarity is one which differences them somewhat widely from those of the Synoptists, although the amount and bearing of the difference may readily be exaggerated. It cannot be denied, however, that a considerable difference really exists, and has also in all the past been observed and acknowledged.³ But consider the contrast which must always exist between the facts of Christ's discourses, and the record which we have of them. For several years together, some parts of which were crowded with the intensest activity, he spoke to the people. This speech was various in occasion, in manner, in the characteristics of the subjects taught, and with respect to the characters and needs of its hearers. And we have preserved in the Synoptists not so much of the whole as would require, for hearing it, as many hours as the years during which Jesus taught. Moreover, even that small amount of the discourses of Jesus which is preserved in the Synoptists owes its peculiarities in part to the manner of its preservation, for the Synoptists give us only specimens, or examples as it were, which the early preachers of the gospel,

¹ Zur johanneischen Frage, p. 172.

² See Professor Fisher, Princeton Review, July, 1881, p. 78; and Supernatural Origin of Christianity, p. 138 f.

³ Justin Martyr cannot be judged to have been unacquainted with John, because he says of Christ's sayings, *βραχεῖς δὲ καὶ σύντομοι παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι γέγονασιν*, Apol. i. 14; for *λόγοι* probably means in this place "discourses," and Justin's intention is to contrast those of Jesus with the long harangues of the sophists.

by unconscious process of selection, had preserved and transmitted to the Church and to the world. But we surely cannot say that this meagre record comprises examples typical of all the manifold discourses of Jesus, since we have in fact another and fourth Gospel, containing selected discourses of Jesus upon somewhat different subjects and occasions, some of which were addressed to different classes of hearers, and all of which have come to us in a quite different way; viz., as fused and shaped in the reflective consciousness of an apostolic eye-and-ear witness.

We admit without hesitation that traces of the author's subjectivity abound in all the discourses reported by John: they are what John remembered of the teachings of his Master upon his favorite themes, and are not always unblended with the commentary upon them furnished by years of reflective and inspired thought. Of such traces we cannot use the word which Mr. Sanday¹ employs, "unauthentic," without making the explanations to which this critic would himself doubtless assent. Plain traces of the author's subjectivity are found in passages like vii. 21 and x. 26, where the discourse of Jesus is made to refer to actions and words that have just been recorded in the Gospel; and iii. 16 or xvii. 3, where the Evangelist lets Jesus speak in the third person, although professing to give the exact words. To this same subjectivity it is in part due, that the discourses of Christ in this Gospel bear so much resemblance in wording and style to the First Epistle of John; and that John the Baptist is made to speak in a manner unlike that reported of him in the Synoptists.

But that Christ did actually teach both his disciples and the people concerning those themes which are most dwelt upon in John, we may gather from the Synoptists themselves. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit as the Paraclete is touched upon in Matt. xi. 31 f. and Luke xii. 10; the office of the risen Lord in sending the Spirit, in Matt. xviii. 20, xxviii. 20; and the promise of his sending, in Matt. x. 20 and Luke xxiv. 49. That Jesus sometimes used with the trusted few a form of address very unlike his ordinary form, is suggested by Matt. xiii. 34; Mark iv. 11, 33 f.; Luke viii. 10. Nor are utterances which appeared enigmatical, and were misunderstood, wanting in the Synoptic Gospels.²

¹ Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel, p. 300.

² On the whole subject of these resemblances between the Synoptists and the

We must further remember that the validity of a certain conception of the self-consciousness of Jesus is entangled in the substantial verity of the discourses in John's Gospel and of the few similar passages of the Synoptists. To the truth of the contents of this self-consciousness of Jesus, the Christian consciousness in all ages of the Christian Church both appeals and responds.

We notice, in conclusion, the more specifically historic relations of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptists and also to a true history of the life of Jesus. And here upon all important matters, where a seeming discrepancy exists, we are ready to affirm the validity of John as the authentic account of an eye-and-ear witness. It is not too much to say, that, in spite of the apparent divergence of the two histories, we could have no consistent conception or symmetrical picture of this life without the historical notices of the Fourth Gospel. The account of John is historical, indeed, only in the sense that it is based upon historical verity, and contains many traces of accurate acquaintance with historical facts; it uses this knowledge of the verity and facts, however, to frame a discourse upon the personality of Jesus. Among the examples which may be adduced to sustain the statement just made are the following: (1) The number of the festival journeys and of the years of Christ's ministry. The very ground on which Weisse declared against the genuineness of John is an argument in its favor. The antecedent probability of several journeys to Jerusalem previous to the last passover cannot well be denied. There are, moreover, indications of such journeys to be detected in the Synoptists themselves (see Luke xiii. 34 f. and Matt. xxiii. 37 f.).¹ The discipleship of Joseph of Arimathea, whose permanent residence in Jerusalem seems to be implied in his possession of a tomb there (Matt. xxvii. 57 f.), and the relations of friendship between Jesus and the family at Bethany (Luke x. 38 f.), look in the same direction. On the one hand, then, we can see how the more private activity of Jesus at Jerusalem fell out of the popular account, out of the more strictly Galilean group of incidents in his ministry; and how, on the other hand, the Fourth Gospel admits of an extended and predominant activity in Gali-

Fourth Gospel, see Luthardt, *Der Johann. Ursprung*, p. 185 f.; Beyschlag, *Ibid.*, pp. 187-233; Fisher, article in *Princeton Review* already referred to, p. 72 f.

¹ The efforts which have been made to escape the conclusions from Christ's lament over Jerusalem (ποράεις ἱερουσαλα, etc.) are all worthy of the term Bleek uses concerning one of them, — *ein Mittel der Desperation*.

lee during the year and a quarter which elapsed between the festival of v. 1 and that of vii. 2. (2) As to the day on which the Last Supper occurred, two questions may be proposed: first, is there a real discrepancy between the account of John and that of the Synoptists? second, if such a discrepancy exist, which of the two accounts is correct? In answer to the first question, we are not as yet ready for an unqualified affirmative.¹ It must, indeed, be admitted that the apparent discrepancy has never been removed. But in case the apparent be a real discrepancy, we still feel the force of those considerations which would make us give the preference to the narrative of John.² (8) Beyschlag³ rightly claims that only the Fourth Gospel enables us to form a satisfactory and realistic picture of the causes which led to the arrest and death of Jesus. Only in it do we see the storm of opposition gathering against him through the long polemic and intense hatred excited during his residence at Jerusalem. (4) Bleek⁴ significantly urges in favor of John the fact, that the declaration of the Synoptists as to the failure of the disciples of Jesus to understand his predictions of his own death and resurrection corresponds better with the enigmatical manner in which the predictions are given in John than with the definiteness of the form in which they are recorded by the Synoptists themselves.

Furthermore, numerous delicate and subtile indications of historical truthfulness and of the apostolic eye-and-ear witness may be pointed out in the Fourth Gospel. We do not think it necessary at this date to answer in detail the instances of gross historical ignorance formerly alleged against its genuineness; such as that the author introduces, i. 28, a Bethany in Peraea which had no existence (when, xi. 18, he shows himself acquainted with the Bethany near at hand), or that the etymological remark of ix. 7 betrays a distant Gentile writer. That the acquaintance of the writer with Palestine, its customs and

¹ Professor Fisher declares (Princeton Rev., p. 68): "The renewed examination of the Gospels has led me more and more to doubt whether the Fourth Evangelist really differs from the Synoptists as they are ordinarily understood."

² In favor of the correctness of John, see Bleek, *Beiträge*, pp. 140 ff.; and Einl. in das N. T., pp. 209 ff.; and Usteri, *Comm. crit. in qua Ev. Joan., etc.: contra*, see especially Keim, *Ibid.*, III. p. 469 ff. No discussion of the relation of the passover controversy in the second century to the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel is introduced here, because we are confident that the choice of the day for celebrating Easter has no reference whatever to the seeming discrepancy between John and the Synoptists, or to the genuineness of this Gospel: this has been proved by Schürer and others.

³ *Zur johanneischen Frage*, pp. 87-94.

⁴ Einl. in das N. T., p. 230.

geography in the time of Christ, is sufficiently accurate for the old age of one who had spent his youth amidst its scenes, is not only maintained by Ewald, Weizsäcker, Wittichen, and other defenders of the genuineness of the Gospel, but is also admitted by Keim.¹ In the background of the loftiest and most ideal passages, the soberer colors of history are always to be seen. Realistic touches, such as could scarcely come from any other hand than that of one whose eye had itself seen and heart most keenly felt the thing described, abound in this Gospel. We are graphically told, it was the next day after, about the tenth hour, that John the Baptist was standing with two of his disciples (i. 35); the name of the servant who lost his ear under the stroke of Peter's sword still lingers in the memory, and as well the sharp ring of the Master's command, "Put up thy sword" (xviii. 10, 11).² Even where the impression which the disciple received from the words of his Lord may perhaps have been originally confused or incomplete, the memory of the words seems clear (see xiv. 31; which is not to be understood as a mere transcript of Matt. xxvi. 46 or Mark xiv. 42).³

We may therefore sum up the case, as it stands for and against the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel, in the following terms. The external evidence is as ancient and uniform as could reasonably be expected: it is, however, less complete than we could wish. But there is no reason to suppose that any lack of desired completeness is due to the tardy or hesitating reception of the Gospel by the early Church. In the last half of the second century, it was universally received as the work of the Apostle John; it was regarded as one of the authentic and, in some sort, authoritative memoirs of Jesus by Justin Martyr in the second quarter of this century; traces of its existence and use are found in the last years of the first quarter of the same century. There is no reasonable doubt, then, as to the bearing of the external evidence.

The conclusions from the external evidence are confirmed by the claim of the Gospel itself. Out of his Christian consciousness, as enriched by reflection and illumined by revelation, the author professes to give to his readers, upon the basis of facts to

¹ For a list of correct archaeological notices in the Gospel, see Beyschlag, *Ibid.*, p. 128, note.

² Note how realistic are the words *Βάλε τὴν μάχαιραν εἰς τὴν θήκην*, as contrasted with the form in Matthew.

³ As to such indications of truthfulness, see the *Untersuchungen* of Weizsäcker, and the work of Sanday already referred to, pp. 246 ff.

which he was himself an eye-and-ear witness, the true spiritual meaning of the person, the discourse, the life and death, of Jesus Christ. It is as the disciple whom Jesus loved, and who knew the inner meaning of what he had himself heard and seen, that the author writes. We need the strongest proof to charge such an one, against the historical evidence of his own and of the next following ages, with an unjustifiable fraud, a subtle and crafty and pretentious forgery.

We find such strong adverse proof neither in the Gospel itself, nor when we consider it in its relations to the other New-Testament writings. We do find here, indeed, a somewhat different conception, and a widely different picture, of the personality of Jesus. We find undoubted evidences that the Johannean conception is the result of mature reflection, and that its picture of Jesus is composed of selected incidents and discourses as seen in the light of this reflection. We find no reason to deny that the conception and picture are true to the many-sided character and work of Jesus Christ. We find also not a few indications that the Fourth Gospel is the writing at first hand of one who was himself an eye-and-ear witness; and that, as such, it fitly contrasts with the works of those who at the second and third remove from the person of Jesus gathered and edited such fragments of his history and sayings as had been previously selected and preserved by the evangelistic activities of the Christian Church.

Having thus grounded in historical and critical researches the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel, we have no hesitation in affirming what position it must take in Sacred Scripture. It is the "heart of Jesus Christ" with which we here come in contact. Inspiration and reflection, uniting upon the choicest and most undoubted material of history, and fusing all this material with the holy characteristics of revelation, are nowhere else so apparent as in the Gospel of the Apostle John.

Of those books in the Old Testament, the nature of whose authorship is related to their position in Sacred Scripture somewhat in the same manner as is that of the Fourth Gospel, the Book of Daniel is, with the exception of Deuteronomy, perhaps the most important example. This writing, like the Gospel, makes no direct claim to have been composed by its alleged author; for the words of xii. 4 may be understood to include only chaps. x.-xii. 4, while those of vii. 1 appear to refer only to chaps. vii. and viii. There is little doubt, however, that the

almost uniform Jewish tradition, which made Daniel the author of the book, could rightfully appeal to the fact that the writer intended to be understood as speaking in the name of Daniel throughout. Nor is there good reason to dispute the unity of the book; as has been done not only by some who deny the genuineness of it all, but also by others (Sack and Herbert) who ascribe the last part to Daniel, and the introduction (chaps. i.-vi.) to some later hand. Its unity of authorship is made clear by the close connection of single words and phrases, as well as of different parts of the one plan, — a connection so close, indeed, that the first two chapters seem to anticipate all which follows.

The case of this book is made more difficult by the fact that the apostles seem to appeal to it as though it were written by Daniel (see 1 Pet. i. 10 f.; 2 Thess. ii. 3; 1 Cor. vi. 2; compare Heb. xi. 33); and to their testimony appears to be added both the immediate (Matt. xxiv. 15) and mediate (x. 23, xvi. 27, xxvi. 64) witness of our Lord himself.

And yet it is, critically considered, very difficult, if not quite impossible, to believe that this writing in its present form originated earlier than the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Some of the historical objections to the genuineness of Daniel have already been elsewhere indicated; it would be easy greatly to multiply them. Moreover the external evidence is not only weak, but is even on the whole adverse. The mention of the person Daniel, with apparent reference to Dan. iii. 26, in 1 Macc. ii. 59 f., only proves that the prophecy was recognized by some as canonical at the time when the apocryphal writing was composed. The date of First Maccabees is about 100 B.C.; that is, some sixty or seventy years after Antiochus Epiphanes. The position of the book in the Hebrew Canon shows its late date, and difficulty in finding entrance. The story of Josephus (Ant., X. 10 and 11, and XI. 8, 5) is itself quite too unhistorical to authenticate any thing. The absence of any influence from this book upon the other prophecies, which, if it be genuine, followed its composition, — upon Haggai, Malachi, and the first eight chapters of Zechariah, — is significant. Such epoch-making Messianic predictions could scarcely have failed to impress themselves upon subsequent writers. For the same reason the silence of Sirach (xlix.), where we should expect mention of Daniel among the prophets of Israel, is equally significant. Besides all this, the prophecy of Dan. xi. 21-45 and viii. 9 ff.,

23 f., and other passages, seems to be made with direct reference to Antiochus Epiphanes; while much of its history is best understood in the light of the history of First and Second Maccabees. Not a few proofs may be added to those above-mentioned, from the nature of the language used in Daniel.¹

As to the highly valuable contents of the book, its apocalyptic and consolatory passages, its mighty influence upon the doctrine of Messiah, there can be no question, however the question of its genuineness may be decided. As to its interpretation, we may affirm with Delitzsch:² whether it originated in the time of the Exile, or in that of Antiochus Epiphanes, we have always to apply to it the apocalyptic measure. Applying this measure, we must assign to it somewhat the same position in the Old Testament as that which belongs to *the* Apocalypse in the New. The considerations which have occupied us in the case of Deuteronomy, combined with such as belong to all alleged pseudonymous writing of those times, do not warrant us in refusing that acknowledgment which Daniel won from the Jews and the early Christian Church. And we have already seen that we cannot quote even the apostles as inspired authority upon critical questions of authorship, and that our Lord was quite content to employ the titles belonging to the books of the Old Testament without either raising or pronouncing upon the assumptions concealed in those titles.

We close this discussion of the relation which exists between critical conclusions as to the authorship and structure of the biblical books, and the general doctrine of the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture, with the following summary of results:—

1. This relation may be affirmed to be in general very intimate, and sometimes controlling. Each special case, however, has its own rank, and requires in some sort a separate treatment. Of many of the books of the Old Testament we may affirm, that in respect to our estimate of them, and our deference to their claims for a place in Sacred Scripture, it makes little or no difference by whom they were written. The authorship of a considerable number of the sacred writings will always remain unknown. We have simply to judge of them by their contents as considered in their relations to the entire record of revelation, and by the fact that they have been admitted to a place in canonical Scripture. This statement applies, however,

¹ See Schrader in De Wette's Einl. in das A. T., pp. 498-501.

² Article in Herzog, Real-Encyclopædie.

to only a few of the New-Testament writings. But, as we have already seen, it is, for the most part, the nature of their contents which constrains the later biblical writers to accord the predicates of Sacred Scripture to the earlier writers. Of the inspiration of such writings, in the narrower and more technical meaning of the word "inspiration," we can speak only so far as we are warranted by the contents. Hebrews is what it is, whether it be written by Paul or not. Inasmuch as criticism has made it clear that this writing is not from an apostolic hand, we are amply satisfied to accord to it such Christian inspiration as the nature of its contents permits. But Leviticus, if it were written by Moses, would be only what it is; and neither Chronicles nor Ezra-Nehemiah can be made the equal (the one in accuracy, the other in broad prophetic spirit) of the earlier historical books by assigning them to any particular one of the Jews after the Exile.

In certain cases the authorship of the sacred writings is not wholly unknown: it is known, or supposed to be known, with a given degree of confidence. In certain cases we cannot avoid feeling that the question of authorship is important in its bearing upon the question of inspiration: in some cases it may seem almost decisive. There can be no doubt, that, in the narrow and more technical sense of the word, we should pronounce the Pentateuch "inspired," as we cannot now, if we could show that it was written by Moses. On the contrary, it does not appear that the latter part of Isaiah could present any larger claims to be regarded as the work of an inspired mind, if it could be shown to have been composed by the first Isaiah; for the unknown prophet is obviously not simply the peer, but even the superior, of the one whom we know by the name Isaiah. The question of the authorship of the Pentateuch, however, is not one which has its most important bearings upon the doctrine of Sacred Scripture as a mere question of authorship. The more important critical inquiry is not, Who wrote the Pentateuch? It is the question of authorship as indirectly affecting all our views of the reality of Old-Testament history, and of the nature and origin of Old-Testament revelation, which most intimately affects also the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. And, finally, in a case like that of the Fourth Gospel, the question of authorship becomes of the utmost importance to our doctrine. We cannot, indeed, safely affirm, that, if the Apostle John did not write the Fourth Gospel, historical and doctrinal Christianity must

suffer a total change; nor can we safely forget, that, whoever wrote this Gospel, its conception of Christ, and of the truth of Christ, receives abundant confirmation from the continuous witness of the Christian consciousness. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted, that complete critical proof of the spuriousness of the Fourth Gospel would profoundly change our conception of Sacred Scripture, and would not leave untouched our conception of Christianity itself.

While, then, the relation of critical questions as to the authorship of the biblical books, and the general question as to the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture, is always very intimate, this relation admits of a large range of importance and interest. Some questions of authorship are comparatively unimportant; others are important, but not decisive; still others are of the greatest concern.

2. We may distinguish two classes of biblical writings, between which, although in a somewhat crude and indefinite way, the different books of Sacred Scripture may be divided. Of these two classes, one comprises such writings as are more composite in structure; the other, those which are more truly the literary product of a single mind. To the former class essentially belong even such writings as the Synoptic Gospels; which, although they are manifestly the *works* of single authors, nevertheless sustain complex relations of dependence to one another, and to the previous compositions of other authors. To the latter class essentially belong such writings as the Book of Isaiah; for, even upon the admission of its double authorship, we have to consider it not as one composite whole, but as two works which have suffered the fate of being edited and bound together.

The foregoing distinction is not without great importance for our subject. Of a whole so composite in structure as is the present Pentateuch, we cannot affirm the quality of inspiration in the same sense in which we employ the word when speaking of a work like the Fourth Gospel. We cannot affirm, that is to say, that such a writing is the work of a single inspired mind, —like that, for instance, of the Lawgiver Moses, the Poet David, or the Apostle Paul or John. It is, to be sure, abstractly possible that the last redactor of the Pentateuch might have been a specially inspired mind, and that, as being such a mind, he might so have managed all his material as to confer upon it the quality of his special inspiration; but, as a matter of fact, we have no reason to make any such claim for a redactor. The

last redactors of a writing are, as far as appears, precisely those persons whom we should not select as the ones in whose personality to lodge its claim to inspiration, and to a place in Sacred Scripture. For the very work of redaction is a subordinate work: it proceeds upon the assumption that the work previously done is that which is worthy of the highest predicates which can be affirmed of the whole. It is not the inspiration of Ezra, or of the scribes of his era, to which we can attribute the moral excellence of the Pentateuch. We have, then, to regard the Pentateuch as a *growth* rather than a work; but a *growth* may be as truly inspired as a work, although in a different manner and sense.

In cases like those of Ezra-Nehemiah, and especially of the Synoptic Gospels, the above considerations must be supplemented with others like the following. Our estimate of the origin and nature of some portions of Sacred Scripture depends upon the answer to two inquiries: What are the contents of this Scripture? and, Who was its author? For the origin and nature of a writing, as shown even by its contents, may be twofold. Some of its elements may be due to previous growths of tradition and written documents; other equally important elements may be due to the mind and heart of him who is not simply their compiler and last redactor, but is also, in the full sense of the word, their author. For the Christian inspiration of the authors of the Synoptic Gospels, and for their special fitness through intercourse with the apostles, we have special proof which lies outside of the contents of these Gospels.

In still other cases, the emphasis of our estimate is laid upon the personality of a known author. We can, indeed, affirm nothing of any writing, by reason of its authorship, which is contradicted by the contents of the writing itself. We cannot affirm that the writings of Moses are true history, simply on the ground that *Moses* could not make mistakes in history; nor can we make the personality of John and Paul bar out all examination into the validity of the facts, or the truth of the doctrines, which they record and teach. But knowing what we do of these personalities, and of the verity of the divine communion with them, we cannot fail to regard differently any writings which can prove their claim to bear their names.

3. We see, therefore, that the phenomena of the authorship and composition of the biblical books re-enforce the lesson which has already been often enforced. We have a large variety

of works united under the general term of Sacred Scripture; we have various opinions to form respecting the origin and nature of these works. The questions before us are those of fact and history. There are many differences of estimate and claims to admit: there are many distinctions demanded in the effort to understand each case. Judged by their contents, some portions of Sacred Scripture put forth no claim to be regarded as the work of inspired minds, beyond that general claim which belongs to every writer who has his individual share (whatever it may be) in the ideas of revelation, and in the interest of believers touching the things of the divine kingdom. Judged solely by the token of their authorship, many portions of Sacred Scripture have no claim whatever to make: we do not now know, and we shall never know, who or what manner of men their authors were.

But whether judged by their contents, or by the known personality of their authors, or by both tokens, certain other portions of Sacred Scripture put forth far different and higher claims. These portions are such in contents that the Spirit of revelation shines and breathes through both their thoughts and their words. They are contents of truth, which, as we know with a certainty proportionate to the evidence afforded in each case, have been given to the Church by men pre-eminently moved by this same Spirit. That the Spirit was given to these minds and hearts, we know from all our knowledge of their personality; and we infer without doubt that the same Spirit has been communicated through the personality to the written products. Moreover, that these products may fitly be called inspired, we also infer from inspection of the products themselves.

Sacred Scripture, then, is made up of a considerable number of different literary products, whose claims differ widely as to trustworthiness both with respect to fact and to doctrine, and as to the possession of the Spirit of revelation. In brief, we are considering the origin and nature of each separate scripture in the total of Sacred Scriptures, when we are considering the authorship and composition of the separate books. And, according to the results of our consideration, do we affirm or deny certain qualities with respect to each. At this point of our inquiry, however, we stand again upon the threshold of another truth.

4. It is the divine historic process of revelation, and the

work of the community of believers in recognizing, collecting, and preserving all its separate writings, which give to the total product called Sacred Scripture whatever unity of origin and nature it may possess. In other words, a Spirit of revelation moving in history, and the same Spirit moving as Providence in the formation of a Canon of Scriptures, is the truth necessary to our examination both as its postulate and as its result.

It has been said, that a collection of writings which is *one growth* may be spoken of as inspired, as truly as the individual composition which must be regarded as one person's work; but the attribute of inspiration must here be understood in a somewhat different way. It is true, however, of all inspiration, that while on the one hand it belongs to the individual soul, it is also on the other hand to be regarded as arising out of, and coming to, and operating for, the community of believing souls. A growth like the Pentateuch is to be regarded as inspired in the degree in which it can be shown — by whomsoever or by how many soever written — to have partaken of the Spirit of revelation vouchsafed to the community in which it grew. The Bible is not the poorer because it contains such inspired growths.

To this great truth, that the Bible is, not only in its separate parts but also in its totality, the product of the Spirit of revelation working largely by historic processes and by providential guidance and inspiration of a community of believing souls, — to this great truth we shall return again and again. Upon it our investigation into the history of the Canon relies; and it will shape the entire second part of our inquiry into the doctrine of the Sacred Scriptures as holding, scripturally fixed, the eternal word of God.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE BIBLICAL BOOKS.

SOME of the more indirect relations which exist between the language and style of the biblical books and the doctrine of Sacred Scripture have already been briefly considered. The phenomena of language are of more or less importance in determining every critical inquiry concerning the date and authorship of ancient writings; these phenomena are, indeed, in certain instances, of capital importance. Nor do the biblical writings constitute in any respects exceptions to this general rule. The researches of the last chapter made it clear, however, that, in the case of certain writings of the Old Testament, the very nature of their origin as composite growths, or as ancient compositions which have been subject to one or more redactionary revisions, demands especial caution in applying the argument from the characteristics of language to the critical theories of origin. But this caution must be impartially applied. If Wellhausen is right in applying it to the linguistic researches of Ryssel and others whose conclusions are adverse to his theories, we are equally right in applying it to those who, like Giesebrecht, support these theories by the favorable conclusions of their linguistic researches.

We are now to consider certain general reasons, which belong to the very nature of the Hebrew language and of its use by the biblical writers, and which explain why it should be difficult to argue from the language and style of the Pentateuch to the date of its origin. In some cases of the Hebrew books, it is possible to make this argument with more confidence than belongs to the case of the Pentateuch. The late date of some of these books is as manifest from the character of their language as is the relative feebleness and lowness of that Spirit of revelation which moves within them. In these cases both the critical question of authorship, and the dogmatic question as to

the nature and degree of inspiration, are, to a certain extent, included together in the language. In still other cases, and these by no means unimportant, the question of the unity of a biblical book may be determined with some good degree of probability from the phenomena of its language. In this way, as we have already seen, we may assume with considerable confidence the existence within the Pentateuch of the works of various authors. In this way also may we draw conclusions as to the single or double authorship of Isaiah or Zechariah. But in none of these cases can we safely make our investigations a mechanical counting and tabulating of words. The general questions of the development of the language as a whole, of the effect of redaction and textual changes, of the unconscious and self-conscious selections of the author, — selections, as determined by his education, acquaintance with and preference for other preceding authors, taste and purpose in writing, and, indeed, all the influences which enter into authorial peculiarities, — and of the laws pertaining to the kind of literary composition taken in hand, must all enter into each conclusion.

Such argument as the foregoing is especially conclusive in the cases of certain writings of the New Testament; for in these cases we do not have the same difficulties to contend with as those which belong to most cases from the Old Testament. It cannot be denied that the great difference in language and style between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel is a weighty argument against their unity of authorship; but, on the other hand, the similarity in these respects between this Gospel and the First Epistle of John is an argument in favor of their common authorship. It is difficult to convince one whose sense for language and style is not confined to mere number and roots, that the author of Hebrews is the Apostle Paul. Moreover, by the same means, we see at the first inspection that the Book of Acts must have been composed from different sources, so great is the difference in the language and style of its different parts; and still, by the same means, we conclude on further investigation that the same author made use of these different sources throughout.

The more indirect relations which exist between the doctrine of Sacred Scripture and the language and style of the biblical books might be greatly multiplied; but enough has already been said concerning them in the various preceding chapters. It is our present purpose to set forth certain relations more direct than any of those.

The general claim which involves the consideration of the more direct relations has also already been considered. We have found the writings of Mosaism professing to bring before us a few messages in the precise language in which they were given by Jehovah to Moses; and although we cannot verify this claim in any instance for the Hebrew words which we now possess, the general bearing of all such claims is no less apparent. We have seen that the general formula for the concrete enactments of the Mosaic ritual is: "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying;" or some equivalent for this formula. The prophets also claim to bring to the men of their own time the words of Jehovah to Israel; and, so far as we have an authentic record of their utterances, we have the means of examining the language which they claim to have been the result of the revelation and inspiration given to them. Most clear and unmistakable of all such claims is that made by the Apostle Paul in the passage which is the biblical *locus classicus* for this subject; viz., 1 Cor. ii. In this passage, the claim is made that the form of speech—simple, unpretentious, free from rhetorical artifice and adornment, yet effective—which the writer employs is adapted to the contents of truth which it conveys. Nor is this adaptation to be regarded as a matter of accident, or even of human contrivance and effect: it is rather brought about by the same Holy Spirit who revealed the contents of truth which the language served to convey. Form, in some deep significance and practical import,—form and content were adapted to each other: they were both divinely adapted. The Spirit which gave the content gave also the form.

But that we cannot press the seemingly conclusive claim to speak and write inspired words so as to base upon it any theory of verbal inspiration resembling that of the Jewish rabbis, the Church Fathers, or, above all, the post-Reformation Protestant theologians, has also been asserted. The assertion has been further demonstrated by the results of every step of our researches hitherto. In respect to the claim of Paul, however, we are not, by reason of such failure, in any the worse case; for this claim is abundantly confirmed by the appropriate phenomena. It is confirmed with all the depth of meaning which the apostle himself seems to have attached to it. It is confirmed by a scientific examination for which he himself had neither equipment nor necessity, and by historical and linguistic researches which elevate the claim to a position far beyond that

which it could have had in the apostle's own mind. The claim goes to the extent only of asserting that the Divine Spirit furnished to those who taught the truths of the gospel a form of expression for its truths, which was far fitter and more effective than any of the forms to be learned from the rhetoric of the schools. But the investigation shows us how this same Divine Spirit, acting as the Spirit of providence through thousands of years of human history, and as the Spirit of revelation through hundreds of years of scriptural experience, and as the Spirit of providence, revelation, and inspiration, in the personality of the individual authors, has fitted the linguistic expression of biblical truths to the inmost essence of the truths themselves. It is to a brief sketch of some of the results of such scientific investigation that our attention must be directed in the present chapter. The more strictly dogmatic and speculative consideration of the relations between ideas, feelings, and purposes, and the language which bodies them forth, between the divine mind and the human as requiring a means of communicating thought, and between the authority of the message and the fallibility of its manner of conveyance, belongs to another great division of our general theme. Such dogmatic and speculative inquiries will, therefore, be deferred to their proper place. At present we deal only with facts, and quite direct inferences from facts.

It is true that the alleged facts are very difficult of exact ascertainment, even by use of the best authorities upon the nature of the languages in which the Bible is written. It is also true that the drawing of the most direct inferences often depends upon the attitude assumed toward the whole question of revelation and inspiration. The linguistic critic, who sees nothing new in the ideas and vital forces of Christianity, will set a low estimate upon the power of its constructive spirit in originating the New-Testament Greek; and certainly he who sees nothing divine in those ideas and forces will scout at the conviction that there is any thing divine to be recognized in the linguistic phenomena of the New Testament. But with our assumptions, and with the helps provided—as yet in only too meagre abundance—by modern scholarship, we may reach tolerably satisfactory conclusions along the lines of fact. We shall try not to claim for the biblical ideas and spirit a power over language which they have never evinced. We shall try not to read our own conceptions into the inferior or different

import of scriptural words. And yet, especially in the case of the New Testament, we shall also try not to underestimate the constructive power of its spirit and ideas.¹

It is presumable from the first, that the general effect of revelation and inspiration upon the language and style of Sacred Scripture will vary in form, and differ in degree. Certain effects may be of the most general sort: they may, therefore, be considered as belonging to the very nature of Hebrew as a Semitic language, and of the later Greek as that out of which the New-Testament Greek was specifically shaped. Other effects may be quite plainly traceable to the influence, more or less direct, of certain definite ideas of revelation. In still others, the individual authors may have to be taken more prominently into the account. In general we may distinguish between language and style; although, in the case of the Hebrew Scriptures, we shall find that the peculiarities of the language are so marked and strong as to force into the background individual diversities of style. And, with regard to authorial peculiarities of style in general, when we have once noted their undoubted existence, and the bearings of the fact of their existence upon the general doctrine of revelation and inspiration, their further consideration belongs rather to Biblical Introduction, or to the special introductions which preface the study of particular books. We shall confine our discussion, for the most part, to the general claim made for the language and style of the Bible as adapted by the Divine Spirit to the contents of biblical truth.

In regard to the language of the Old Testament, we are met at the outset by the paucity of our means for forming a true estimate from the comparative point of view. The origin and relative antiquity of the Hebrew language, and of its earliest written forms, cannot be determined with certainty; nor have we the materials for making a definite and detailed comparison between it and the other Semitic languages, or between the biblical Hebrew and that employed in non-biblical literature or in the intercourse of common life. But, although we cannot tell when and where the Hebrew language originated, we can classify it with the Aramaic and Arabic as one of the three groups of languages which have been brought, since the time of Eichhorn, under the common term Semitic: by Jerome, and by students preceding this time, they were called "Oriental lan-

¹ As to the necessity of avoiding the mistakes of both extreme views, see some remarks in Schleiermacher's *Hermeneutik und Kritik*, p. 56 f.

guages." These are easily separated from all the Indo-European languages, and are united among themselves by several quite permanent characteristics, especially by the definite patterns and substantially common forms of their triliteral roots. But the Hebrew which the Israelites used before they became a nation, and which was by their use developed into the biblical Hebrew, was yet more closely allied with contemporaneous forms of speech, all record of which has perished from the earth. Of Hebrew, Renan¹ says, "We cannot doubt that this language has been common to many other peoples." It is, however, only as the particular language of the sons of Israel that it has reached us. That the Canaanites, on the invasion of the Hebrews, spoke a language very analogous, there is sufficient reason to believe;² there is not, however, sufficient reason to affirm that the latter borrowed their subsequent language from the former. Essentially the same language was spoken by kindred tribes surrounding Canaan. The Moabite language from the stone of Mesha, the Phœnician proper names on ancient inscriptions and coins, the ancient Canaanitish names of persons and cities, and the fact that no difficulty anywhere appears between the Hebrews and these neighboring peoples in understanding one another, are an evidence of this. The use of the word "sea" (יָם) for the west seems to show conclusively that Canaan was the ancient seat and home of the Hebrew. Fragments, inserted in the Hebrew literature from the archives of these neighboring peoples, are supposed to be found in the genealogy of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi.); the narrative of Gen. xiv., where Abraham is spoken of (verse 13) as though he were a stranger; and Num. xiii. 22, where the synchronism between the founding of Hebron and that of Tanis in Egypt is pointed out.

The origin of written characters among the Hebrews is involved in the same obscurity which envelops the origin of the language. A very large measure of independence in the use of their alphabet must be admitted for all the Semitic languages;³ but whether the most ancient centre of this use, and of its development, was in Babylon or in Egypt, cannot confidently be affirmed.⁴ Nor is it possible to trace the art of writing Hebrew back to any definite date within which it must be confined. In

¹ *Histoire générale et Système comparé des Langues Sémitiques*, p. 108.

² See Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache*, p. 16 f.

³ See Ewald, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, p. 116.

⁴ Compare Renan, *Langues Sémitiques*, p. 113, with Ewald, *Ibid.*, p. 116 f.

the oldest writings—in those of the Mosaic era, and even preceding it—the art appears as already having passed through a long period of development. It appears, indeed, as so far developed, that the literature which remains from the earliest times shows no essential differences of language from that of the times not long preceding the Exile. The most ancient known form of the language is that which has already been used as the language of writing.¹ Indeed, the degree of grammatical development which their most ancient form possesses seems to imply several centuries of previous use in writing: just as the comparative freedom from onomatopoeic roots for the names even of the most familiar animals implies a great antiquity lying still farther back for the development of the spoken language.² Inasmuch, then, as the art of writing was a growth of centuries, even at the time of the Exodus, and as, on account of the radical difference which exists between the Hebrew and the Egyptian systems, the former system could not have been derived by the Israelites from the latter, we must hold that they shared it, in common with other Semitic peoples, in a period antecedent to their sojourn in Egypt. To this conclusion, neither the frequent use by the Israelites of memorial stones, trees, and altars, in the patriarchal period, nor the apparent infrequency of the use of writing in the narratives of the same period, is a formidable objection. Both are rather to be explained by the ancient usages of all the Semitic peoples.³

For a more detailed comparison of this ancient written Hebrew with the contemporaneous written forms of the most closely cognate languages, we have, as has been said, no material. This is both cause and effect of the fact noticed by Renan: "In Hebrew we attain the primitive archives of that race whose records have by a remarkable destiny become the archives of the human race. For the Hebrew is to the Semitic race what the Sanscrit is to the Indo-European race,—the purest and most complete type of the family, and the depositary of its historic, linguistic, and religious secrets."⁴ We see, then, in this fact, the general effect of Old-Testament revelation and inspiration upon the Hebrew language, regarded as a literary

¹ See Ewald, *Ibid.*, p. 22.

² See Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebr. Sprache*, p. 14: compare Herder, *Geist der hebräischen Poesie*, Leipzig, 1825, I. p. 305 f.

³ Gen. xiv. and xxiii. seem to imply contemporaneous records: see Keil, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 13 f.

⁴ *Langues Sémitiques*, p. 108.

whole, and compared with the other most closely allied languages; but we are unable to specify the characteristics which enter into the general effect by a comparative study of these languages.

In regard to the effect which this revelation and inspiration may have had in differencing biblical Hebrew from the language of contemporaneous common life among the same people, we have almost as great a lack of evidence. We know little of Hebrew except as the Old-Testament language.¹ The literature of the Old Testament is, however, itself so varied in character, and in its relations to the ideas and forces of Old-Testament religion, that certain very valuable truths are to be illustrated by a comparative study of this literature. We may compare certain books, or parts of books, with others, to detect the relative effect of the admixture of foreign influences. With the Hebrew of the rest of the Old Testament we may compare the Chaldaic passages of Dan. ii. 4–vii. 28; Ezra iv. 8–vi. 18, vii. 12–26; and Jer. x. 11. The effect of their aloofness from Greek culture, and lack of sympathy with it, may be illustrated by the absence of all Greek words and ideas from the Old-Testament writings, except in the Chaldaic passages of Daniel and Ezra. The limitations of Hebrew intercourse and conceptions may be illustrated by the occurrence of certain Indian words like לִּיָּנָה, *lignum aloë*s (Num. xxiv. 6; Prov. vii. 17; Ps. xlv. 9; Cant. iv. 14); and אָפֶן, a species of ape (1 Kings x. 22; 2 Chron. ix. 21), and פָּאָפֶן, peacocks; or of Egyptian words like אֵר, a canal or river, and אֶרֶב, marsh-grass or bulrushes, and שֶׁשׁ, *byssus*; or of certain Persian words.² By a comparison of the language and style of the earlier with that of the later books, very important conclusions concerning the influence of the ideas and spirit of revelation may be attained. Such a comparison results in establishing a marked difference between the admirable clearness, simplicity, purity, and grandeur of most of the earlier writings, and the lack of these qualities in many of the later. The difference, when established, evinces the general truth, that the form of expression corresponds to the amount and kind of the indwelling spirit: as in the case of all other human literary products, so also in the case of those

¹ Upon the extra-biblical means of studying ancient Hebrew, see Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebr. Sprache*, pp. 47 ff.; and *Introduction to Hebr. und Chald. Handwörterbuch*, ed. 1878.

² See Gesenius, *Geschichte*, etc., p. 59 f.

which we are wont to regard as sacred and divine. The Spirit of revelation which moves through the ethico-religious ideas of the time, or by more direct methods upon the minds of the writers of Sacred Scripture, shows its own force and quality by the approach which it secures to a certain ideal standard of expression,—the language and style of revelation itself. To acknowledge and freely to discuss this difference, is only to recognize intelligently the divine method of self-revelation. The style of Ezekiel and Daniel, when compared with that of the earlier prophets, simply gives token which is unmistakable of a less clear and pure and elevating influence from the spiritual impulses that unite with the historic and personal to form this style.

Moreover, we may compare those books, and portions of books, belonging to whatever age, which exhibit few or no tokens of influence from the ideas and spirit of revelation with those which exhibit the clearest tokens of this influence. Even in the Old-Testament writings as they have come down to us, there are certain portions which, for this purpose, may be considered as purely secular. That considerable secular literature once existed in the ancient Hebrew language, we have some indications in Sacred Scripture itself. In 1 Kings iv. 29 f. we find mention, as attributed to Solomon, of three thousand parables and proverbs and one thousand and five lyric songs, besides botanical and zoölogical works. To the class of writings the language of which is more distinctively secular, certain entire books of the Old Testament belong; viz., Canticles, Proverbs, Esther, and, much less completely, Ecclesiastes. Fragments of literature which primarily arose outside of the sphere most moulded by ethico-religious ideas and by the spirit of revelation, have found their way within this sphere after being somewhat changed in linguistic form. Such fragments are the ancient song of Lamech (Gen. iv. 23 f.), the enumeration of the sons of Japheth (Gen. x. 2-5), the snatches of the popular songs upon the taking of Heshbon (Num. xxi. 14 f. and 27-30), the ancient song of the well (Num. xxi. 17 f.).¹ The song of Deborah and the mashal of Balaam should perhaps be enumerated in this connection. The great abundance of similar literature, only a part of which has found its way into

¹ It is thought by some that the title *Al-Taschith* is taken from a vintage-song, of which the first line was, "Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it" (see Ps. lvii., and compare Isa. lxxv. 8).

even the uttermost limits of Sacred Scripture, is indicated also by the allusions to fables about plants and trees in Judg. ix. 8 f.; 2 Kings xiv. 9 (compare 1 Kings iv. 33). If we adopt the view of Ewald,¹ that Canticles originated in Northern Palestine, and therefore under the influence of Aramaic and Phoenician forms of speech, we have in this a partial explanation of its peculiar position in respect both to the rest of Hebrew literature and also to the remaining books of the Canon. But these examples, and whatever others might be collected, of portions of writings, both within the Sacred Scriptures and without, the language of which must be regarded as secular, do not suffice to modify the general conclusions. The only Hebrew of which we have any considerable knowledge is sacred Hebrew; it is that particular cast of one of the three great Semitic languages which was produced through its use as the means of expressing and recording the facts and ideas of the revelation made to ancient Israel. It is only by noting certain general characteristics which belong to Hebrew in a superior degree when compared with other forms of the Semitic, or to it as one form of the Semitic when compared with the Indo-European, that we are permitted to illustrate our general theme.

Among such characteristics we note, first, a certain remarkable exclusiveness. The group of peoples which have been called Semitic, for the most part with respect to their language, form a class apart with respect also to religion and religious influence. According to Renan, the effect of monotheistic religion upon their language is seen in the fact that their names for Deity, "even when they take the plural form, all imply the idea of supreme and incommunicable power, of perfect unity."² The exclusiveness of biblical Hebrew, the language of Old-Testament revelation, is especially characteristic. "The word 'goddess' would be in Hebrew the most horrible barbarism." The conceptions and terms which distinguish the speculative pantheism of India, or the mythology of ancient Greece and Rome, are excluded from Hebrew; and so is the literature belonging to them. Poems reciting the genealogies of the gods, epics telling of the wars of the gods, have no place in Hebrew Scripture.³ Philosophic and scientific terms, both on account of the Hebrew cast of mind and conception of culture, and also on account of the close connection in ancient literature of such

¹ *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes*, p. 78.

² *Langues Sémitiques*, p. 6.

³ Compare Ewald, *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, p. 23.

terms with the language of religion, are also almost entirely excluded. Certain styles of expression are, for similar reasons, rarely or never found in Hebrew. Punning, sarcasm, and various kinds of wit, do indeed appear; but humor, except in the narrative of the exploits of Samson, rarely makes a ripple upon the surface of an Old-Testament manuscript-roll. The language of discussion, the forms of dialectic, the terms of expression which exhibit the subtler analyses of thought, are only meagrely found. Nor, unless we accept the doubtful views which would find exceptions in Canticles and Job, does the dramatic element appear.

We notice next the fixedness, permanency, and consequent independence, of biblical Hebrew. These qualities belong to Hebrew pre-eminently, even when compared with the other most closely allied members of the Semitic group.¹ Fixedness is, in a wonderful degree as compared with the Indo-European, a characteristic of all this group. This characteristic is in part conditioned upon the strength of the consonants, and the persistency with which given sounds, with their meanings, are connected with a given number of invariable characters. Languages which can construct a verbal root out of a single vowel, or a single consonant and a short vowel, must be in a perpetual flux.² The element of stability is connected with the permanence of the written form of the language. This form is such as to make the written word not a full equivalent for the sounds uttered when it is spoken, but rather the symbol for an idea which the mind of the reader fills up with its complement of sounds; it is, however, for this reason a symbol fixed, and not subject to the changes of vowel-sounds in the word as pronounced. For the conveyance of ideas in fixedness of form, the trisyllabic consonantal method of writing is wonderfully adapted. The fixedness of these Semitic languages is further due to the type of mind, and habit of life, to which they correspond, to an inherited and organic adaptability for the utterance of certain fixed sounds, and to the relatively inorganic and un-plastic condition of the languages themselves. Such immobility is illustrated by the finding of the Moabite stone, the language of which, both lexically and grammatically, in the turn of its sentences, its style, and whole manner of expression, agrees with the Hebrew of the historical books of the Old Testament.³

¹ See Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, p. xxiv. ² Compare Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, p. 25 f.

³ See Bertheau in Herzog and Plitt, article *Hebräische Sprache*.

Renan goes so far as to affirm, that, upon matters of prime necessity, an Israelite of the time of Samuel and a Bedouin of to-day could manage to understand one another. This characteristic, which belonged to Hebrew as a Semitic language, biblical Hebrew possesses in heightened degree; because the formation so early of a classical literature, and the fixedness of idea and form which belongs to a somewhat definite ethico-religious sphere, co-operated in its case with the normal tendencies of the language.

Closely connected with the characteristic of fixedness is that of the unity and uniqueness of biblical Hebrew. All the development of this language from the time of Moses, and onward through a long series of great historians, poets, and prophets, concerns only the peculiarities of expression.¹ Certain differences in style appear: words distinctive of particular books or groups of books may be pointed out. But, with the exception of the few passages which bear most plainly the marks of Aramaizing, for nearly a thousand years the literature appears essentially identical in linguistic peculiarities. A special unity marks the literature for about five centuries, from the epoch of David and Solomon to the time of the Exile. Moreover, the Exile itself had comparatively little effect upon the biblical Hebrew; because those Jews who were carried into captivity belonged to the aristocracy of the nation, took the national archives with them, and, although dwelling in Babylon, really were less Aramaized in language, views, and customs, than the poorer orders of the people who remained at home to be corrupted by admixture of Syrian influences. From these Babylonian Jews came the post-Exilian Scriptures and the later redactionary work upon the whole Old Testament. A remarkable grammatical and linguistic unity, a form of language which is fixed and conventional to such a degree that the legal and historical literature is almost completely impersonal in character, thus belongs to most of the Hebrew Scriptures. This unity and uniqueness evince the effect of the normal peculiarities of a Semitic language, and the special effect of repeated redactions; but they also evince the unity and uniqueness of that historic process of revelation whose record the literature contains and preserves.

The simplicity of the biblical Hebrew is largely the result of the simplicity and unique unity of the biblical ideas; but it is also grounded in the native simplicity of the Semitic languages.

¹ See Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, p. 33.

Certain deficiencies of these languages, as contrasted with the Indo-European, furnish in part the linguistic basis for this simplicity. Calm reflection, the contemplation of cause and effect, the deliberate process of ratiocination, are lacking: the sentences are accordingly lacking in real periodicity. There is little or no interweaving of parts under complicated relations of superiority, co-ordination, and subordination. Subject and predicate are merely placed together, and left without defining their relations. The different parts of the sentence are bound together by the simple repetition of *vav*. An absence of particles signifies a lack of nice distinctions in the relations of objects one to another. The distinction between the perfect and imperfect is the inadequate substitute for a system of tenses. The neuter gender is lacking. The verb does not precisely characterize its own mood. These peculiarities of language are certainly very grave linguistic defects; they are such defects as must always enter into the results of the study of the Old Testament. They render it difficult to *prove* truth from the interpretation of single passages. For, beyond a few simple religious ideas presented in different relations and connections, it is difficult to secure the testimony of the Hebrew authors to definite statements of truth. Old-Testament theology, so long as it relies upon the scientific interpretation of single proof-texts, does not succeed in founding itself securely. But these peculiarities are by no means to be regarded merely as linguistic defects. From a higher point of view they show another side. From this higher point of view they show the adaptation of the language to the kind of a literature through which the record of revelation was to be preserved for the race. This childlike simplicity is adapted to the language of poetry and prophecy; it is, moreover, very favorable to the revealing and fixing of the ideas of revelation in the language of poetry and prophecy. A few great truths regarding God and the soul, and the relations of the soul to God, must be lodged in expansive form, and with expansive force, within the mind of the race. They must be lodged at a time when, and in connections where, the most concrete and direct conceptions and terms are alone apprehensible by the mind. The simplicity and unique unity of the ideas to be communicated demand a corresponding form of expression. It does not follow, however, that these characteristics are incompatible with real definiteness of knowledge, or even with a fitting comprehensiveness and variety of knowledge. For the

very process of revelation tends to fix and define as well as to multiply its own ideas; and, when the record of the process can be studied in its own unity, the application of historico-critical methods, combined with religious sympathy and insight, can derive from this record as a whole all that variety of comprehensive ideas which it contains.

Closely connected with the above-mentioned characteristic is that quality of sensuousness and passionateness which belongs to the Hebrew of the Bible. The Semitic languages have recourse to the description of an organic movement in order to set forth the idea of a human mental activity. The predominance of the verb and verbal elements gives also a pervasive vitality to all the sentences.¹ Anger is depicted by physical accompaniments of the passion; by the hard breathing (אָר), by the heat (חֵיץ), by the tumultuous movement of boiling (עִיר), by the noise of breaking (רִנָּה), by trembling (רָעַם).² Slowness in breathing (אֶרֶץ אֲפִים) is patience, shortness of breathing (קֶצֶר אֲפִים) impatience. The idea of the true is taken from solidity or stability, that of the beautiful from light. The 'bone' (עֶצֶם) of any thing is its very substance; the word for "bone" is used with the genitive of things for the pronoun *self*. Similar phenomena are, indeed, found in all the earliest forms of language; but, as Renan remarks, what distinguishes the Semitic family is, that "this primitive union of sensation and idea is always preserved." The Hebrew continues to remark, that a man opens his mouth when he speaks, and that when he grows angry his countenance falls. The special influence of this characteristic sensuousness and concreteness upon the Hebrew poetry will attract our attention farther on. We remark here, that this characteristic gives a certain poetic effect to all the language; and with it are connected some of the most effective types and figures of speech which are embodied in the very lexicography of the Hebrew in common with the other most closely-affiliated languages.³ אִישֹׁן, the diminutive of אִישׁ, *the little man*, is the pupil of the eye (either because of the image reflected in miniature [Gesenius], or as a term of endearment [Fürst]); to be slain or conquered by wine is to be drunk; to shine and to be proud (זָהָר) is applied to the brightness of fresh verdure and beautiful flowers.

¹ See Herder, *Geist der hebr. Poesie*, I. p. 6 f.

² See Renan, *Langues Sémitiques*, p. 22 f.

³ Compare Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, p. xxv. f.

These qualities of fixedness, unique unity, concreteness, and lack of reflective analysis and periodicity of sentence, form the partial explanation of the fact, that the Hebrew writings are so largely wanting in what is, technically called, literary style. The Semites, according to Renan, rarely turn the *stylus*. A strict regard for literary unity does not characterize the Old-Testament works. The character of the divisions into which the sentences fall, both in poetry and in prose, is largely physical, and determined by the need of repose in respiration. Rhetoric and grammar were not recognized by these writers as specific and necessary forms of knowledge in preparation for authorship. Their language, as we have it, shows an almost complete absence of distinctively grammatical and literary culture, its anomalies stifle the rules which modern grammarians have constructed for it; its exceptions and illogical contradictions, rather than its studied variety of expression, make possible the prolix grammars of Ewald and Gesenius. The reader of the Old Testament must not be disturbed by such trifles as changes of gender, or unfinished, suspended, and inconsequential phrases. He can read intelligently only as he lives over again the very vital, the compressed and abrupt, the passionate and unreflecting, mental experience of its authors. But if he thus read he will understand how such a language and mode of literary effort, in the wisdom of divine providence, may be best adapted to send forcefully into the dull minds of men the truths which can well dispense with mere smoothness and polish of form.

We need not enter at length into the debate as to the relative wealth in words and ideas of the biblical Hebrew. In general we may agree with Keil and others in maintaining, that, although poor in words for abstract conceptions and definite grammatical relations, it is sufficiently rich in those images, ideas, and conceptions which have to do with the practical and religious life.¹ Leusden counts the number of Hebrew and Chaldaic words in the Bible as 5,642; the number of Hebrew roots has been estimated at 500. Herder calls attention to the fact, that the number of botanical names in so small a circuit as the remains of the Hebrew writings is 250.² In his just view,

¹ See Einl. in das A. T., p. 40 f.; and compare Schultens, *De defectibus hod. linguae hebr.*, § 12 f.; Gesenius, *Geschichte*, pp. 47 ff.; Winer, *Ueber die Armuth der hebr. Sprache*; Renan, *Langues Sémitiques*, p. 136 f.

² *Geist der hebr. Poesie*, I. p. 8.

it would be unfair to demand of the Hebrew writers a vocabulary of Phœnician wares or Arabian philosophic speculations. Numerous names appear for natural objects, such as the ox and the lion; there are no fewer than eleven names for the rain, with reference to the different seasons and modes and effects of its falling. In general we may say that the circle of ideas is limited, but the vocabulary for these ideas is extensive. The paucity of roots is compensated for by a variety of forms, in some instances remarkable. Thus **רָם**, to raise up, is made to do service in scarcely less than a score of different conceptions; and **קָם**, to station or cause to stand, in even more. In Ps. cxix. the 176 verses relieve their monotony of ideas by a great diversity of terms for the law of Jehovah. Fourteen synonyms have been counted for the idea of trust in God, nine for the pardon of sin, twenty-five for the keeping of the Torah. The poverty in compounds which represent complicated processes of conception, and in those auxiliary words which imply nice discriminations of relations, is to be contrasted with the wealth in words which stand for objects as representing some particular form of their qualities, or manifestation of their activities, and especially in words for definite Old-Testament religious and ethical conceptions.

The illustration of these general characteristics, however, varies with that wide difference which obtains amongst the different portions of the Hebrew Scriptures. This difference is due to one or more of the following four causes: (1) the varieties of the literature; (2) the changing nature of the language; (3) the personality of the different authors; (4) the amount and quality of influence from the ideas and the spirit of revelation.

The varieties of literature in which the Hebrew Scriptures are given may, for our purpose, be spoken of as these three: prose; poetry; and the literature of prophecy, which has prosaic, poetical, and semi-poetical elements combined.

In its prosaic passages the biblical Hebrew is least distinctively the language of revelation. The prose of the Old Testament shows only those general providential influences which operated to shape this one among the Semitic languages so that it might become the vehicle and record of the facts and ideas of Old-Testament revelation. The Hebrew style of writing prose was not, during the golden age of Hebrew, essentially different from the popular manner of speaking. "According to

its essence," says Ewald,¹ "the Hebrew prose is perfectly simple and artless, but alive with beautiful imagery, and in places where the material furnishes an impulse it rises to poetic flights."

It is in its poetry, and in its prophecy so far as this is either strictly poetical or semi-poetical, that the influence of the ideas and spirit of revelation upon the Hebrew language is most clearly manifest. For this reason a more careful discrimination of some of the characteristics of Hebrew poetry is indispensable to our subject. The variety of forms assumed by Hebrew poetry is small; this poetry is in general pre-eminently lyric. The lyric sometimes approaches the epic, or, as Ewald expresses the truth, contains the *stuff* and germ of epic; as, for example, in the Song of Moses (Exod. xv.), or that of Deborah (Judg. v.). Poetical compositions approaching the dramatic, or introducing, as it were, the speech of different personalities responding to each other, are found in passages like Judg. v. 28-30; Ps. xxiv. 7-10, and in the Books of Job and Canticles. The gnomic poetry (so-called) of the Hebrews belongs to a later age, and is rather the product of reflection upon the accumulated wisdom of the past than of inspired feeling in view of great ethico-religious thoughts made clear by revelation to the poet's soul. In the various forms of the lyric the Old-Testament literature is rich, as both its contents and its various names for this species of poetry abundantly testify.² Snatches of song are found embedded in the narrative: as, for example, Gen. iv. 23; Num. xxi. 17 f., 27-30; Exod. xvii. 16 (?); 2 Sam. iii. 33 f., v. 8, xx. 1; 1 Kings xii. 16. Hymns of thanksgiving and praises, hymns of contrition and mourning, — whether for the sins and sufferings of the nation or for the sins and wrongs of the poet himself (see Ps. iii., iv., v., vi., vii., x., xi., xiii., xxxix., li.), — abound in the Hebrew Psalter. Of songs in lamentation for the dead

¹ Lehrbuch, p. 20; compare Herder, *Ibid.*, II. p. 14 f.

² See Ewald, *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes*, pp. 29-50; and compare art. Hebrew Poetry, in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, for the names used to designate the different forms of the song. The term שִׁיר, song, is the most general name for a poem as spoken by the voice alone; it is applied to Canticles (i. 1), and to the poetical prophetic passage of Isa. v. 1. מְזִמֹּר, a song to be accompanied by an instrument, translated ψαλμός by the LXX., is used in 57 superscriptions of the Psalms (Fürst), and in these only (Gesenius). מְזִמֹּרֶת, a special kind of lyric, which, as Ewald affirms on the basis of its etymology and on the ground of Ps. xlvi. 7 ("sing ye praises with understanding"), denotes a skilled and artistic production, is used of various Psalms (xxxii., xli., xliv., xlv., lii.-lv., lxxiv., lxxviii., lxxxviii., lxxxix., cxlii.): this is, however, a doubtful conjecture (see Fürst).

we have notice in the case of Josiah (2 Chron. xxxv. 25); instances of such songs ascribed to David are found, 2 Sam. i. 17-27, and iii. 33 f. That wedding-songs abounded, we may conclude from Jer. vii. 34, xvi. 9, xxv. 10, xxxiii. 11. In the Psalter, Ps. xlv. is the only example of a wedding-song; and this has been preserved in canonical Scripture, because the allegorical interpretation of it made it the vehicle of ethical and religious truths. Of songs for temple-service, Ps. xlv. and xlviii. may serve as examples. Of special songs for occasions like the celebration of a victory, or of the birthday of a king, or of special offerings, Ewald instances Ps. xx., xxi., lx., lxxxv., and cxv. We cannot fail to notice certain important relations between this great predominance and variety of lyric poetry and the influence of revelation and inspiration upon the structure and uses of Hebrew Scripture. It is characteristic of the sacred songs of Israel, to be free and unpremeditated outbursts of the moral and religious thoughts and feelings of the human soul. Their fitness to be the vehicles of revelation, and the effect of inspiration upon their linguistic form, are both connected with this characteristic. With it are also connected certain ethical imperfections, — as, for instance, in the case of some of the imprecatory Psalms, — which are due to the uncontrolled expression of feeling.

Other truths similar to the foregoing are suggested by a study of the various forms of figurative language which abound in the Hebrew poetry. Here, as in all literature, the images presented are dependent upon the nature of experience; this is as true when the speech is of the loftiest matters as when it is of the lowliest. "In the tent of the shepherd," says Herder, "God is a Shepherd."¹ And in the life of the family he is best known as a Father. But by virtue of these Hebrew figures of speech the human race will continue to know the Infinite One under the terms of the twenty-third psalm, — "The Lord is my shepherd;" and will continue to pray to him after the manner of Jesus, — "Our Father who art in heaven." So to the mind of the Hebrew poet or seer, God appears a husbandman going through the various processes of the husbandman's life.² He threshes the mountains, and reduces the hills to chaff, he uses the winnowing-fan to scatter the enemies of Israel, or beats them

¹ Geist der hebr. Poesie, II. p. 9 f.

² See Hab. iii. 12; Joel iii. 13; Jer. li. 33; Isa. xvii. 13, xxi. 10, xli. 15 f.; Mic. iv. 13.

with a flail, or prostrates and overrides them with a corn-drag or a threshing-wain. He clears up his vineyard from the stones, and then, when he is disappointed in its fruitage, throws down its wall and makes it waste (see Isa. v. 1-7). Or, most terrible of all, he treads his enemies under feet, and appears stained with their blood as one who has trodden the bright-red juice from the grapes in the wine-vat. It is the narrowness of experience which necessitates the limitations of the Hebrew figures of speech; but this narrow experience is made to yield its utmost service in vivifying and enriching the poetic language. The one river with which the writers were most familiar supplied them with metaphors variously wrought out; the one high range of mountains visible to them served as the recurring symbol for the august and the sublime.¹ The fructifying power of the word of Jehovah is like rain and snow upon the earth; the utterances of Deut. xxxii. 2 f. drop as rain and distil as dew. Light and darkness stand for prosperity and adversity, joy and sorrow; and the figure of speech is pushed to its extreme limits as it rises to its loftiest majesty, when it is declared that Jehovah will be the light of the nation so as to dispense with sun and moon (Isa. lx. 19 f.), or to put them both to shame (xxiv. 23). The ravaging king of Assyria is compared (Isa. x. 14) to one who robs a bird's nest, the strongholds of the land are represented (Nah. iii. 12) as falling into the hand of the conqueror like the first ripe figs into the hand of him who shakes them from the tree. Not a few of these metaphors, even such as abound in the loftiest poetry, would appear, were it not for their ethical and religious significance, coarse and offensive to modern eyes: they are all judged fairly, even as respects their literary excellence, only when sympathetically regarded from the ancient Hebrew point of view.² It is only in those cases, relatively few in the Old Testament, where a seeming violation of modern rules of taste is not obviously connected with the presentation of ethical and religious truth, that the influence of the spirit of revelation over the language totally ceases to be felt. The license of Solomon's Song is one of metaphors rather than morals; its obscurity is rather due to surplusage of metaphor than to any supposed need of an allegorical interpretation.

¹ See Isa. ii. 13; Ezek. xxxi. ; for the people, or the church-state, Isa. xxxiii. 9, xxxv. 2; for Jerusalem, Isa. xxxvii. 24; for the temple, Zech. xi. 1.

² Compare Lowth, *Poetry of the Hebrews*, ed. 1789, I. p. 112 f.

The influence of the ideas and spirit of revelation upon the poetic and prophetic language is especially marked in certain cases of personification. Of the forms of personification, that which is the most sublime and most fraught with consequences is the personification of an attribute or activity of Jehovah himself. The personification of the word of Jehovah as a creative energy or formative force in nature is closely connected with the Hebrew view of the supernatural (see Gen. i. and Ps. cxlvii.). It has been brought about in the long historic process of revelation, that those truths which were first apprehended rather in figurative form, and presented by the oriental imagination in its intense personifying power, have become the great guiding ideas of the world's religious thought. Idea and imagination united to make the Hebrew poet and seer conceive of the thunder as Jehovah's voice, the light as his garment, the heaven his tent, palace, or temple, the winds his messengers, but especially of all events and things as the products of his word. This personification of the divine word, at first a figure of speech fit for the inspired poet and seer, has entered as a vital germ into all Christian thought and doctrine regarding the very being of God.

Wonderful and spirited instances of *prosopopoeia* occur in many passages of the Prophets, as, for instance, where Jeremiah (xlvii. 6, 7) addresses the sword of Jehovah, or Isaiah (xiv. 4-27) represents all the products of nature, the existences of earth and Hades, as exulting over the downfall of Babylon.

All our Christian language, and much of our sublimest modern poetry, represent similar ethical and religious objects of thought by repeating these ancient Hebrew metaphors and other figures of speech. Herder declares¹ that the tone of Job, the Prophets, and the Psalms still resounds in the poetry of all the European languages, Milton's creation-hymn and his morning-song of Adam repeat the figures of speech found in Ps. civ. and cxlviii.

And, when we inquire more technically into the poetic structure of the ancient Hebrew lyrics and other poetic compositions, we need not fail to discover proofs in it of the influence of the spirit of revelation upon the structure of the language. These proofs follow in part from a study of the psychological nature and origin of Hebrew parallelism.² Into a detailed examina-

¹ *Geist der hebr. Poesie*, I. p. 76, and note.

² Compare Herder, *Ibid.*, I. p. 19 f., and II. p. 2 f.

tion of the nature of the Hebrew poetic rhythm, we cannot enter; nor can we even raise the question whether there be not tokens of metres in some degree resembling those of the ancient Greeks.¹ We need simply to bring forward the fact which Ewald² elaborates with a rare combination of Hebraistic learning and philosophical insight. The use of such rhythm as the Hebrew poetry employs testifies to the successive flow in upon the soul of mighty thoughts which stir up strong emotion: hence that movement of increase and relapse which is like the rising and falling of the breast under the force of the troubled soul, like the movement upward or downward with the successive strokes of the bird's pulsating wings. The form of rhythm most characteristic of Hebrew poetry is that known as parallelism. The sententious style, which is especially adapted to poetry in gnomic or didactic form, is common in the Hebrew literature to every form of poetry. The accumulation of thought and feeling result, then, in the repetition of short sentences which are disposed in distichs: they are, as Lowth remarks, like what Sirach says of the works of God, — "two and two, one against the other." It is the sublimity of the thought, and the indispensableness of the method to all Hebrew poetry, which prevent us from regarding this form as essentially repetitious and tedious. The beauty of style and grace of rhythm — in whatever degree these qualities belong to Hebrew poetry — are, that is to say, largely dependent upon the quality of the ethico-religious ideas which they express; it is the spirit of revelation moving amidst the poetic members which prevents them from falling into unbearably graceless and ungainly motions. For these reasons also it is that the poetical quality of the Hebrew songs cannot be found by the application of the laws of versification, as we understand this term. It is only when the spirit of the reader follows after the spirit of the writer, runs forward and then checks itself, rises and then falls, utters its sorrows in short-lived sobbing, or its joys in brief outbursts of exultation, — only, indeed, when a spirit somewhat the same in its ethical and spiritual quality has animated both writer and reader, that the truest and most enduring poetic value of these compositions can be felt.

The influence of poetic inspiration has to a certain extent been felt, not simply upon the form of expression, but even

¹ As Lowth (II. pp. 2 ff.) and others have maintained.

² Dichter des Alten Bundes, pp. 5 ff.

upon the vocabulary of the language. This influence is felt in all languages; but in the case of Hebrew it is noticeable only so far as it has been predominatingly ethical and religious. אלה and יה and אל , as used alone, are poetic names for God. Antique words, which are either remnants of earlier poems, or were in their earlier use employed in prose, have lingered in the poetry. Forms, the antiquity of which reaches back into the usage of the common Semitic, Ewald¹ would find in the use of תנה , Ps. viii. 2; and of קנן ("their string," as of a lyre, and so "their sound"), Ps. xix. 5.

We should notice in passing the relation of the simplicity, ethical weight, and rhythmical parallelism of Hebrew poetry to its translation. These qualities render it more poetical when somewhat literally translated than when paraphrased in metrical form. And although, as Herder complained, the relative diffuseness of modern languages compels them to use ten words where the Hebrew used three, the straightforward unpoetized translation of the Hebrew is the most poetical way of rendering its peculiarities. Even such pregnant constructions as Ps. lxxiv. 7, "They have profaned to the ground thy sanctuary," and Ps. xliii. 1, 2, "How long, Jehovah, wilt thou forget me forever?" are scarcely exceptions to this rule.

It has already been said that the language of prophecy lies between that of poetry and that of prose. Hymns or odes appear in the prophetic compositions (for example, Jon. ii.; Ezek. xix.; Hab. iii.; Isa. xxxiv. and xxxv.; the song of Balaam, Mic. vi. 6-8). Prophecies that are songs are found, Deut. xxxiii.; 2 Sam. xxiii.; Num. xxiv.; and in the Psalter. In times of peculiar exaltation of spirit, the prophet rises naturally into the higher form of poetic or *semi*-poetic speech; and then he descends again to prose for making his announcements of fact (compare Isa. viii., ix.). Instances of the various kinds of parallelism have been pointed out in the writings of the prophets; antithetic parallelism combined with the repetition, twice or thrice, of the same sentiment, is found Isa. liv. 7, 8, and lxv. 13, 14; synthetic parallelism forming triplets, in Isa. xiv. 4-9, and Hos. xiv. 6, 7; other beautiful examples of parallelism in prophecy meet us in Isa. lx. 1-3 and liii. 1-5, or in Hos. xi. 8 f. Instances of strophe of various kinds have been alleged by Ewald in his work upon the Prophets (I. pp. 59 ff.). Nor does it appear strange that much of prophetic language is nearly or

¹ Dichter des Alten Bundes, p. 207.

quite rhythmical, when we remember the use of music in the earlier prophecy (see 1 Sam. xix. 20-24; Exod. xv. 20 f.; and compare 1 Chron. xxv. 1-3), and consider that the movements of the soul which express themselves in either poems or prophecies are so similar, while the very effort to write down the prophetic utterances of the past would kindle anew the fires of thought and feeling.

Thus, then, are all the more important characteristics in respect to which the Hebrew language has been influenced by the ideas and spirit of revelation, evinced in the most marked degree by the more poetic passages of the Old Testament. Inspiration, considered as affecting the manner and form rather than the subject-matter, exhibits its chief effect in the language of poems and semi-poetic prophecies. But this manner and form are not in the Old Testament confined to designedly artistic compositions, as is the case in our modern languages. Whatever the soul clearly apprehends and forcefully feels, that is most likely to be expressed, if at all, in poetic form. The soul of this form, when assumed by the ancient and biblical Hebrew, is the distinctively ethico-religious thought and feeling which demand to be expressed. The Old-Testament form of impassioned and figurative expression is pre-eminently ethico-religious; with a few exceptions it is exclusively so. The plastic art which fashions the language is learned only by referring the writer's condition of mind and heart to the indwelling Spirit of Jehovah.

It was said, in the second place, that the characteristics of language vary in the different portions of the Old Testament according to the historic changes which were undergone by the Hebrew language as a whole. A remarkable stability and fixedness did indeed belong to the biblical Hebrew. But this language would have been either more or less than human if its stability and fixedness had been complete. Moreover, the literature of the Old Testament lies upon both sides of the culminating point in the life of the language; and in this accumulating literature we can trace the growth of the language to its perfect bloom, and through its subsequent decay. This historic process gives the explanation in part of those relative imperfections of most of the later literature to which attention has already been called.

The history of the sacred poems of Israel follows closely the history of its sacred rites. The impulse which the deliverance

from Egypt gave to the national literature of Israel has been compared by Delitzsch¹ to that received by the Greek literature from the defeat of the invading Persians. The influence of the Torah and of prophecy upon psalmody was by no means small in every period of the Hebrew literature. The author just quoted is warranted in declaring, that, great as were David and Isaiah in lyric song and prophecy, without the law of Moses there would have been neither David's psalmody nor Isaiah's prophecy. Ewald sees the germ of a song invoking Jehovah in the cry with which the camp was broken up,—“Arise, Jehovah, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee;” and as well in that with which it was pitched again,—“Return, Jehovah, unto the myriads of Israel.” Instances of Psalms only remotely connected with the law and the prophets are, indeed, not infrequent (e.g., viii., xxix., xxxiii.). But that many songs, especially such as were designed for the temple-service, were born of the revival of the national interest in ritual after the return from exile, we have abundant proof. The nation was then frequently called upon to sing unto the Lord a “*new song*” (see Isa. xlii. 10; Ps. xcvi. 1, xcvi. 1, cxlix. 1).

The inferiority, both literary and ethico-religious, of the later compositions of the Hebrew Scriptures, cannot be denied; although we may not say, as Renan² does quite too indiscriminately, of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Jonah, Chronicles, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel, Ecclesiastes, and the post-Exilian Psalms: “The style of these books is flat and without relief, their thought is dull, their religious ideas more narrow, their credulity less naïve, their poetry less spontaneous.” As to the last complaint, it is quite certain that the Psalms now lose much of their spontaneity and freshness; they are made up after the copy of earlier versions of divine praises, rather than passionate outbursts of souls stirred by communion with the object of these praises. But even the spirit of revelation does not inspire individuals to move with freedom, purity, and originality in a language which is no longer that of the fullest popular life and present religious experience; and this spirit did not move in the nation as in the days of its earlier poets and prophets.

The various conditions, already briefly mentioned, combine with those indescribable conditions which are furnished by a

¹ *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1870, p. 21 f.

² *Langues Sémitiques*, p. 150.

free personality to occasion the third order of differences spoken of above. The ideas and the spirit of revelation move upon the individual author in shaping his expression according to his individuality. And inasmuch as the individuality of the inspired author is none the less truly, because of his inspiration, a free personality, these ideas and this spirit find expression in many different forms. Precisely what the form will be in each case, depends not simply upon the movement of ideas and spirit, but also upon the nature of the person within whom, and of the historic conditions under which, the movement occurs. We have, as a result of these varying influences, various forms of language and style, more or less commendable (and more or less faulty) from the literary point of view. We have this variety because we have many workmen set by one Spirit to do each his appointed work for the common weal. We may, therefore, speak of Ecclesiastes as penetrated with Aramaisms, and as resembling in some respects the Talmudic and rabbinical writings. We may speak of the language of Job as a peculiar compound, apparently of different, and almost diverse, elements. In its ruling ideas and poetic diction it approaches some of the Psalms; in its gnomic character, and frequent introduction of wise and sententious sayings, it is like the so-called Solomonic writings;¹ on account of its dramatic and conversational structure it borrows much from the common speech, and from idioms that are either Aramaic, or belong alike to Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabian forms. We may in like manner freely examine the peculiarities of language which belong to each Hebrew writing.

With the beginning of the prophets who *wrote* their prophecies, that is, just before and after 800 B.C., there begins a new epoch in Hebrew literature; the more ancient impersonal writing of law and history gives way to the personal authorship of the inspired messenger of Jehovah. It is from this time onward, then, that the peculiarities which belong to personal authorship become more strikingly marked; considerations of style, in the more definite meaning of the word, enter henceforth into the estimate which we have to form of the origin and nature of each Hebrew composition. Each of the prophets has his peculiar character, as Jerome² long ago observed. Judged by all the

¹ Parallels between Job and Proverbs are given in Rosenmüller's *Scholien zum Hiob. Proleg.*, pp. 32-34; and see Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebr. Sprache*, p. 34.

² Pref. in *XII. Proph.*

highest and most exacting standards, the writing of Isaiah presents the most finished literary style attained by ancient Hebrew; this is true as respects "taste, proportion, and perfection of form." His elevation, majesty, elegance, and diversity, combined with dignified simplicity, render him classic when compared with the best literary models of all languages and times. Amos, coming forth from the ranks of the people, employs such Aramaic forms as belonged to the speech of common life in distinction from the language of books;¹ but the other marks of rusticity in style, of which complaint has been made, are mostly confined to the figures of speech natural to a shepherd and gardener,² and do not prevent a high estimate of his sublimity of thought, splendor of diction, and elegance of expression. Hosea and Micah may be described together as forcible, pointed, and concise; but the former is obscure on account of his brevity, and his tone is strikingly local and individual. Nahum is bold, ardent, sublime. Of Habakkuk, if we follow Michaelis in saying that his excellences are those of an imitator, we must also affirm with the same critic that they are in the first rank; his "Pindaric" ode, as Ewald characterizes chap. iii., is unrivalled in majesty of thought and diction. Of others of the prophets, considered as stylists, we cannot speak so highly; and, moreover, we cannot fail to discover, that in certain instances the lowering in quality of style implies a lower degree of influence from the ideas and spirit of revelation. The inference from style in expression to degree of spiritual influence is not made on the false assumptions that revelation and inspiration cannot manifest themselves in varieties of style, or that the fact and degree of their influence are to be measured by literary niceties. Nevertheless, it remains true that form of expression and degree of spiritual influence bear some relation to each other; and style, in Hebrew literature, is so largely a result of ethical and religious causes, of the ideas and spirit of revelation, as to warrant an inference between the two, whether the inference relegate the particular writing to a high or low grade in the scale.

The objection to the rusticity of the language of Jeremiah is ancient, as are also the complaints of his grammatical ignorance. A relatively smaller portion of his work is truly poetic; he has

¹ See Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, p. 21.

² See i. 1, ii. 13, iii. 4, 5, 12, iv. 2, 3, 7, 9, v. 8, 11, 19, vi. 12, vii. 1 f., viii. 8, ix. 3, 13, 14.

not the dignity of movement, or purity of diction, which belongs to the earlier prophets; there is a certain suggestion of a relative weakness, rationally and ethically considered, when we compare his style with theirs. We must admit, then, that the total difference is not one merely in the amount of apparent Aramaisms. Jeremiah and Zephaniah have neither the literary nor the ethical loftiness of the earlier prophets. And, if our position with regard to the entire relation between the Hebrew language and Old-Testament revelation is correctly taken, we note something deeper than a merely superficial difference of style when we note how prosaic are Haggai and Zechariah. But Ezekiel has justly been called the worst of all the prophets from a literary point of view. Certainly many impurities of language and grammatical abnormalities are to be found in his writings.¹ His most highly wrought passages are prosaic and imitative.² He takes up the familiar figures of speech used by the older prophets and poets, and draws them out into such details, with such rhetorical excesses, as to mar their effectiveness.³ "His imagery," says Lowth, "is crowded, magnificent, terrific, sometimes almost to disgust; his language is pompous, solemn, austere, rough." The peculiarities of style in this prophet also are not wholly to be explained by the change which the Hebrew language was undergoing: they are rather due in a higher degree to the personality of the author as influenced, not alone by his surroundings, but also and chiefly by the ideas and spirit of revelation. They are, then, themselves to be considered in proof of the nature of those ideas and the characteristic influence of that spirit.

The further consideration of the more general relations which must be held to exist between the language and style of the Old-Testament writers, and the origin and nature of their writings regarded as Sacred Scripture, must be postponed until we have examined also the case of the New Testament.

In passing from the study of the language of the Old Testament, regarded as both a vehicle and a product of revelation, to that of the New, we are at once made aware of a great increase in means for comparative examination, and a corresponding increase in the extent and definiteness of the results which can

¹ Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebr. Sprache*, p. 35 f.

² Compare Kell, *Einl. in das A. T.*, p. 23.

³ See his method of dealing with the figure of speech, that the beasts and birds of prey shall assemble to feed upon the slain of Jehovah (xxxix. 17-20, compare xxxi. 13 15); and see Michaelis' note in Lowth, II. p. 89 f.

be reached. The New-Testament Greek can be copiously illustrated, both as respects its similarities and differences, by comparison with that of the classic Greek authors. It can be less copiously illustrated by comparison with contemporary or subsequent authors who used the *κοινή*, or later literary Greek. It can to some extent be compared with that form of the later Greek which prevailed in the common speech, and upon which, as its distinctive linguistic basis, it is itself built. Moreover, the history of those changes and growths of concepts, and rare or wholly new forms of words, which it embodies, can be somewhat satisfactorily traced in the LXX., the apocryphal writings of the Old Testament, and in some other Jewish writings which have the same religious tinge. Finally, then, the quickening and moulding power over language of distinctively Christian ideas, the more exact lines and forms of speech with which the inspiring new religion, and the inbreathing of the Holy Spirit, have wrought out effects in human consciousness and human expression, can also be made clear. We can affirm with confidence what Schleiermacher¹ called the "*sprachbildende Kraft des Christenthums*:" we can speak, as does Rothe,² with good reason, of a language of the Holy Ghost. The process of comparison by which we reach the scientific form of these affirmations cannot, of course, be followed by us in detail. The barest sketch of its elements and outline must suffice. Neither the ancient classic Greek, nor the *κοινή*, whether as spoken by the multitude, or as written by the authors of the time, contained a phraseology which was fit for the conceptions and for the religious phenomena of Christianity.³ The Greek of the LXX., and of the Old-Testament Apocrypha, must also be reformed and enriched in order partially to meet the demands of this new form of religious life. And yet both the *κοινή*, and the religious language of Judaism, are to a large extent found everywhere in the very substance of New-Testament Greek.

We find, then, three principal elements, or factors, each of which must be considered in order to understand the relation that exists between the language and the spiritual life of the New Testament. These three are: (1) the *κοινή*, which forms the substance and menstruum, or linguistic solvent, of the other elements of the New-Testament language; (2) the words

¹ Hermeneutik, Berlin, 1838, p. 68.

² Zur Dogmatik, p. 238.

³ See Winer, Grammar (translation of Professor Thayer), p. 34: compare Reuss, Geschichte der heil. Schriften N. T., I. p. 35.

and forms of speech which had resulted from the previous attempts of the Jews to express the conceptions of Old-Testament religion in Greek, and the chief source of which is the Septuagint; (3) the words, and turns of expression, which are the most special result of the formative influence from the specific ideas and spirit of Christianity itself.

We consider first, very briefly, the origin and nature of the *κοινή*. The earliest forms of the Greek language, as made known to us by its most ancient literature, are three, — the Aeolic, the Doric, and the Ionic dialects. The peculiarities which distinguished the spoken language are matters of indirect proof; but, as written language, each dialect is the form which in the most remote historical antiquity had established itself as the favorite one for a particular kind of literature. The Ionic is the favorite form for epic poetry; the Doric, for lyric in the war-songs, religious hymns, and the choruses in general; the Aeolic, for that peculiar kind of lyric which may be called subjective, and in which Alcaeus and Sappho sung. But the Attic, which originated chiefly from the Ionic, and occupied a middle position between the hardness of the Doric and the softness of the Ionic, became the prevalent language of literature after Athens had become the literary centre, and after the ancient forms of literature had for the most part given way to the drama, the oration, history, philosophy, and the other forms in which the Attic writers of Athens excelled. But the Macedonian conquest, in its general breaking-down of ancient barriers and distinctions, included those of language as well. How profound were the changes which took place in the Greek language, we can judge, although calling in question the propriety of the assertion of Steinthal,¹ who insists that genuine Greek died soon after the time of Alexander: its organic and living development as a language, that is to say, forever ceased.

But a certain kind of Greek, which in its turn underwent a certain kind of development, became far more than ever before the speech, not only of the civilized ancient world, but even of barbarians; if, indeed, the jargon of the latter can properly be called Greek. In Athens itself, a form of the Greek language relatively very pure continued to maintain itself; but the Attic, which was spoken in the Macedonian court and by the Macedonian soldiery, spread itself not only over the lands inhabited by the ancient Hellenes, but also over the Macedonians.

¹ Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Alten, p. 386.

provinces of Syria and Egypt. For we are not to look upon a Macedonian dialect as the fundamental form of the *κοινή*, but as constituting after the time of Alexander the leading form or type of those various corruptions and debasements which united to form this *κοινή*. And inasmuch as they who were most active in thus mixing the ancient forms and usages of the Greek with one another, and with other elements from languages not Greek, were largely merchants, soldiers, strolling players, and *quondam* slaves, it is not doubtful that the spoken Greek of the crowds became a much debased and corrupted affair. Under the worst conditions, a jargon was formed in which the nice distinctions of the classic language were almost wholly lost. Different case-endings of nouns were confused. Monstrosities of verbal construction appeared, even to the extent of phrases and sentences which it is impossible to translate with confidence on account of their breach of all the laws of grammar known to the ancient Greeks.¹ A mixing not only of different dialects of Greek with an admixture of foreign languages, but also of the rural forms of speech with those of the centres of trade and commerce, went on. "If Antioch was an Asiatic Athens," declares Steinthal, "it was only a Hellenic oasis in a Hellenistic-barbarian desert." But the Spirit of revelation, moving in history as Providence, did not permit the language of the New Testament to attach itself either to an Asiatic jargon or to a special Alexandrine dialect.

While the *κοινή*, considered as the spoken language of the world's motley crowds in intercourse, was undergoing these various stages of corruption, from the slight changes of Athenian Attic after Alexander's time to the barbarisms of Nubia or rural Syria, this same *κοινή*, considered as the language of the later Hellenic literature, was undergoing its own changes, closely related to those of the spoken language. For, on the one hand, many of the writers of this entire period made praiseworthy and quite successful efforts to write a Greek which should be pure from the worst corruptions; but, on the other hand, not even the most strenuous and successful of them could exclude the influences which were in the very air they breathed. Among the Jews, only a few of the most learned, such as Philo

¹ See Steinthal, *Ibid.*, p. 405 f. For example: ὕδωρ for *συνπάντων*, *υἱόν* (that which is liquid) for water; τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄναξ, for the first time; νίκημα μετὰ τὸν ἐχθρὸν, for victory over the enemy. Οἱ γὰρ φιλόνηκοί μου ἀρπάξω τὸν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παῖδια αὐτῶν (I rob my enemies of their wives and children), is a specimen of Nubian Hellenism.

and Josephus, attained a style approximating to *literary* Greek.¹ But the literary Greek to which they most nearly attained was itself not classic Greek. The extreme purists of the old orthodoxy looked upon the assertion that New-Testament Greek is not faultless, when judged by the ancient classic models, as savoring of blasphemy. The work of the Holy Spirit upon the language of the Christian writings which their view demanded, could have been nothing less than a perpetual miracle, reaching to the minutest details of etymology and syntax. But careful research has now made it certain, that the writers of the New Testament can as little be commended for being perfectly true to the best models of the written *κοινή*, as they can be charged with writing the worst form of the jargon described above.

We must, then, consider the basis of the New-Testament Greek as laid in that form of the *κοινή* which was the spoken language of the region in which the New-Testament books arose. In other words, the New-Testament Greek is, fundamentally considered, Hellenistic Greek; it is such Greek as was spoken by the Jews and other surrounding peoples in their daily intercourse at the centres of civilization. The New-Testament diction is itself the best example of the spoken *κοινή*. In this diction it is not important, even if it were possible, to distinguish the peculiarities of a so-called Alexandrine, or a so-called Syrian, dialect. But some examples of those differences between classic Greek and this spoken *κοινή*, which the New-Testament diction itself illustrates, must be noted in passing.

That greater uncertainty of spelling which belonged to the first MSS. of the New Testament is a variation from the classic Greek which was shared by the written and spoken *κοινή*. The process of changes in spelling through which all New-Testament MSS. have passed makes it difficult to cite with confidence instances illustrating this fact. But these MSS. have the style of spelling which belonged to the time and region in which they were made, or to their models: their spelling is in part, then, to be accounted for on the supposition that it originally varied with the different authors of the first models. A confusion appears of short and long vowels and of single vowels and diphthongs.² In some cases there is a failure to observe the augment, in others a false augment, in still others a repetition

¹ See Winer, *Grammar*, p. 21.

² See Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 415; and compare Lipsius, *Grammatische Untersuchungen über die biblische Gräcität*, Leipzig, 1863.

to the number of two or even three augments.¹ These faults, as judged by a classical standard, were not confined to the New-Testament diction, as the writings of Phrynichus and the practice of Plutarch and others assure us. Confusions of gender, innovations in the inflections of nouns and verbs, also appear. Words from the different ancient dialects had become absorbed into the common speech; such are the Attic ὁ σκότος, and from the Ionic the word ξυράω (see Acts xxi. 24; 1 Cor. xi. 5).² Other words which were rare in the ancient literature of Greece had become parts of the speech of common life. Newly compounded words, or new significations of words found in the classic Greek, had been made part of the κοινή, and thus prepared to serve the purpose of expressing Christian thought. Such words are ἀγενεαλόγητος (Heb. vii. 3), ἀντιλυτρον (1 Tim. ii. 6), ἐγκρατεύομαι (1 Cor. vii. 9, ix. 25), ἀνόμης, παραβάτης, for a transgressor of law (found in Aeschylus, Eum. 553), θεοστυγής in the passive sense (found in Euripides: see Rom. i. 30), ἀγωγή for one's mode of life, εὐχαριστεῖν to return thanks, ἀνακλίνεω to recline at table, and certain diminutives like κοράσιον, not admitted into pure Attic, but derived from popular usage, and found in later literary Greek. Changes of ancient customs had introduced changes in the meanings of their descriptive words: for example, the word γενέσσια — which had originally meant a feast in honor of the dead, held on the recurrence of his birthday — had come to be used instead of γενέθλια, a birthday feast. Thus the word in late Greek for an announcement — ἐπαγγελία — had been made ready for its New-Testament use in the meaning of that supreme announcement which is the promise of salvation by the gospel. Thus also δαίμων or δαιμόνιον had acquired in the later spoken-Greek the meaning of an evil spirit. Especially interesting are the cases of certain words, which, having been employed only for coarse uses in the classic Greek, had even by the vulgar usage been preserved for the nobler uses of the New Testament: χορτάζειν (to fodder, or fatten in a stall) was used as a low word in the later comedy for filling one's self full of food; but by popular usage to signify the satisfying of a human being with food, it had been made ready to be used in the ideal sense of satisfying the hunger of the soul (see Matt.

¹ See ἡνεπηγμένη, Rev. iv. 1.

² For lists of these words, see Winer, Grammar, p. 24; Planck, De Vera Natura atque Indole Orationis Graecae N. T., p. 18 f.; Schirlitz, Grundzüge der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität, p. 15 f.; and the larger lexicographical works to which these writers refer.

v. 6). It is, then, only in the exercise of its right as one form of the *κοινή*, that the diction of the New Testament and the LXX., after the analogy of classic Greek, forms and employs compounds like *αἱματεκχυσία* (Heb. ix. 22), and *δικαιοκρισία* (Rom. ii. 5), and the various compound verbs with *πρός* and *ἐπέρ* and other prepositions that add less to the meaning than to the sonorous sound.

That the spoken *κοινή* was the form of language alone suitable for the expression and promulgation of the religious ideas of Christianity, is clear from both its subjective and its objective relations to this use. The capacity for figurative construction, the manifoldness, the versatility, the wealth of accumulation, which belonged to Greek, were incomparably greater than belonged to any other language of antiquity. But since the good to be distributed was a common good; since, as Zetzschwitz¹ declares, "it is the sacred prerogative of the gospel never to be first preached otherwise than in the language of humanity and to the poor," — the diction of the New Testament was most fitly not the classic Greek, nor the literary Greek of its own time, but the language of the multitudes, the spoken *κοινή*.² A seething sea of language — ancient dialects compounded, old poetic forms, and new constructions of popular speech, with somewhat from many other forms of popular expression — was waiting to be brooded over by the Divine Spirit.

But the impress of the ideas and spirit of Old-Testament revelation upon the Greek language had already been felt in the formation of the language of the LXX. and of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament. Upon the basis of the *κοινή*, especially as spoken in Alexandria, a technical religious language of the Jews had arisen, and had become the principal medium for the internal communication and the outward promulgation of Old-Testament ideas. The Greek translation of the Old Testament had become for great numbers of the Jews, who were either obliged or inclined to use a translation of their ancient Scriptures, at once the only version of those Scriptures

¹ Profangrätigkeit und biblischer Sprachgeist, p. 9.

² As to the extent to which the Greek was used in the Christian era, see Renan, *Histoire générale des Langues Sémitiques*, p. 223; De Wette, *Einf. in das N. T.*, § 1, and the references to Hug and Credner found there; Schürdlitz, *Grundzüge*, p. 13 f.; Reuss *Geschichte der heil. Schriften N. T.*, p. 31; Milman, *Bampton Lectures*, 1827, p. 182 f.; Fairbairn, *Hermeneutical Manual*, p. 10; Westcott, *art. New Testament*, *Smith's Bible Dictionary*; and Roberts, *Discussions on the Gospels*, pp. 26-316. (The view of this last author, that Jesus and the apostles customarily spoke in Greek even when addressing Jews, cannot be justified.)

and the only form of Greek literature which they knew. This translation, therefore, exerted a pre-eminent influence over the form of Greek written among the Jews, both of Judaea and of the Diaspora. Considered as Greek, it represents the grade of purity retained by the spoken *κοινή* of Alexandria.¹ The LXX. give us poor Greek, even as compared with Philo and Josephus; but the LXX. for the most part keep clear of the worst of the jargon which must have prevailed in the region around them. This Greek of the LXX. differs, however, from that spoken by the Greeks and Macedonians of Alexandria in that day, chiefly by containing innumerable manifestations of the Hebrew form of thought and language. What we know as Hebraisms, in the widest sense of the word, abound in the Septuagint. The necessity for these Hebraisms in biblical Greek may be considered as twofold: it consisted partly in the subjective feeling of the Jews, that the Greek which they heard spoken had no words and phrases with the import needed, and had not the ring, the traditional form and manner of expression, which satisfied them; it consisted also in the objective fact, that they must communicate the ideas of Old-Testament religion in Greek, and in such Greek as they could construct and manage with reference to the materials at their disposal. These Hebraisms, then, are not simply many in number; they are also manifold in form and completeness. Their range is from the most *perfect* Hebraisms, or those words, phrases, and constructions which are most strictly peculiar to the Hebrew and averse to Greek usage, to the most *imperfect*, or such words, phrases, and constructions as were probably derived from Hebrew and yet are not infrequent also in Greek usage. The following kinds of Hebraisms (in the widest meaning of the word) need only to be noticed:² (1) Hebrew-Aramaic words which are simply transposed into Greek letters; (2) words where the Hebrew derivative meanings were attached to a Greek word the primary signification of which most nearly corresponded to the Hebrew (thus *νύμφη* — bride — denotes also daughter-in-law after the analogy of *כלה* in Gen. xxxviii. 11, and elsewhere; *εὐλογεῖν*, like the Hebrew *ברך*, means *fausta per deum precari*; and *κτίσις* means *thing created*); (3) derivative words formed to fit Hebrew conceptions, but after the analogy of the Greek vernacular (such

¹ See Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 409.

² Compare Winer, *Grammar*, p. 27 f.; Bleek, *Eintl. in das N. T.*, p. 87 f.; Schirmitz, *Grundzüge*, p. 30 f.

are *σπλαγχνίζεσθαι*, *ἀναθεματίζειν*, and *προσωποληπτεῖν*); (4) words and phrases which have a derived and figurative meaning, not unknown to Greek, but familiar to Hebrew, and introduced into biblical Greek from the Hebrew (*σπέρμα* for *proles*, *ἀνάγκη* for distress, *στόμα* of a sword); (5) phrases which arose from the verbal translation into Greek of Hebrew vernacular expressions which were more or less foreign to the Greek (*γεῖσθαι θανάτον*, *αἷμα ἐκχεῖν*, *ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα*, all of which a Greek would readily understand; and *πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν*, and *λογίζεσθαι εἰς δικαιοσύνην*, which a Greek would perhaps have found at first unintelligible); (6) phrases that show the Hebrew predilection for circumstantiality and figurative forms of speech (such as *φεύγειν ἀπὸ προσώπου τινός* and *ἐγράφη διὰ χειρός*); (7) technical terms and phrases of religion.

Without dwelling upon those Hebraisms which consist rather in the departure from the grammatical forms of Greek, we consider several examples of that class of Hebraisms which was mentioned last above. The chief office of the Greek of the LXX. in preparing a diction for the New Testament was rendered in the form of those technical words and phrases which were made to represent the ideas of Old-Testament religion. Inasmuch, then, as Christianity is in some sort grounded, both ideally and historically, in the Old-Testament religion, the language of the Greek version of the Old-Testament Scriptures is pre-eminently the religious language made ready for the writers of the New Testament. Indeed, most of those words and phrases of Christianity which express its technical religious facts and ideas are the gift of the LXX.: they are so, although the import of these words and phrases was much changed and expanded by the spirit of Christianity. Of this general statement an illustration or two will for the present suffice.

The conception which corresponds to the Hebraistic phrase *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* is the grandest of all human conceptions, and of growth so slow as to correspond with its grandeur. The foundation of this conception is in the covenant relation into which Jehovah enters with Israel, and which distinguishes this people from the other peoples of the earth, making them the people of his kingdom (see Exod. xix. 6; Deut. xxxiii. 5). Between this most ancient and the Christian conception of the kingdom of God, stands the prophetic. Upon this basis of Old-Testament revelation is built the import of the phrase *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* in the Christian dispensation. For the expression belonged to the

school-language of the religious community among the Jews. The biblical conception of the divine holiness as affecting the speech of the LXX., and, through them, of the New Testament, has been discussed by Zezschwitz and others.¹ For this general conception four principal classic Greek words were employed; viz., *ἀγνός*, *σεμνός*, *ὁσῖος*, and *ἱερός*, — *ἄγιος*, which is allied to *ἀγνός*, becoming comparatively infrequent. Of these *ἱερός* and *ὁσῖος* turned the thought rather godward (*ἱερός*, according to Pape, being used of whatever concerns the gods, and especially of what is consecrated to them). But *ἱερός* is used only twice in the New Testament, and in neither case as implying ethical quality: in the LXX. it (*ἱερὸν*) is used only twice for the sanctuary, and in both cases to translate a word expressing only the externals of the sanctuary (1 Chron. xxix. 4; Ezek. xlv. 19); but in the Apocrypha of the Old Testament it is regularly used for the Jewish temple. Biblical Greek, then, rejects the word *ἱερός* in a sense implying the idea of ethical holiness.² But although *ἱερός* and *ἀγνός* appear synonymous in non-biblical Greek, biblical Greek makes a distinction between them, and reserves the latter word for human purity. But *ὁσῖος* in biblical Greek remains true to the fundamental classic meaning, while gaining much in depth and intensity: it is used by the LXX. some thirty times to translate *קָדֵשׁ*, the fundamental conception of the Hebrew being “to be well-disposed.” It is *ἄγιος* — a word rare in Attic Greek and in the literary *κοινή* — which the religious community adopted and regularly employed to express its religious idea of holiness. And here all local concentration of holiness is involved in the appearance and self-revelation of Jehovah. This term the LXX. employ nearly one hundred times for *קָדֵשׁ*; for the presence of the source of all holiness is that which renders things really sacred. The New Testament, while departing from the usage of the LXX. by using *ἱερὸν* for the temple, conforms to its use of *ἄγιος*, the departure, as Zezschwitz thinks, is due to the fact that the inner principle of holiness has stripped from the external place of divine glory its former *quasi*-moral sanctity. For the New-Testament use of the word *κόσμος* also, the LXX. prepare the way by departing from the Greek usage. Pythagoras, according to Plutarch, was the first to call the world by this term on account of its *εὐραξία*; Platonism used it

¹ Profangräcität, pp. 13 ff.; and comp. Trench, Synonymes of the New Testament, I p. 182 f.

² This although *ἱερός* is the word which the LXX. use to translate *קָדֵשׁ*.

for the ideal world-order. But of the Hellenistic writings, only those which are apocryphal (especially the Books of Wisdom and Second Maccabees) use the word in this meaning; by the LXX. *κόσμος* and *κοσμεῖν* are used only in the debased sense of adornment (קְדוּשָׁה).¹ In New-Testament usage the *κόσμος* is the very opposite of an ideal world, or a divine, orderly, and beautiful whole. The opposition which the Old Testament sets forth as existing between the people of Jehovah and the Gentiles, Paul and John enlarge: it is the opposition between the present fleeting and sensual order of affairs, which calls out the lusts of men by external adornment, and the pure moral beauty of God and his kingdom, that expresses itself in the changed meaning of the word *κόσμος*.

Other instances of this mediating office which the language of Old-Testament revelation, when given in the forms of the *קוּלָּה*, performed for the diction of the New Testament, we need not notice. Old-Testament revelation and synagogical use combined with the later use of Greek to prepare a form for the utterance of Christian facts and ideas. But we cannot magnify the action of the preparatory forces so as wholly to account for the new diction. Not all these forces in their combined working could shape the form of speech which should be fitted for Christian experience and reflection to employ and fill. If, as Schleiermacher² justly claims, every spiritual revolution demands in some regards a new form of expression, this demand is pre-eminently valid and imperative on the part of the greatest spiritual revolution of all. For the ideas and the spirit so wonderfully new, there must be found a new language which should serve them as their recognizable form. We have, then, to consider the elements of the New-Testament diction which are most distinctively due to the Christian spirit and the Christian ideas.

The elements which constitute the claim of the New-Testament writings to be called the language of the Holy Spirit as the inspirer of Christian minds and hearts are three: (1) certain specifically Christian symbolism, (2) a certain new and distinctively Christian import given to words formerly in use; (3) certain new compounds formed by the necessities of the new Christian ideas.

¹ This is true, according to Zetzschwitz, even of those passages which speak of the stars as being the adornment of heaven; see note, p. 22.

² Hermeneutik, p. 64.

In constructing the more specifically Christian symbolism, the need is manifested that the new ideas should have a definite new circle of figures of speech and figurative phrases fitly to embody and convey them. Such figures of speech are for the most part constructed after the analogies of Semitic, and especially of Old-Testament language. Thus does Christ call himself ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός and ἡ ἀμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή. Thus also do the phrase, ἀνωθεν γεννᾶσθαι, and the λουτρὸς παλιγγενεσίας of the soul, come to stand for Christian conversion; as well as the word ἐπιστρέφειν, which Lucian (*Consc. Hist.* 5) used in the moral sense, and which the LXX. used for a positive obedience to the authority of Jehovah. In the same manner κατὰ σάρκα . . . εἶναι or ζῆν or περιπατεῖν becomes contrasted with the life and activity which are πνεύματι, ἐν πνεύματι, or ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος.¹

In estimating the new wealth of meaning which Christianity gave to the technical religious terms of Judaism, we can scarcely speak too strongly. The words are the same familiar words of Old-Testament revelation which must have fallen without shock from their sound upon the ear of the reader of the LXX. or the hearer of the talk in the Jewish synagogue. And yet no more completely new words were ever given to the world of religious thought. It has been said of the Pauline use of δικαιοσύνη, that every Jewish hearer or reader would have been obliged to say of the apostle, "This man uses our word in a different sense from ours."

The wealth of new meaning imported into the ancient words by the life-giving spirit of Christianity has been, after all the special investigations, quite too little prized or understood. But a very few from the many most notable examples which might be adduced must now stand for them all.

Among all the examples, none is more notable than ἀγάπη, a word, as representing the pure conception of love, not found in unbiblical Greek, in such Greek ἀγάπησις stands for affection. The LXX. employ the word seldom outside of Canticles; but the conception which they attach to it includes, according to Cremer, affection that chooses its object with decisive will and readiness for self-sacrifice. The biblical conception of ἀγάπη as a moral energy is distinguished from that of the noble Greek word φιланθρωπία, to which the biblical φιλαδελφία more nearly corresponds: φιλανθρωπία is that affection which duly belongs to the object as a personal friend and benefactor, or a fellow-citi-

¹ See Schirlitz, *Grundzüge*, pp. 36 ff.

zen, or as one entitled to it on account of misfortunes. But the New-Testament conception of *ἀγάπη* as the fruit of the Spirit (Gal. v. 22) is a creation of Christianity. This love is not primarily regarded as a characteristic of humanity but of divinity, — the very reverse of Aristotle's view, that Deity exists not to love but to be loved. This *ἀγάπη* is given to men for recognition in the self-sacrifice of Jesus Christ (1 John iii. 16); it characterizes the divine essence, for God is essentially love (1 John iv. 8). Surely here is life-giving power creating a body for itself from the materials furnished by the human development of language.

The Christian meaning of *πίστις* is much more nearly in accord with the fundamental idea of the word in classic usage. Even in classic Greek, *πίστις* is persuasion which is based on confidence in the person or thing trusted, rather than on knowledge; more rarely it is fidelity, or the pledge of fidelity, an oath, or its means, or some form of evidence and proof. So that in Plato (*Rep.*, X. 601, E.) *πίστις* and *ἐπιστήμη*, ὁ πιστεύων and ὁ εἰδώς, are contrasted. By Xenophon (*Mem.* I. 1, 1) the word *νομίζω* is used to designate belief in the gods, although the confidence is regarded as based on tradition. The idea of confidence in a person, as distinguished from knowledge, is the priceless gift of classic Greek to the New-Testament idea of *πίστις* (compare 2 Cor. v. 7; Heb. xi. 27; Rom. iv. 18; John xx. 29). But classic Greek could not fully evolve the idea of religious faith: such an idea did not correspond with the fundamental Greek conceptions of the relations existing between the human and the divine. Personal relations with God as a basis of confidence are, however, involved in the Hebrew use of the words *בטח*, *הסכה*, and *הק*. But in the New Testament the idea is expanded so as to include all the essential relations of the religious life. The New-Testament era becomes contrasted with that of the Old Testament as pre-eminently characterized by *πίστις* (see Gal. iii. 23, and compare Acts vi. 7, xvii. 31).

The word *ἐλπίς* was originally used of the expectation of future things; sometimes of evil things (as in Herodotus, vi. 109, 3, ix. 113, *ἐλπόμενος δέ τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι*), but generally of future good. In the later Greek also *ἐλπίς* sometimes meant anxiety, or fear. In the New Testament the word is always employed in the good sense, but more specifically of that expectation of eternal salvation which is joyful and full of firm confidence. That one expectation is alone deemed worthy of being called

- hope (*ἐλπίς*) which concentrates in itself and satisfies all the other expectations of the human mind. The relation of this word to another word for a cognate conception is further instructive: *ὑπομονή* is patient and constant expectation. This latter conception is most prevalent in the Old Testament, as the LXX. clearly saw, and showed by using it to translate *נָחַם* and *נָחַם*, — words in which the idea of binding fast, and so of mental strength or constancy, is fundamental. In neither sense can hope be recognized as existing where the promises of salvation under a covenant have not reached; and, where there is no such hope, there the power of moral purification which belongs to such hope cannot exist (see 1 John iii. 3).

That conception of the LXX. which is nearest to the New Testament conception of *χάρις* is *ἀεὶς* as a translation of *רַחֵם*. In the New Testament our thought is raised from the significance of simple kindness and good-will, to that favor of God and Christ which secures and dispenses the benefits of the gospel. The special meaning, then, of the word *χάρις* in the Christian terminology, is most definitely due to the specifically Christian ideas which it embodies. In classic Greek it signifies whatever is pleasant (*alles worüber man sich freut.* — PAPER). But what a vast distance between this meaning and the specifically Christian import which is the gift of revelation to the world through the inspired mind of the Apostle Paul!

Zeischwitz has shown at length in what a wonderful manner Christianity has dealt with certain words in the vocabulary of the Greek psychology. Of principal significance is the fact, that the word *λόγος* in the sense of "reason" — the rational faculty in man — is foreign to the Scriptures, while *πνεῦμα*, which is in its psychological meaning foreign to other Greek, becomes from the first the predominant psychological conception of the biblical Greek. The conception and use of *πνεῦμα* for the self-conscious and innermost psychical life of man, or for the divine principle of life which is imparted to man as the principle of his new divine life, belong to the Bible alone. The Bible, then, can introduce us to the phrase *πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, — a phrase which, according to Zeischwitz, would be unintelligible in classic Greek. But all the theology of the Bible, and all the experience of the Christian life, are dependent upon the true and full conception of this phrase.

Only a little less suggestive and forceful than the instances in which Christianity has given a positively new import to its

own words and phrases are those in which it is negatively distinguished by the absence of certain ethical or *quasi*-ethical conceptions and terms, important and common to the diction of non-biblical Greek. Such are the terms with their conceptions, *καλὸς κάγαθός, μηδὲν ἄγαν, ἀνδρεία, ἀρέτη*, and *σωφροσύνη*, in the peculiarly Greek sense. The sacred words *εὐσέβεια, σέβω*, and *σέβομαι*, from which we might expect so much, are used, Jon. i. 9, when the prophet confesses his fear of divinity, and in the New Testament for the service of idols, or the traditional piety of heathen and proselytes. Yet this feeling of natural piety, and the externals of worship to which it leads, are not treated in the New Testament as they were in the Old, while the opposite *ἀσέβεια* is implicitly condemned. But plainly this kind of piety, concept and word, could not satisfy the conditions of Christianity. In the room of these vanished or diminished concepts and words come others which fill the vacant places. Of *ταπεινότης, ταπεινοφροσύνη*, in the meaning of the ancient Greek for *ταπεινός*, viz., servile and crouching, the biblical usage knows nothing; but it dignifies the ancient word, and employs it for the virtue of modesty, and freedom from arrogance. The right attitude of lowliness before God in view of sinfulness, and of gratitude in view of pardon, demands an expression for a new and crowning virtue of Christianity. And if New-Testament Greek makes little of the *νοῦς* as an independent faculty in man, it emphasizes the *συνείδησις*,¹ or conscience, which is regarded, not as an independent ethical faculty, but as the seat and organ of divine ethical ideas and influences.

Of the power of Christian ideas and the Christian spirit to make absolutely new compounds, we cannot speak with perfect confidence; for we cannot often affirm with perfect confidence that any compound is absolutely new. In order to make this affirmation in the case of the New-Testament diction, we should need to know all the words which occurred, not only in previous literature, but also in that technical religious speech which was distinctive of the Hellenistic Jews. Not a few cases occur, however, in which we must with great probability refer a new compound to this power; in the case of those compound words which are most manifestly vehicles for purely Christian thought, we need have no hesitation at all.

¹ According to Zezschwitz (p. 53), this word is found in a sense allied to the biblical, only in one passage, viz., of Diodorus Siculus (iv. 65); but, on the contrary, see the investigations of Kähler in his *Das Gewissen*, 1878, I. pp. 32 ff.

How marvellously intense and comprehensive this formative power over language, due to the influence of distinctively Christian and spiritual causes, must be estimated to be, it is not easy to describe in words. But let any thoughtful reader go carefully through with a list of such expressions as most exhibit this power, and then make the estimate for himself. What strange new life in language has entered the world in the diction of the New Testament! What changes would modern thought and literature have to undergo in order to abstract from them all that is due to the new import and power which Christianity gave to human speech!¹

The detailed consideration of the linguistic characteristics which are exhibited by the different authors of the New-Testament books belongs to the special Introduction of those Books. But to our purpose it belongs rather to note the nature of these differences, and the inferences from the fact that the differences exist at all. The one spiritual influence was, in respect to language as in respect to other forms of its expression, distributed in a variety of powers and gifts. The distribution corresponded in general with the laws which have already been considered in other connections. In the case of the New Testament the personal elements are more prominent, and consequently the authorial peculiarities more marked, than in the case of the Old. This difference between the two Testaments is in part due to the superior flexibility and more subtle variability of the Greek as compared with Hebrew, and in part to the fact that the expression of the various forms of Christian inspiration was less limited by conventionalities than was the case with the Old-

¹ The following list of words and phrases, which have been either compounded or largely changed in import by the influence of Christianity, will perhaps be helpful in an investigation like that suggested above. Ἄλφα (ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ α καὶ τὸ ω, Rev. i. 8), ἄβυσσος (ἡ) for the bottomless pit; ἀγαθοσύνη, ἀγαθοεργία, ἀγαθοποιεῖν, ἄγιος, ἅγιοι (οἱ) for Christians; ἀγιάζω, ἀγιοτής, ἁγισμὸς, ἀγάπη, ἀδελφότης, ἀντίλυτρον, ἀπόστολος, ἀπολύτρωσις, ἀφιλάγαθος, βαπτίζω and βάπτισμα, γεννάσθαι ἄνωθεν, διάκονος, δικαιοσύνη and the other compounds of δίκαιος, δόξα and ἐνδοξάζω, εἰρήνη, ἐκκλησία, ἐλεέσθαι and ἐκλεκτοὶ (οἱ), ἐλπίς, ἐνδυναμῶ, ἐπίσκοπος, ἐπισκοπή, ἁλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, ἔργα, εὐαγγέλιον, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι and εὐαγγελίστης, εὐδοκία, ζῶη, θάνατος, καθαρίζω, καρδιογνώστης, καταλλάσσειν, κηρύττειν and κήρυγμα, κλῆν . . . τὸν ἄρτον for the sacred repasts; καλεῖν, κληῖσις and κλητοὶ (οἱ), κοινωνία, κόσμος, λουτρόν, λύτρωσις and λυτρωτής, μάρτυς, ματαιότης, ματαιὸς and ματαιολόγος, μετάνοια and μετανόεω, μυστήριον (used, however, for a revealed secret in classic Greek), ὁδός, the manner of life belonging to the Christian community; οἰκοδομή and οἰκοδομεῖν in the figurative sense; ὀλιγόπιστος, ὁμολογία, ὄργη, παράκλητος (ὁ), πάσχειν in the technical sense of Christ's passion; πίστις, πιστοὶ (οἱ) for Christians, and πιστεύειν εἰς (ἐν or ἐπὶ) Χ., πνεῦμα and πνευματικός, πρεσβύτερος, σάρξ (ἡ) and σαρκικός in the theological sense; σκάνδαλον and σκανδαλίζεσθαι, σώζειν, σωτήρ and σωτηρία, ταπεινότης and ταπεινοφροσύνη, χάρις and χάρισμα, ψυχὴ and ψυχικός.

Testament forms. The manifold forms of Christian utterance which the writers of our Christian Scriptures adopt is what we should expect from the intensity and limitless character of the new spiritual life.

In the Synoptic Gospels we have the narrative of Christ's sayings and life given to us in common language and style, which are largely determined by the characteristics of the gospel message as spoken by Jews in their peculiar religious and technical form of the *κοινή*. But abundant subtle indications show that each of the Synoptic Gospels is the work of an author who contributes to his materials not only the selection and arrangement, but also presents them in his own language and style. Among the Epistles, different groups of authorial peculiarities can be pointed out as characteristics that may fairly be claimed for a particular author; and where, as especially in the case of Paul, enough works of one authorship exist for comparative study, the changes and progress of the literary style of the author may also be pointed out. A somewhat wide range of purity or impurity is plainly indicated, from the quite purely Greek prologue of Luke's Gospel to the thick-set Hebraisms of the Apocalypse. Of pre-eminent importance and value for the diction of the New Testament, and therefore for the expression of Christian ideas and experience to the end of time, are the inspired personalities of John and Paul. The characteristic nomenclature of the former, with its vocabulary of words like *λόγος*, *φῶς*, *ἀλήθεια*, *ζωή*, *ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς*, *κόσμος*, *σάρξ*, and other words, each in the Johannean sense, and his marked forms of arranging the sentence, as, e.g., his frequent epideixis, or pointing-out of his subject by the pronoun *οὗτος* (see i. 19, 30, iii. 19; vi. 29, 39, 50, xvii. 3; 1 John ii. 25, iii. 23, v. 8, 6, 14), are permanent forms of Christian speech. And as for the Apostle Paul, who shall describe him in any other manner so well as by describing the marked peculiarities of his language and style? and who shall estimate his service to Christianity and to the world without taking into account the new import which he gave to many ancient forms of technical religious speech? It is significant of a mighty and new divine progeny of thoughts which are entering the world, when we see this inspired follower of Jesus Christ travelling in the Spirit to make known to others what is divinely made known to him. Nor is it strange if a whole group of words from the one root *δίκη*, — *δικαίω*, *δικαιοῦν*, *δικαίωμα*, *δικαίωσις*, *δικαιοσύνη*, — bearing these

new divine thoughts, presently appear. Nor will any one who notices sympathetically the linguistic peculiarities of this apostle — his effort to bring the larger members of his sentences into an organic movement, his frequent failures even thus to make them truly periodic, his rush of words forward and the sudden intervening turns, his slipping-in of new thoughts, his interjectional questions and remarks, his starting off at a word of his own, his piling-up of compounds as though he could not even thus secure sufficient utterance, his frequent antitheses, his readiness ever to fall back upon the language of experience, his mighty tentative struggles to put into a firm form his movable thought and feeling — be slow to grant his claim that he teaches the truth of the gospel in words taught him of the Holy Ghost. The language is such as the Divine Spirit may use when it gives form to the new divine ideas of Christianity through a personality like that of the Apostle Paul.

In the present chapter we have considered the last one of those special classes of phenomena into which for convenience we divided this part of the entire theme. In the preceding chapters the claims and the phenomena suggested conclusions which had reference chiefly to the substance and ideal contents of biblical truth: in the following chapters we shall consider the Bible rather as a whole. But in the present chapter the consideration and conclusions have reference chiefly to the form assumed by the ideal contents: the form in which the biblical revelation comes to us is, of course, the form of written language. In the phenomena which have reference to form, we discover a sign and proof of the most valid claims which the writings of the Old and New Testaments make to the title of Sacred Scripture.

We reach, then, the following conclusions concerning the relations that exist between the linguistic form of the books of the Old and New Testaments and the general claim which they make to the title of Sacred Scripture. These conclusions may be given in the following three statements: —

The linguistic form of the Bible evinces a providential preparation of two kinds of human speech to become in turn the fitting vehicles for the ideas and spirit of revelation. One Semitic language, namely the Hebrew; and one Indo-European language, namely that kind of Greek which may be known as the Hellenistic, *κοινή*, — constitute the linguistic form of the Bible. Each of these languages has certain definite peculiarities which

difference it from the most nearly allied forms of human speech; and some, at least, of these peculiarities can be seen to stand in definite relations to the work of revelation which was to be accomplished through them. The ancient Hebrew, it may be affirmed, was providentially selected and prepared to be the idiomatic medium of Old-Testament revelation; the Hellenistic Greek, of New-Testament revelation. In the case of the Hebrew we can only for the most part infer what was the special character and course of this providential preparation, since the actual history of it is for the most part lost; but in the case of the New-Testament Greek we can more clearly trace the course of its actual history. In both cases the phenomena warrant the same conclusion: the Spirit of God as the Spirit of Providence has wrought upon the structure and secured the use of these languages. Moreover, we find abundant reasons for concluding that this Spirit has not been unmindful of fit times and seasons. It is doubtful whether Old-Testament revelation could have been given and secured so well through the Greek, or through any other of the Indo-European languages, as through that form of the Semitic known as the Hebrew. It is certain, on the other hand, that Hebrew could not have been the language of Christianity, and that no other form of speech than the *κωστή* could have served this purpose. Inasmuch, furthermore, as the New-Testament ideas were deeply rooted in the Old Testament, the wisdom of God is seen in this, that a more definite shape in the Greek had already been given to these ideas by the LXX., and by the religious writings and speech of Greek-speaking Jews. By the slow processes and wonderful correlations which we know or infer to have existed, the Hebrew of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New were prepared, and adjusted to their offices, in the work of divine self-revelation. This adjustment, together with all the correlations of forces which the processes display, is a divine work; it is the work in history of the same Divine Spirit who reveals and inspires.

And should it be said that so much of divine work is true of the language of every great classic literature, the answer may fearlessly be made, "Yes, a certain divine work is involved in the preparation of all such forms of speech." But the special nature of the preparatory work in the case of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures is furthermore to be judged by the purpose held in view, and by the result achieved. The purpose held in

view has been to prepare two forms of language which shall be especially fitted in the exact seasons and manner of their use, to the work of an historic revelation of ethico-religious facts and ideas. The result has been the attainment of that purpose in the forms actually employed for this use. And by as much as we exalt in thought the necessity and magnitude and grace of the purpose, and at the same time consider the perfection of the result with reference to this purpose, by so much shall we increase our estimate of the general argument. To him who is at once a believer in revelation, and also a student of comparative language, there is no reason for hesitation in affirming the providential impress upon the diction of Sacred Scripture.

But our second conclusion from the consideration of the phenomena of biblical language reaches much farther than the foregoing. Some of the linguistic form of the Bible evinces a direct and powerful influence from the ideas of revelation. The phenomena reveal nothing else more clearly than that the entire language is under the influence of a peculiar class of ideas: these ideas are ethico-religious ideas; they are, furthermore, such religious ideas as are peculiar to biblical revelation. The ideas are, then, those that have themselves been given in the process of revelation, and have been lodged in the language which they have also so largely moulded to fit themselves. We are thus introduced to the thought of a reciprocal influence between form and contents, word and idea. The nature of this influence, so far as it is a matter for dogmatic and speculative treatment, will occupy our attention elsewhere. But the most superficial consideration of the history of the biblical language serves to make the fact of this influence clear. In insisting upon the fact, we need not rehearse again the phenomena of the language: we are warranted in affirming the fact as a conclusion from the phenomena.

We must, however, make again a distinction in the character of this influence, according as it is more direct or more indirect. The larger and yet larger import of the words, and the changing forms of grammatical structure and style, depend upon the progress in the revelation of the ideas. Much of the language used by any individual author must have, of course, the traditional import; he must use the same words, with substantially the same import, as his predecessors. But every author, or at least every great and most truly inspired author, will himself also contribute something to a new and enlarged import of the

words; and he may even contribute new words for the new and enlarged import. Every author will also be likely to introduce original figures of speech, which may in their turn become traditional, and influential over the language of succeeding authors. It would be difficult to estimate the influence of that author who first wrote of God as El-Shaddai or Jehovah, or who first called Jehovah by any one of the great titles derived from his moral attributes or activities. All through the Bible, therefore, we may trace the influence, direct or indirect, which the ideas of revelation have had upon its language. This influence might be measured, in the case of the Old Testament, if we could compare the biblical Hebrew in all its characteristics with some other equally extended and diversified literature written in the ancient language, but without this influence. It may be measured, in the case of the New Testament, by considering in detail how its language and style differ from the other literary productions of the *κωνή*.

We conclude, then, that the influence which the language of the Bible receives from the ideas of revelation is such as to compel us to speak of its books as given in the idiomatic form of Sacred Scripture. The language is the form of the ideas, the ideas are ideas of revelation: the language is therefore, so far as it is the language of these ideas, a sign and proof of the work of the Holy Spirit.

In making our third and last conclusion from the phenomena of language and style, we must recur to the distinction made above. The influence of the ideas and spirit of revelation upon the language and style of each author of Sacred Scripture is for the most part to be considered as indirect: each author receives from the past the lexical and grammatical elements already prepared for his use, and as a free personality combines them in the construction of his style. But the possibility, and even the necessity, of a more direct influence, is involved in the very process of revelation itself. New import is to be given to old words, newly compounded words are to be introduced: a new language and style is gradually to be formed by the contributions of individuals inspired to know and promulgate revealed truth. It may well be, then, that a more immediate influence of the Divine Spirit upon the forms of expression which the individual writers employ be recognized as taking place. The *suggestio verborum* of the old theology is by no means unphilosophical if the conception be rightly limited and

understood. A new ray of spiritual influence penetrated the speech of humanity when the Apostle John wrote of the pre-existent Christ as the Logos, or when Paul defined the terms of salvation by giving new meanings to the words *δικαιοσύνη*, *χάρις*, *πίστις*, and the different conceptions of *ὁ νόμος*. Who that does not know all the subtle workings of human thought and choice shall venture to affirm the impossibility of a direct divine influence, fitting the form of language to the idea to be revealed? In such influence, and that in large measure, we may fully believe; for, although from the very nature of the case we have here to deal with the presence of a force which does not manifest itself directly to sense, the nature and the history of the biblical language sufficiently justify our belief. This direct inspiration of words by suggestion and guidance has doubtless been an important factor in the formation of Old-Testament Hebrew and New-Testament Greek. It is not, however, to be compared to the influence which the dictator of words to be written has over the mind of him to whom he dictates. It certainly has not secured a language which is lexically or grammatically faultless, or peerless in literary style. It has been no security against the use of such words as have committed to record manifold mistakes of various kinds. But it has secured what the Apostle Paul claimed for the influence, a form of words in telling the truths of religion which is adapted to those truths themselves. And in the contributions to this total result which have come through the different authors of Scripture, we can see proofs of direct divine communications, as well as of more indirect influences from the same great spiritual Source.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE HISTORY OF THE CANON.

THE intimacy of that relation which exists between historical researches into the growth of the Canon, and a true conception of the Bible as a whole, is too obvious to need argument. It is the special work of Biblical Introduction to make us acquainted with the origin and characteristics — historical, antiquarian, linguistic, etc. — which belong to the separate books of the Old and New Testaments. We are thus prepared for that subsequent work of exegesis which deals with the meaning of each part regarded as complete in itself, and of each passage in each part. But even this work of exegesis cannot in the case of any of the more important of those separate books now bound together into one, and called "the Bible" (or the Book), be confined within the particular writing whose meaning we are most desirous to evoke; for in some cases several compositions present themselves to us under the claim to a common authorship. It cannot fail, then, to aid us in the understanding of each writing of a given author, to know how he has expressed himself in the rest. Especially if the author be one of those great religious teachers whom God has selected and inspired to be the media of his revelation, — an apostle or a prophet, — we have in this fact an inducement to form a collection of his writings, and to study them in their mutual relations. It is but a step farther to the forming of an indefinite number of such collections.

But, furthermore, it is pre-eminently true of the biblical revelation that it claims to be an historic process; and this process began in a remote antiquity, and came through the various stages of Mosaism and Prophetism to its culmination in Jesus, and the founding of the Christian Church. Should writings be produced, and, however modified subsequently, remain extant, which gave to the community of believers the means of

tracing and appreciating the stages of this process, such writings would surely be set apart as sacred in their sight. Indeed, in the case of a revelation which is an historic process, we can scarcely conceive of it as securing a community of believers without a record of its progress. But only God himself, the Author and Inspirer of the historic process, could fully foresee the future needs of this community: he alone could also as Providence make sure that these needs should be satisfactorily met. We are right, then, in assuming as the indispensable necessity of an historic process of revelation a certain providential care over the records of the process.

That the collection of books to which we have given the title of a Bible has at least a loose correspondence of parts, and that it is so far a unity as in some sense to demand Providence for its author, the theist and Christian critic will not wish to deny. We have no hesitation in declaring with Westcott,¹ "That annals and prophecies and letters thus (apparently) casual in their origin should combine into a whole marvellously complete and symmetrical in its spiritual teaching, is, indeed, a clear intimation of the presence of a controlling power, both in their composition and in their preservation." In what sense we can understand the words "a whole marvellously complete and symmetrical," and yet remain true to the facts of critical inquiry, we shall consider in another place. One result of such consideration will be to make intelligible the intimate and organic connections in thought and history which unite together the different books of Scripture. From the first verse in Genesis to the last in Revelation, there is not a verse which does not suggest considerations lying outside of the particular writing in which it occurs, and within some other of the biblical writings. Moreover, an examination of the various orders of phenomena which belong to the Bible as a whole has suggested a certain unity of the various books. It has, indeed, demonstrated their great range and diversity. But it has also demonstrated that a certain similarity obtains throughout these various books; and this fact, if it do not prove them to have been all brought together under the impulse of a definite set of ideas, at least suggests something like a "*canon*," or rule, to measure and control the limits of the collection. The miraculous contents are, so to speak, spread throughout the principal separate writings of the Canon: these contents have a marked resem-

¹ Bible in the Church, p. 9.

blance to an ideal norm with respect to the conception and final purpose of the miracles they narrate. The history of the Bible, although by different authors, and much of it having come to us at second-hand and after various redactions, has a certain unity of subject and historical point of view. It also conforms for the most part, if not wholly, to an ideal norm, in that it is the history of the kingdom of God as planted in Israel and as reaching perfection in the Christian dispensation. This history is regarded by all its writers with more or less of manifest sympathy, insight, and affection. The predictive contents of Sacred Scripture are by their very nature likely to stimulate both an organic view and an organic construction of the different parts of the Bible. This is made evident especially by the fact that Christianity itself had much influence in developing the idea of a distinctive unity as applied to the Old Testament. This influence it exerted in part through its representation that all the Hebrew prophecies were fulfilled in Christ: it thus confirmed and expanded the idea of a fixed collection of prophetic utterances by imparting somewhat of its own unity to the ancient predictive writings (compare 2 Cor. iii. 14). If, then, there is to remain in the world such an historic revelation as Christianity, it would seem indispensable that it should have something like such a collection of sacred writings as the Bible. That the record of such a revelation, if it exist at all, will contain many and varied works by different authors, we may surely expect, for the expectation lies in the very nature of the case. But what limits have been set to the number of such writings? What law or idea has defined the exclusions which have been made from so-called canonical Scripture? The only possible answer to this question is the one derived from historical criticism. Or rather, the form and meaning of the question must be changed: we must rather inquire, Under what historical conditions did the present Canon actually grow up?

Yet we cannot answer even this latter inquiry without taking into account the present facts of Christian judgment and feeling. Let it be granted, that neither the judgment of Jewish rabbis nor that of the early Christian authors is competent absolutely to control the judgment of modern Christendom: the fact still remains, that the modern judgment, even after being enlightened by criticism, substantially confirms the more ancient. It is true, that, considering Christendom in its full extent, certain important questions concerning the Canon are still unanswered.

Among such questions are those as to the place of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, and as to the propriety of renewing the ancient distinction between the Homologoumena and the Antilegomena of the New Testament. To the latter question it is no fitting reply to aver, as did Westcott,¹ that the statement of Augustine, who favored this distinction, rests upon "no logical basis." For such an averment seems to imply the dogma, that the Canon of Sacred Scripture must be constructed on what the critic may deem to be a "logical basis:" in order, that is, that it may as a whole best correspond to the post-Reformation notion of a *regula fidei*. It seems also to involve the reversal of the true principle which the same author has himself pointed out: "History must deliver its full testimony before internal criticism can find its proper use." For the priority of history as compared with internal criticism, certainly extends also to dogma. Nevertheless, history did not come to an end with Origen, Jerome, and Augustine. And whatever may have been the dates at which the canons of the Old and New Testaments were respectively closed, the inquiry whether they are not *now* closed can never be without interest or importance. Should this inquiry be raised, it can scarcely be answered otherwise than in the affirmative. The judgment and consciousness of the Church has somehow come to regard a certain number of books as constituting its collection of Sacred Scriptures. It has by some process, however obscure, formed a canon called the Bible. The same fact to which the first collective title (*Bibliotheca divina*) used by Jerome bore witness is further affirmed in that common collective title (*βιβλία*), which by a solecism (whether "happy" or unhappy) came in the thirteenth century to be regarded as a feminine singular. As to the limits of this collection, there is still in dispute only the section accepted by the Roman-Catholic Church, but rejected by Protestants. That the present limits will ever be extended so as to receive other works now lying outside their farthest compass, there is no room even to conjecture. That they will ever be contracted so as to exclude any important works now lying within their narrowest compass, there is no reason to suppose. It can, then, be neither the aim nor the result of a critical study of the Canon, to get a practical reversal of the judgment of past and present time. The demand to attempt this reversal is not included in the claim to the fullest historical investigation.

¹ Canon of the New Testament, ed. 1866, p. 306, note.

Critical and historical study of the Canon does not aim at a reconstruction of it as at present constituted. As even Hilgenfeld expressly declares,¹ our inquiry does not concern the disturbance or destruction of the present Canon, but it concerns the construction of an historical conception of the Canon.

The question of the Canon, as one of historical criticism, is, however, complicated with other questions of a like criticism; it is in a large measure dependent for its decision upon the decision reached in regard to these other questions. This statement is especially true of two subjects which come in some detail before us in other portions of this work. The authorship and composition of the books of the Bible, and the history of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, are the two subjects most closely allied to the question of the Canon.

It is at once obvious, that the current opinions concerning the nature of its separate writings must have had much influence in determining the limits of the Bible. In general, however, the more precise definition of the idea follows, rather than precedes, the actual formation of that collection of writings to which the idea corresponds. Nor is it true that canonical scriptures, and sacred or inspired writings, are precisely one and the same in idea or extent. In the case of the Old Testament, nevertheless, almost all the information which we derive from the Apocryphal and Talmudic writings, relates to the conception of Sacred Scripture, rather than to the conception and historical process of an Old-Testament Canon. To a certain degree, a similar truth must be observed in the case of the New Testament. Inasmuch, then, as we are to give several chapters to a more detailed examination of the history of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, we may in this chapter assume certain conclusions which will subsequently receive a more thorough examination. Even thus we shall be obliged to repeat some references, while leaving a detailed statement of facts to such works as treat especially of the Canon.²

It is also obvious, that the history of the Canon must to a

¹ *Der Kanon und die Kritik des Neuen Testaments*, etc., Halle, 1863, p. 2.

² Most of the authorities consulted and chiefly relied upon in the preparation of this chapter will be cited in their appropriate places. It is a mistake to suppose that an acquaintance with all the more voluminous works on the Canon is indispensable in order that the general reader may form a tolerably correct and complete view. For such a view of the New-Testament Canon the following two books will suffice: *Canonicity*, by A. H. Charteris, Edinburgh and London, 1880 (for the text of early testimonies); and Reuss, *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften N. T.*, II. pp. 3-86 (for a fair and compendious statement of the main truths).

large extent be made up of inquiries as to the authorship, date, and simple or composite structure of the separate books; as to alleged revisions and redactions of these books; and even as to the purity of the transmission of the text. The extent of this dependence in the case of the Old Testament is largely increased by the great deficiency, amounting to an almost total lack, of direct information concerning the origin of its Canon. Within the canonical writings themselves, a few uncertain and obscure references to earlier works which were collected, preserved, and deemed in some sense important and sacred, constitute all our testimony at first hand. This fact leaves each critic free to understand the references in accordance with his own views (otherwise obtained) as to the origin of the separate books; indeed, the references themselves he may perhaps suspect to be interpolations. We should prefer (were it possible) not to make our argument from the Canon of the Bible to the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture dependent upon those conservative views as to the origin of the separate books which we have previously presented. This dependence, however, belongs to the very nature of the case. May not, then, a tenable conception of the Canon be made to consist with a sufficiently large allowance for the alleged results of criticism? We believe that it may. Let it be assumed that a part of the Old-Testament Canon is of late origin, that many of the earlier writings have been revised, and to a considerable extent made over, by later hands; that during all the period of the second temple, and for a century afterward, there was free judgment among the Jews concerning each writing produced with a claim to reception as inspired and sacred; that the decision concerning certain writings — viz., Ecclesiastes, Esther, Ezekiel, and Solomon's Song — remained long in dispute: must we, then, reject the present Canon? Must we not rather recognize it as exhibiting essentially the same mixed phenomena which everywhere compel a recognition of two sets of considerations?¹ There is everywhere the evidence of power from the Spirit of revelation, now waxing, now waning; but there are also abundant evidences of human imperfections and errors.

With regard to the New-Testament Canon, the entire question is much more serious. The authorship and date of its writings are made by hostile criticism almost a matter of life-

¹ Compare an interesting passage in Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 73 f.

and-death interest to Christianity itself. The real power of Christianity does not lie, indeed, in the critical decision as to when and by whom any of its sacred writings were composed. But this critical decision is often so presented as to carry with it the whole question of the historical verity and moral integrity of Jesus Christ. Nor can we wholly disentangle this serious question of the Canon from certain other critical inquiries which in themselves are comparatively trivial. Our view of the Canon of the New Testament is, then, somewhat intimately dependent upon our previous conclusions as to the genuineness and authenticity of its books; and these conclusions we must tacitly assume in the present chapter.

We have before us now the comparatively simple task of answering briefly the following specific inquiries: (1) What is the true conception of a Canon of Sacred Scripture? (2) By what process did the Christian Church arrive at the Canon which it now regards as fixed and closed? (3) What light do this conception and the study of this process throw upon the question as to the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture?

In the first place, then, What is the true conception of a Canon of Sacred Scripture? To this question also the answer must be largely, but not wholly, derived from the early history. For a true conception of the Canon cannot be reached without understanding the process by which the present collection of sacred writings was really secured. But, on the other hand, it does not follow that our conception of the Canon, in order to be true, must correspond in all respects with that of early times. A critical study of the historical process shows that elements of dogma have invariably had much to do with shaping the process. The conception of the Canon of the Old Testament which grew up among the Jews was an historical development, and depended upon the history of the Canon in its actual formation rather than gave shape to that history. Yet this conception was itself in part the result of the prevalent dogma as to revelation and inspiration; it was, that is to say, in part the effect of theological opinion, rather than of a purely historical process. The same truth holds good as to the Canon of the New Testament in the early Christian Church. Moreover, the purely theological and unhistorical conception which the Reformation introduced and fostered is itself now a matter of history; it is one item in the general account; it is sure to leave its impress upon all subsequent discussion, although in

its earlier form it has already yielded to the assaults of criticism.¹ The true conception of the Canon of Sacred Scripture must, then, take into account both the historical and the theological considerations; it must both investigate the process by which the present collection was formed, and also determine the nature of the separate books which enter into the collection, and of the relations which they sustain to one another. It is only as the result of a careful study of the claims and phenomena of the Bible, and as well of a candid investigation into the history of its rise, and of the opinions held by the Church concerning its nature, that we can say what is the true conception of the Canon. The complete answer can be given in no other way than by a description of the Bible as a whole.

We may, however, at once define this conception somewhat more clearly by stripping it of certain accretions which it received especially from post-Reformation theology. The history of the growth of opinion upon this subject in the early Church furnishes us with means for doing this. But it also discredits that utterly unhistorical and undefined view, which, in the name of criticism, would separate our idea of the Bible as a whole from all Christian truths as to divine revelation, and as to the work of the Holy Spirit.

The history of the title "Canon," as applied to the writings of the Old and New Testaments, is a noteworthy item in the general history of the Canon.² From the original and literal meaning of the word *κανών*, — that which, being itself straight, serves to measure or keep straight somewhat else, — the transition to the metaphorical meaning — that which furnishes a norm, rule, or model of proportion or excellence — would seem to be easy and natural. According to Credner, this word is not from a Greek root, but is Oriental, and came into Greek usage through the Phoenicians (compare the Hebrew קֶנֶן).³ It is used in two passages of the New Testament (Gal. vi. 16, and 2 Cor. x. 13-16); in the former passage, of a *regula vivendi, agendi* (Grimm), and in the latter with a significant transition

¹ Compare Reuss, *Geschichte der heil. Schriften N. T.*, II. p. 79 f.

² Compare Credner, *Zur Geschichte des Kanons*, pp. 3-68; Westcott, *Ibid.*, Appendix A; Hilgenfeld, *Ibid.*, pp. 63-77. "So Allgemein auch die katholische Kirche, und mit ihr alle die später allmählig aus derselben hervorgegangen Kirchen, das Wort *κανών* . . . von der Sammlung ihrer heiligen Schriften gebrauchen; so dunkel und verworren ist doch die Entstehung dieses Sprachgebrauches" (Credner, p. 3).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6 f.

in the meaning from the active sense to the passive.¹ The metaphorical use became common with the later Christian writers. Hilgenfeld would introduce it into the conjectural Greek translation for the Latin text toward the close of the Muratorian Fragment (lines 62 and 63), by rendering the words *in ordinatione ecclesiasticae disciplinae* into τῇ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος τάξει. The words "canonized" and "canonical," as applied to the Scriptures, are repeatedly found in the Latin translation of the writings of Origen.² According to Eusebius,³ Hegisippus spoke of those who tried to corrupt "the sound rule (τὸν ὑγῆ κανόνα) of the saving proclamation." From the time of Irenaeus onward, such phrases as "the Rule of the Church," the "Rule of Truth," the "Rule of Faith," occur in the Church Fathers, especially in their controversy with heretics; and both the objective and the subjective uses of these phrases appear.⁴ The earliest known use of the word "canonical," in opposition to uncanonical or apocryphal, occurs in the Festal Epistle of Athanasius (365 A.D.), the genuineness of which, however, has been called in question by Baur, and is pronounced by Hilgenfeld to be not altogether beyond doubt. The Catalogue of the Scriptures ascribed to Amphilochius (c. 380?) has an undoubted application of the word to the total of sacred writings: οὗτος ἀψευδέστατος Κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν, are the words which occur at the close of this enumeration of books, and which indicate both a collection deemed complete, and also the influence of theological considerations in fixing the limits of the collection. Isidore of Pelusium († c. 440) speaks of the "canon of the truth" (τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας), by which he says he means to designate the divine Scriptures (τὰς θείας φημι γραφάς). And at this point we reach the more strictly dogmatic conception of the Bible as constituting a measure of Christian truth; a conception which the post-Reformation theology hardened into that of a perfect and inflexible *regula fidei*, every part of which is of equivalent value and equally and infallibly inspired.

But that this post-Reformation conception of the Bible, as

¹ See Westcott, and compare Grimm's interpretation, — *descriptum ac definitum spatium*.

² Quae in his Scripturis quas canonicas habemus, Comm. in Matt., 117, and compare 28; for other references, see the notes of Hilgenfeld and Westcott.

³ See Hist. Eccl., III. 32, and II. 22; compare Credner, *Ibid.*, p. 15 f.

⁴ Ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, Clems. Alex. Strom. VII. 16; Ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, *Ibid.*; Ὁ κανὼν τῆς πίστεως, repeatedly in Tertullian; see the notes in Westcott.

such a canon in the active sense of the word, finds no adequate warrant in the usage of the early Church, is beyond doubt. In this early usage, the words "canon," "canonical," and "canonized," as applied to Scripture, are almost if not quite uniformly employed in the passive sense. The canonical writings are not those which give law to the teaching of the Church, but those which have themselves been ratified by the tradition of the Church. We cannot, indeed, accept the argument of Semler and Baur,¹ from the use made of the word *κανών* in the spurious Synopsis of Athanasius, that it means simply a catalogue or list of books. The rather might the origin of the ecclesiastical usage be referred to that of the Alexandrine grammarians, who designated by the term *κανών* such of the classic authors as they judged to be models of excellence.² But neither direct testimony (which is wanting), nor the history of this usage (which can be only imperfectly traced), could be urged in confirmation of even the latter view. Whatever may have been the inducement to use the word at all, which came from its prevalence among grammarians of the classics, the early and most genuine custom of the Church seems to confirm the meaning given above. Canonical Scripture is that which the judgment of the Church has measured and decided to be referable, either directly or indirectly, to accredited sources. *The Canon* is the collection of writings canonized by the decision of the Church.

This conception of the Canon is, indeed, rather immature; but it may be carried toward completion by contrasting it with the early conception of apocryphal writings. For the two conceptions necessarily had their development in company. It is helpful, also, to refer to the distinction by which the early Church classed certain books of the New Testament somewhat by themselves as the so-called Antilegomena.

The term Apocrypha (*ἀπόκρυφος*), when applied to writings, designates either such as contain something hidden in their contents, or those whose origin is hidden. Thus might that naturally have come about which Hilgenfeld³ maintains actually happened in the usage of the Jews. The public use of certain writings was forbidden, either because they were not highly enough esteemed, or because their contents were too sacred on account of their esoteric character. In the Apoc-

¹ In the *Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie*, 1858, p. 141 f.

² See Hilgenfeld, *Der Kanon*, etc., p. 66 f.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7 f.

alypse of Ezra (xiv. 44 f.) we find mentioned, together with the twenty-four books of the Old Testament, seventy other secret writings which are adapted to be a source of wisdom for the wise. It was the attempt to dress over the thoughts of the Old Testament in the language and philosophy of Greece, which gave rise to the apocryphal literature of the Alexandrine Jews:¹ this attempt even made itself apparent in the translation of the LXX.² The use of the word "Apocrypha" to designate writings whose origin is hidden, and which are therefore judged to be spurious, is found in Irenaeus (Adv. Haer., I. 20, *πλήθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ νόθων γραφῶν*): it is explained in the words of Augustine,³ "Apocryphae nuncupantur eo quod earum occulta origo non claruit patribus." This term was not, however, customarily employed in the ancient Church for the extra books of the LXX.; and, according to Schürer,⁴ Jerome is entirely alone in his utterance, when, after enumerating the writings of the Hebrew Canon, he declares, "Whatever is outside of these must be placed among the apocrypha."⁵ The very limited use of these writings which is made in the New Testament has already received sufficient consideration. How general was their use in the early Christian Church, and how near some of them came to being placed perfectly upon a level with the works of the Jewish Canon, — Clement of Rome making mention of "the blessed Judith," in company with Esther, as an example of a female hero, and Clement of Alexandria habitually citing them as *ἡ γραφή*, or *ἡ θεῖα γραφή*, etc., — we shall elsewhere consider. But in the case even of these writings, and in some respects especially in their case, we are led to notice the distinction, somewhat fitfully and indefinitely made by the early writers, between inspired writings and canonical scripture. When, then, it came to the definite question of fixing theoretically a Canon of Sacred Scripture, we find many in the ancient Church who were inclined to adhere to the more clearly marked limits of the Palestinian collection, rather than adopt the weaker and more vacillating circuit of the Alexandrine version. We have from the fourth century a number of lists of canonical

¹ See Siegfried, Philo, etc., p. 7.

² So Frankel shows in his works, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, Leipzig, 1851; and *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, Leipzig, 1841.

³ De Civ. Dei, XV. 23.

⁴ See article in Herzog and Plitt, *Apokryphen des A. T.*

⁵ *Prologus galeatus* to the Books of Samuel.

writings, which either omit the Apocrypha altogether, or else distinctly relegate them to an inferior rank. Athanasius in his Festal Epistle 39, after enumerating the canonical books of both Testaments, adds the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobit, the Teaching of the Apostles, and the Shepherd, as not canonical, but fit to be read to catechumens.¹ But they are not alluded to by Cyril, Gregory of Nazianzum, and Amphilochius.² These deliberate judgments lost much of their force, however, from the fact that the usage of many of these same writers seemed to place the apocryphal and canonical writings precisely upon the same level. Augustine's influence was the chief factor in leading the synods of Hippo (393 A.D.) and Carthage (397) to class the two together: this he himself expressly does in his writings.³ Even Jerome does not hesitate to cite Sirach as *scriptura sancta*.

This twofold view as to the limits and meaning of canonical writings, in contrast with the so-called apocryphal, will be further presented in the subsequent historical chapters. It is here described in its relations to that conception of a Canon of Sacred Scripture which was held by the early Christian Church. This conception, so far as it is thus fixed, corresponds with that already derived from the early use of the word "canon." Canonical writings are not primarily those which themselves constitute a canon, or rule of faith; they do not comprise all such as are thought to be sacred or inspired, and therefore worthy to be quoted as ἡ γραφή, or by similar customary formulae. They comprise rather such as the tradition of the Church has passed judgment upon, and has either admitted within or relegated without the prescribed limits. As to the grounds of the early tradition, we find little to guide us outside of the tradition itself. In the case of the Old Testament, the Christian Church inherited a divided tradition: one canon of its writings was favored by connections with Hebrew sources and with the Palestinian Jews, another by the freer usage of the Alexandrine Jews and the common use of the version of the LXX. In the case of the New Testament, the appeal was made to the same principle of tradition. This appeal, in its earliest form, was taken to the custom of the apostolic churches; it was afterwards

¹ 'Οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγιγνώσκειν τοῖς ἔργοις προσεχόμενοις.

² See Charteris, pp. 18 ff.; Schürer, Herzog and Plitt, *Ibid.*; De Wette-Schrader, *Einl. in das A. T.*, p. 54 f.; Keil, *Einl. in das A. T.*, p. 652 f.

³ *De Doct. Christ.*, II. 8.

submitted to the declaration of the bishops, as possessors of the true Christian consciousness; still later it was made to the decision of councils.¹ The result of all these appeals was not, however, to establish a perfect uniformity of judgment, either as to the limits of the Canon as a whole, or as to the valid and useful distinctions amongst the separate books. The West and the East reached somewhat divergent points of view; the former, largely through the influence of Augustine, obtaining a synodal recognition of all the books read in the churches, the Canon in the wider sense; the latter rather excluding those now called apocryphal, although Jerome and Athanasius stood upon middle ground. The result of the appeal was also to establish a distinction of classes amongst the admitted books; some were regarded as more especially available for proving doctrine, others for building up the Christian life.

The conception of a Canon of Sacred Scripture as held by the early Christian Church may, then, be somewhat loosely defined in the following way: The Canon is that collection of writings (presumably inspired and authentic) which believers in past time have judged to be useful for teaching Christian doctrine and for building up the Christian life.

That the formation of this conception concerns the present writings of the New Testament, there is abundant proof. The doubt as to the seven so-called Antilegomena is primarily a doubt as to the tradition belonging to them, but it is also a doubt which involves the above-mentioned distinction in the use to be made of them. We cannot, then, wholly approve of the method which Westcott adopted in treating the claims to canonicity put forth by these books. What we know about them is not to the effect that they were accepted as fast and far as they were known; but rather, that they were known to be doubted, and accepted to be placed upon a lower grade than the other New-Testament writings. "It involves," said this author,² "a manifest confusion of ideas, to compensate for a deficiency of historic proof by a lower standard of canonicity." But the deficiency of historic proof is as unavoidable for us as it was for the Church when it began to consider the case of certain alleged apostolic writings. It is no confusion of ideas to hold that we may use for building up the Christian life a

¹ Compare the discussion of Diestel, *Geschichte des A. T. in der christlichen Kirche*, pp. 68 ff.

² *History of the Canon*, 1866, p. 306.

writing to which, on account of our unavoidable doubt concerning its apostolic authorship, we can never appeal as though it had such authorship. This, as we understand it, was the position to which the early Church was forced; and that not through a confusion of ideas so much as through a confusion of traditions, and through a fortunate absence of the purely theological idea of the Canon. To claim that the undoubtedly authentic Epistle to the Romans is received on the same "standard of canonicity" as the very doubtful Second Epistle of Peter, is — it seems to us — to fall, in logical precision even, far below the standard of the early Church. If, for example, we admit the passage in Rufinus' version of the Homily on Joshua¹ to be really an expression of Origen, in which he speaks of Peter as "sounding loudly on the twofold trumpet of his Epistles," and of Paul as "thundering on his fourteen trumpets of Epistles;" we nevertheless know that Origen is here speaking popularly for exhortation, and not as a scholarly exegete proving doctrine by the teaching of an apostle.

The further answer to the first of our three questions is involved in the answer to the second; that is to say, we must derive other elements of a true conception of the Canon from a study of the historic process by which it was actually formed. The detailed description of this process can be found, as has already been intimated, only in those special works, which, while they have necessarily left much still to be accomplished, have, nevertheless, minutely described the most important period in the history; viz., that from the close of the first to the close of the fourth century after Christ. We confine ourselves to a very brief sketch of some of its principal features.

The difficulty of giving a precise history of the Canon of the Old Testament is so great, on account both of the meagreness of information and of the impossibility of securing an agreement of different investigators upon the principal critical questions which underlie the description of this history, that we may safely declare, with Wellhausen,² it will never be done. Two methods of attempting this history present themselves to the investigator from the very beginning of his undertaking; the one of which relies much upon tradition, and the other more entirely upon internal criticism. Neither of these methods alone, nor both of them combined, can show a satisfactory result. Of the two,

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VI. 25 f.

² Bleek, *Einl. in das A. T.*, p. 2.

however, the latter must in this case have the decided preference: the former, indeed, is not regarded as valid by any modern critic except Keil.¹ The tradition of the Jews as to the formation of the collection of Hebrew writings is undoubtedly made up of untrustworthy stories and myths. The statement that Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue constituted the Canon is an hypothesis found in Elias Levita² († 1549), which is therefore of late origin, rests on a misunderstanding of certain passages from earlier rabbinical writings, and is now without hesitation rejected by critical inquiry. The narrative (4 Ezra xiv.) which tells us how Ezra was inspired to restore the sacred writings that had perished at the burning of the temple by the Chaldeans, although implicitly accepted by some of the Church Fathers, is of interest only as a legend. The men of the Great Synagogue have fitly been called "an exegetical myth:" the only historical foundation for their existence, and for the tradition which connects them with the Old-Testament Canon, must be found outside of the tradition itself. The opinion of Keil,³ that the legend of Ezra has an historical foundation in the fact that he collected and revised the twenty-four books of the writings which were already regarded by the nation as canonical, can by no means be maintained. If we should admit the explanation given by Keil for the lack of all positive testimony to a completed canon from the time of Nehemiah to that of Jesus Sirach, we could not even thus reconcile his opinion with the witness of Sirach.

The grounds of that view which denies even the substantial veracity of the later Jewish tradition as to the origin of the Old-Testament Canon are, indeed, composed of fragments of evidence, gathered by doubtful research from different sources: they do not serve to lay the basis of an assured historical account. But the fragments can be joined into an hypothetical whole which is, if not precise and complete, at least much more trustworthy than the tradition.

Through scattered indications in the Old Testament itself, as interpreted in the light of carefully formed opinions upon the date and authorship of the separate books, we may arrive at the following tentative conclusions. The historic fact of a divine covenant which was understood to be made between

¹ Einl. in das A. T., pp. 494-523.

² Praef. 3 to the Masoreth ham-Masoreth.

³ Ibid., p. 499.

Jehovah and Israel is the point of starting for the formation of a Canon of Scripture. The preservation of the record of this covenant is the first act toward constituting a body of sacred writings. The beginning of this body was referred back, then, to the work of Moses, inasmuch as the laws contained in the so-called Book of the Covenant were attributed to him as their author. To him were also attributed certain other portions of the Pentateuch of uncertain extent, the writing-down of certain of its laws, and perhaps the composition of some of its historical parts.¹ The relation of the main portion of the Book of Deuteronomy to the entire Mosaic Torah, to Moses as the author to whom it refers itself, and to the other writings of the Pentateuch, has already been discussed. That this small number of writings was preserved, and enlarged by the occasional addition of other bits of sacred literature, we may readily enough suppose. In accordance with a custom which Keil,² following Hävernick, asserts to have belonged to all the peoples of antiquity, the Hebrews are represented as laying up their sacred writings in their temple. The very nature of the writings would in the first instance give them admission to this sacred place, and their sacredness in the estimate of later generations would be enhanced by the fact that they had been preserved in such sacred connections. As writings laid away before Jehovah,³ we find mentioned the Book of the Covenant (Deut. xxxi. 9, 26, compare xvii. 18), the narrative written by Joshua of the renewal of the covenant at Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 25, 26), and the writing by Samuel containing the fundamental law of the kingdom (1 Sam. x. 25); the two latter of which may be regarded as written into or added to the former.

We do not, however, reach the full recognition of any writing by the people Israel as a canonical scripture until the institution of Deuteronomy in that relation according to the narrative of 2 Kings xxii., xxiii. This event took place in the eighteenth year of Josiah, 621 B.C. The codified Torah contained in this writing has fitly been called "the decisive step by which scripture came into the place of oral tradition, and the people of the word became a people of the book."⁴

¹ Compare the description of the development of Hebrew literature in De Wette-Schrader, *Einkl. in das A. T.*, p. 18 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 494.

³ According to 1 Kings viii. 9 (compare Josephus, *Ant.*, III. 1, 7; V. 1, 17), not in the ark: the Elohist, however, has the law placed in the ark (*Exod.* xxv. 16 xl. 20).

⁴ See Wellhausen in Bleek, *Einkl. in das A. T.*, p. 557.

The Pentateuch itself bears witness to the fact that other writings, besides those already referred to, had been esteemed and preserved before its own canonization; for some of these writings have entered into the composition of the so-called Books of Moses. Among such writings are the Book of Origins, the Book of the Wars of Jehovah (see Num. xxi. 14), and the Book of Jasher (Josh. x. 13); and doubtless also many fragments as well as those fundamental documents, the probable existence of which can be detected by criticism. Beyond the limits of the Pentateuch we find notices of ancient works, like this same Book of Jasher again referred to 2 Sam. i. 18, and the works of the royal historiographers; among the latter are the Book of the History of Solomon (1 Kings xi. 41), and the Book of the Kings of Judah, and of the Kings of Israel (1 Kings xiv. 29, xv. 31; compare 1 Chron. xxvii. 24). But we cannot at the earliest speak of the Pentateuch as canonized Scripture until it is made a sacred book *κατ' ἐξοχήν* for public religious reading (having, according to Ezra vii. 6, 10 f., been first brought to Jerusalem in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, 458 B.C.), by the action recorded in Neh. viii.-x. The writings of Mosaism were thus formally adopted as the sacred and authoritative source of the national law. As we have already seen, the Book of Deuteronomy had been earlier canonized. This event of Neh. viii.-x. had reference, we believe, to the Pentateuch, which then existed as a whole in substantially its present form. The nature of the event is such as to prevent the suppositions, either that the Pentateuch had not for some time previous been in existence, or that, having been in existence, it had lain wholly latent. The former supposition can scarcely be reconciled with the fact that the Pentateuch was canonized at all; while the previous activity of at least the Deuteronomic law is shown by comparing passages like Ezra iii. 1 f. and x. 3 with Deut. xii. 5 f. and vii. 2 f., and with Neh. vii. 73 and viii. 1.

The actual formation of the Canon of Old-Testament Scripture, and the doctrine of its nature, have their nucleus, therefore, in the canonizing of the written Torah after the return from the Exile. That this event is the point of starting for all that follows, both in belief and in fact, is made evident by the use of the term Torah to designate the entire collection of the sacred writings of Israel.¹ Before the Exile there doubtless

¹ See 4 Ezra xiv. 21, and compare 44-46.

existed a somewhat indefinite collection of prophetic writings. The same value which belonged originally to his oral utterances, was naturally attached to whatever was understood to have been written by a true prophet of Israel in the judgment of those who believed his testimony. The more precise estimate of these writings as canonical arose, however, only after the Exile; this estimate was derived from the canonized Law, and was, as it were, spread over the Prophets from the Law as its central and primary object.¹ The conviction that the sufferings of the Exile were due to national transgression of the law, and to the refusal of the nation to heed the voice of Jehovah through the prophets, doubtless added to the esteem in which these two classes of writings were held, and to the assiduity with which they were collected and canonized.² The decay of Hebrew, and its tendency to fall into the position of a sacred language, may also have aided this process. The steps by which a canonical collection of the Prophets was reached are, however, not distinctly traceable by internal criticism; and we are without direct witness until we reach the later time of the Greek writers among the Jews. Ezekiel, Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah were acquainted with the Prophets and the Psalms. The plural of Dan. ix. 2 (כְּסִפְרִים) seems to indicate a number of prophetic books which were regarded as of divine origin and authority; although we are not warranted in regarding this language as proving a definitely fixed canon of prophetic writings, and must also remember the undoubtedly late authorship of Daniel itself. The tradition of the Talmud³ asserts, indeed, that the men of the Great Synagogue wrote down (composed or put together?) Ezekiel, the Twelve Prophets, Daniel, and Esther. The historic basis for the Talmudic tradition reaches no farther, however, than the fact that a period of great activity in composing, collecting, and canonizing the sacred Hebrew writings began with Ezra and Nehemiah. But, as Hamburger⁴ says, we cannot conceive of this activity as though it reached its close in the time of Ezra: on the contrary, it continued through several centuries.

The frequent occurrence of the term "the Law and the Prophets," to designate the entire Old-Testament Scriptures,

¹ Wellhausen in Bleek, *Ibid.*, p. 555.

² Keil, *Einl. in das A. T.*, p. 497.

³ *Baba bathra*, f. 14 b, 15 a. This passage, which will be referred to elsewhere, seems to teach that the prophecies were thus committed to writing by men infallibly inspired for that purpose.

⁴ See article *Bibel*, in his *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*.

bears witness to the late origin of the canon of the Hagiographa; and the usage of the apocryphal writings in reference to the Old Testament confirms this witness. Of the third division of the Canon, the Psalms constituted the earliest and most firmly fixed portion. The use of the Book of Psalms as divided into five parts seems to be indicated by 1 Chron. xvi. 36, where the closing doxology of the fourth division — viz., that of Ps. cvi. 48 — is represented as used by the people in worship. A Canon of the Psalms may have been in existence before the Canon of the entire Old Testament, considered as a whole in three parts, was even begun. But this Canon of the Psalms was not definitely closed until much later: it was perhaps opened repeatedly, as even Delitzsch¹ admits, as late as during the Maccabean era, to receive new Psalms of recent composition. Besides this one book, which the Talmudic tradition ascribes to "David through ten venerable men,"² the other writings of the Hagiographa were for the most part not simply canonized, but also composed, after the Exile. The causes which stimulated the post-Exilian writings of Judaism were largely the same as those which made them inferior in spirit, originality, and power, to the earlier writings of the Old Testament. The learned and pious men of the nation found themselves again in their native land, with the possession of a certain amount of conceded freedom, and with the literature and language of their national antiquity. The impulse to review and revise this national literature was inevitable, and also the impulse to add to its treasures by the production of new works. But these new works could not escape the influence of the captivity upon their language and their thought; nor could they fail to show signs of the subservient condition of the national life. The influence of the Greeks must also be taken into the account, although chiefly manifest in the Alexandrine version, it is by no means wholly lacking in the Hebrew writings of the Palestinian Jews. That the Jewish view of Sacred Scripture distinctly recognized the inferiority of the Hagiographa with respect to inspiration, we shall show more in detail in another connection. The very fact of the threefold classification, as it was originally made,³ was an admission of this fact of inferi-

¹ Commentary on the Psalms, I. p. 13.

² Baba bathra, f. 15: "David scripsit librum Psalmorum, per decem venerabiles senes."

³ Compare Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 38 f.

ority. The Books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Ruth, belong by nature with the historical books like Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, — the so-called “former Prophets;” and Daniel belongs with Ezekiel as one of the Prophets in the more special sense of the word.

The Jewish Canon consists, then, of three divisions, or *strata* as Wellhausen¹ has not unaptly denominated them; and of these three the third is, according to the direct and indirect testimony of those whose judgment formed the entire collection, the latest, the most indefinite in contents, and the one inferior in its claims to canonical recognition. The third and last step in forming the completed Canon of sacred Hebrew writings consisted in selecting from a much larger number of similar works — poetic, prophetic, historical, didactic — certain ones such as are now comprised in the Hagiographa. Their very name, “the writings” (כתובים) shows the originally indefinite and manifold nature of their contents.

Besides these three divisions of the Canon, — the reasons for which are certainly objective and historical,² whether or not they also include subjective grounds,³ — we must also recognize different epochs in which especially “redactionary revisions” of the writings have taken place. Of such epochs Hamburger⁴ distinguishes the following four: (1) The first epoch followed the destruction of the Syrian rule and the establishment of the Maccabean dynasty. The so-called Asmonean College, which flourished from 165 to 107 B.C. under Judas, Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus, undertook a redaction of the Bible. The Book of Esther was then revised, and seven chapters now found in the LXX. were excluded from the Hebrew. (2) In the second period, from 44 B.C. to 80 A.D., a struggle took place between the Sadducean tendency and the intruding Alexandrine philosophy. The Books of Ezekiel, Koheleth, Solomon’s Song, Job, and Proverbs, were then revised. In this period a strong divergence of view prevailed as to the canonizing of certain of the Hagiographa. The indefinite language of Josephus, — the Law, the Prophets, and the other books, — and of Philo, who designates the third division of the Bible as “Praises to God (Psalms), and other writings,” is a witness to this fact.

¹ In Bleek’s Einl. in das A. T., p. 547.

² See Schrader in De Wette, Einl. in das A. T., p. 28.

³ As is maintained by Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Keil, and Bleek:

⁴ Art. Bibel in Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud.

(3) After the destruction of the temple, and under the patriarchate of Rabbi Gamaliel II., the study of profane authors and the encroachments upon Judaism of the Alexandrine philosophy and of Judaizing Christianity became the occasion for another redaction. At this time there was dispute particularly over the canonizing of Esther, the Song of Solomon, and Koheleth. (4) At the end of the second and in the beginning of the third century, the strife over Koheleth was still unsettled; some teachers rejecting the book as profane, and others questioning its canonical position.¹ Certain teachers of the third century wished to exclude Esther from the Canon. The influence of their decision made itself felt upon the Christian Church; for Athanasius denies the canonicity of Esther, and Melito of Sardis does not enumerate it among the books deemed canonical.

In view, then, of all the facts, and in spite of the apparent bearing of the testimony of Josephus, it must be conceded that the limits of even the Palestinian Canon of the Old Testament were not perfectly fixed until some time after the Christian era;² this indefiniteness was, however, confined to a few members of the Apocrypha as debated by the learned. With respect to the Alexandrine version, it is a matter of doubt whether we can speak of a *Canon*, in any strict and intelligible sense of the word. This first work of hermeneutics in the domain of general literature had, indeed, a great influence upon the Jews, not only of Alexandria but also of Palestine itself. The Palestinian writings show a knowledge of the inaccuracies of the Septuagint; but they do not hesitate at times also to praise it as a work of divine characteristics.³ So far as any thing like a fixed text is necessary to the construction of a canon of sacred writings, according to Frankel,⁴ we cannot claim it even for the Pentateuch of the LXX.; the translation of which was, in the opinion of the same author, completed not later than the third century B.C.⁵ Upon the whole matter of the origin of this

¹ It is said of the school of Shammai, that they refused to put the book on a level for sacredness with the other Scriptures, because "it defileth not the hands" (Edajoth, 5, 3). Others spoke of Solomon's Song in the same way (Jadaim, 3, 5). Upon the dispute whether these two books defile the hands,—i.e., are sacred writings,—see Gfrörer, *Jahrbücher des Heils*, I. p. 238 f.

² See Diestel, *Geschichte des A. T.*, p. 19 f.

³ See Babyl. Talmud, Megilla f. 9; Jerus. Talmud, Megilla f. 9: "Eingebung, wenn auch nicht Inspiration im Sinne der Kirchenväter gemeint ist," Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, p. 25 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵ Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik, p. 2 f.

version, and of its relations to the Hebrew Canon, there is still, however, much obscurity; upon several important points, no opinion can be held with any confidence. The early practice of the Christian Church shows a vacillation between the practical canonizing of the entire Greek version, Apocrypha included, and a theoretical tendency to restrict the limits to the Palestinian tradition, with its firmer historical basis.

We must, then, look upon the Canon of the Old Testament as the result of an historic process; and not only this, but we must also consider the process as such that the Jewish Church came to the self-conscious knowledge of the meaning of its decision after the decision had already been reached. And if we search for a definite reason in each case why one book was preserved and received into the Canon, while another was rejected or lost, no such reason can be found. Various conflicting or concurring considerations united with external circumstances to produce the general result. We are not warranted in maintaining¹ that the Hebrew Old Testament contains all the relics of Hebrew-Chaldaic literature up to a certain point of time. There is more likelihood in the supposition that the nation, on its return from exile, gathered and preserved all the monuments of its sacred antiquity which had escaped the national ruin.² According to a view which has some appearances in its favor, no work could find its way into the Palestinian Canon of which there was not in existence an original Hebrew text: the Apocrypha were excluded, therefore, because either they had not been written in Hebrew, or, as in the case of Sirach and First Maccabees, the Hebrew text had perished. The temporary canonical estimate of Baruch grew, then, out of its being appended to Jeremiah.³ If we assert that dogmatic and purely subjective considerations turned the scale in the last decision as to the reception or rejection of a writing, it is difficult to see why Sirach, after struggle and debate, should have been rejected and Ecclesiastes received; or why Daniel should have attained what was denied to Baruch, Esther what was denied to First Maccabees. That nearness of relation to the antiquities and religion of Israel had much weight, and that the Jewish notions of revelation and inspiration were intimately connected with the process of forming the Canon, will be shown elsewhere with more of detail. The

¹ So De Wette-Schrader, *Einl. in das A. T.* p. 13.

² Compare Wellhausen in Bleek, *Ibid.*, p. 558.

³ See Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch, Geschichte und Kritik*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 89.

nature of the contents of the separate writings was one chief determining reason for their relation to the Canon: the writings were received and declared as coming within the limits of Sacred Scripture, on account of the fact that they bear in them the supernatural elements of the divine revelation to Israel. At this point, then, does the doctrine of the Canon, as that doctrine was unconsciously acted upon by the Jewish Church, meet and unite with the claims of the writings admitted to the Canon. The writings must have a certain normative or law-giving power, because they have brought to the nation that law upon which, and that history in which, Jehovah had dealt with them. Doubtless, also, certain books were admitted either because they bore the name of men who were, in the estimate of the nation, venerable and inspired messengers of Jehovah, or because they were understood to have been written by such men, as, e. g., David, Job, Daniel, and even Solomon.

In other words, the Canon of the Old Testament was not decided and declared at any one time, or by any man or number of men, or upon any well-defined grounds of judgment. It was reached as the result of a long process of living experience, and its most formal declaration was accomplished by successive steps and through varied influences. The almost complete lack of critical judgment which characterizes the entire process is seen in the efforts made by the Jews, as well as by the early Christian writers, to make the number of the Old-Testament books correspond to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet.

The foregoing view of that historic process which resulted in the formation of the Old-Testament Canon is not contradicted, but rather confirmed, by the more direct testimony of the few available witnesses. Of these witnesses, the earliest for the threefold division is the Prologue of the Greek translation of Sirach, whose author came about the year 132 B. C. to Egypt, and there some time later translated the work of his grandfather. The witness of Jesus Sirach cannot be interpreted, however, so as to prove that the writings to which he refers then existed as a collection of canonical Scriptures "in its three parts long ago definitely fixed."¹ The Book of Sirach itself makes pretensions to prophetic and canonical significance (see xxiv. 30-34); it cannot, therefore, be said to regard the Canon as definitely fixed. The author is represented by his translator

¹ So Keil, *Einl. in das A. T.*, p. 500 f.

as aspiring to accomplish the same ethical purpose to which he understands the more ancient writings to be directed (*εἰς παιδείαν καὶ σοφίαν*); he prepares himself for his composition by a long and ardent study of these models;¹ he does not hesitate to place the ancient and the recent writings by the side of each other for the moral training of his countrymen. The position of the Hagiographa at that time is indicated by the more indefinite and even less respectful titles which he applies to them (*τῶν ἄλλων πατρίων βιβλίων* and *τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡκολουθηκότων*).

The author of 2 Macc. ii. 13, after stating that fire had descended from heaven in response to the prayers of Moses and Solomon, adds the following words: "These things are narrated both in the registers and in the memorials of Nehemiah (*κατὰ τὸν Νεεμίαν*), and how he founded a library and collected the writings of the kings and prophets (*τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν*), and those of David, and letters of kings concerning votive offerings" (*καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθεμάτων*). It is manifest that these words do not describe a canon of Sacred Scriptures "in its three parts long ago definitely fixed." The beginnings of the tradition which developed into the later Talmudic view concerning the fixing of the Canon by Ezra may perhaps be traced to this statement of Second Maccabees, as Bretschneider² supposed. According to the very probable view of this same writer and of others, the letters of the Persian kings, in which they permit the building of the temple and assure the Jews of support and of presents, are here referred to. They are, then, as containing important records of the theocratic history of Israel, regarded in the same light with the works of David and the Prophets.

More clear and unequivocal as to the main question, however, is the still later testimony of Josephus, in that most important passage, *Contra Apionem*, Book I. chap. viii.³ This testimony cannot be considered as a mere private judgment; and yet it certainly would not have commanded the consent of all of the learned in Palestine, much less of the Alexandrine Jews. It is evident that Josephus did not regard the added books of the LXX. as canonical, although he uses the apocryphal Ezra in *Ant.*, XI. 1-5, and the additions to Esther in

¹ *Ἐπὶ πλείον ἐαυτὸν δοῖς εἰς τὴν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρίων βιβλίων ἀνάγνωσιν.*

² *Systematische Darstellung der Dogmatik und Moral der apoc. Schrift.*, p. 59.

³ See J. G. Müller, *Des F. Josephus Schrift gegen den Apion*, pp. 99-106.

Ant., XI. 6, 6. His claim that the Canon was definitely closed in the time of Artaxerxes is undoubtedly false. He gives the number of books at twenty-two, according to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet; and this method, which was followed by Origen and Melito,¹ is to be regarded as earlier than the division into twenty-four books. He also adopts the threefold division as found in Sirach, the LXX., the Talmud, and Philo. But as to his manner of arranging these two methods of division, a difference of view is possible. The five of Moses are fixed. But Josephus makes the Prophets thirteen, and the Hagiographa four; while the Talmud gives the Prophets at eight, and the Hagiographa or Ketubim at eleven. We are left in doubt, then, whether the four of the third class of Josephus are, (1) Psalms, (2) Proverbs, (3) Solomon's Song, (4) Ecclesiastes (Prideaux, De Wette, Bleek, Stähelin, and others); or, (1) Psalms, (2) Job, (3) Proverbs and Solomon's Song, (4) Ecclesiastes (Havercamp).

In turning from the Old Testament to the New, the historical process by which the collection of canonical writings was made admits of a different method of investigation: many of the more important doctrinal conclusions from the study of this process remain, however, substantially the same. We are no longer compelled to prefer the uncertain results of internal criticism to a much more uncertain tradition, — a tradition, indeed, which grew up centuries after the facts, and is manifestly for the most part composed of myth and legend. And yet the first century or more of this historical process has, even in the case of the New Testament, little direct testimony to present. We first behold the Canon as within certain limits already formed, but we cannot study in detail the process of its forming. The course by which the early Church came to a decision, or rather to a consciousness of having already made a decision, regarding the circuit of its sacred writings, lay neither through acts of councils, nor through independent criticism of individual scholars. The former had nothing to do with the earlier decisive eras: the opinions of individuals, although numerous and freely enough given, were not independent results of critical judgment so much as declarations of results reached through the uncritical moral and religious instinct of the churches at large. The influence of the central churches was from the first, no doubt, considerable: later on, the influence of the

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, IV. 26, 6, and VI. 25.

bishops availed much;¹ but wider and more permanent Christian considerations are the chief elements of the account. "Private judgments," says Reuss² truly, "are only our witnesses to the condition of opinions in a quite limited sphere." A divine leading of the Church is manifest; and yet "we must not forget that antiquity itself never made the formation of the Canon in any one conception, considered apart from its history, the subject of a dogma."

Three tolerably well-marked steps in this historical process need to be distinguished, and three periods during which the Church was advancing by these steps. Of these periods the first comes to a close soon after the middle of the second century. During the preceding time the idea that Christian believers had a body of writings from apostolic sources which might be considered sacred, and in some sort placed upon a level for public instruction with the sacred Hebrew writings, was in process of formation. At the close of this period, and at the beginning of the next, this idea was by common consent of the churches unhesitatingly applied to all but seven of the New-Testament writings. The important questions for all the earlier portion of this period are not those of canonicity at all, but rather those of the genuineness and authenticity of the separate writings. The second period extends from toward the close of the second until toward the close of the fourth century. The conflicts of the Church with heretics made it necessary that the limits of those Scriptures to which an appeal could be taken as authoritative should be more definitely fixed: at the same time the firm position of a Church Catholic over against the sects made the work of fixing these limits possible. The question of the Canon was practically determined by the reception of all the books of the present New Testament. It was understood, however, that the so-called Antilegomena were not to be received as being in the same rank with the other writings, and were not to be used as authoritative sources of apostolic doctrine. To this distinction amongst the New-Testament writings, the very authorities on whom we rely for all our proof are almost unanimous in testifying, whatever minor differences of opinion are shown by Athanasius, Jerome, Rufinus, Augustine, Eusebius, Cyril, and Sozomen. To this class of books thus placed in the second

¹ See Hilgenfeld, *Der Kanon*, etc., p. 33 f.

² *Geschichte der heil. Schriften N. T.*, II. p. 27.

rank belong Second Peter, Second John, Third John, James, Jude, and, with less unanimity of testimony, Hebrews and the Apocalypse. From the close of the fourth century and the beginning of the third period onward, no change as to the limits of the New-Testament Canon appears; but the distinction of its books into two classes becomes in large degree practically lost. The chief interest of the churches being in the use of its sacred books for public instruction, a distinction which by its very nature demands some acquaintance with ancient tradition was destined to be laid aside.

From the nature of the case, we can scarcely expect to find much which resembles a distinct recognition of the canonical authority of the New-Testament writings in the earliest of the three periods mentioned above. A large amount of recognition, as given to individual writings for their sacred origin and contents, necessarily precedes the establishment of a canon of such writings. The proofs that such recognition was actually accorded to the New-Testament writings by the early Christians will be given more in detail in another place. The consciousness of a vital connection with the apostles, in respect to instruction and practice, for a considerable time satisfied the Christian mind and heart, and there is much reason to believe, although the definite proof is scanty, that the Christian congregations transferred the reading of the Old Testament from the Jewish synagogues to their own assemblies (see 1 Tim. iv. 13). The epistles were, doubtless, at first read publicly by the churches to whom they were addressed; but this reading was probably not at all regular, nor was it placed on a level with that of the Hebrew Scriptures. They were received as they were intended by their authors, as affectionate teaching and exhortation from those whom the Lord had deemed worthy of this work.¹ The consideration naturally given to apostles, the encyclical character of some of their epistles, and the consequent multiplication of copies, help us to conjecture the process by which these writings won their way to canonical regard. In the mean time certain other writings, credited with either direct or indirect apostolic origin, were slowly spreading themselves abroad according to the customary methods of the time.

¹ Note the manner in which Clement of Rome and the Ignatian Epistles speak of these apostolic letters: *ὅμιν ἐγράψεν* (Clemens Rom. ad Cor., xlvii. 1); *μνημονεύει ὑμῶν* (Ignatius ad Eph., 12), and the manner of citing Corinthians, Galatians, and 1 John (Magn., 10; Philad., 1; Smyrn., 6).

Scattered traces of the existence and careful use of a number of the New-Testament writings precede the middle of the second century. Thus early these writings appear as vested with the characteristics of sacred and authentic records of Christianity, or as inspired words of teaching and exhortation from the apostles. But it is not until some time after this, that even the idea of a definite canon of Christian scriptures appears. That these writings are quoted as *ἡ γραφή*, and publicly read in the churches, does not prove the existence of such an idea. We have already seen more than once, that inspired writing is not necessarily canonical Scripture. The Shepherd of Hermas was used somewhat widely for public reading in the churches, and was thus endued for a time with a *quasi*-canonical authority.¹ It is never, however, — declares the author of the Muratorian Canon, — to be placed on a level with Prophets and Apostles. This book was, according to Eusebius, contested by some, on whose account it was not placed among the Homologoumena; but he also bears witness to the fact that it was read in some churches.² Sozomen mentions that it was read once a year in some churches in Palestine.³ The Epistle of Clement is declared to have been read of old in most of the churches.⁴ Dionysius of Corinth is made to report that the Epistle of Soter was read by the Corinthians on the holy Lord's Day, as they had read the earlier epistle written to them by Clement. Both these epistles were used in the public services for admonition and instruction in righteousness.⁵ The same distinction was in some places given to the Apocalypse of Peter.⁶ We can, then, neither rely upon the citation of these writings as Sacred Scripture, nor upon their public reading in the churches, to prove the existence of the definite idea or fact of a canon of the New Testament.

But, on the other hand, we need not admit that the really important question for the validity of the historical process is a matter of great doubt. The question, it has already been said, is simply that of the existence of these writings. For if we find

¹ So, it would seem, we must interpret the words of the Muratorian Fragment: *et ideo legi eum quidem oportet*. There is doubt, indeed, as to whether "*legi*" should be understood of *public* reading. But see the long note in Pat. Apost. Opera, ed. Gebhardt, Harnack and Zahn, Prolegomena, p. xlvii.

² Hist. Eccl., III. 3.

³ Ibid., VII. 19.

⁴ Ibid., III. 16.

⁵ Ibid., IV. 23.

⁶ When the author of the Muratorian Canon declares that "certain ones of us are unwilling to have it read in the public service," he certainly implies the existence of the custom of its public use.

them existing, and esteemed by the Church as authentic records and sacred testimonies to truth, we may expect the definite fixing of canonical limits to take place in due time. As to this really important question, we present some items of the proof concerning the first of our three periods. And, as has been declared by an author¹ who has much misused his own valuable advice, "the silence of early writers should receive as much attention as any supposed allusions to the Gospels." This attention should, however, be so directed as to avoid unwarranted and hasty conjectures from any alleged *silence*; especially in cases where the writings extant are very meagre in quantity, or where the design of the writings—it being, perhaps, to controvert those who could not be influenced by quotations from Christian sources—would naturally result in silence. The cases of Papias and of Eusebius are worthy of especial note, because their "silence" cannot be explained by apologetic reasons, and has been much used to throw discredit upon the genuineness of some of the New-Testament books. But as to the former, until his lost five books are brought to light, we can scarcely affirm any thing confidently beyond the fact, that his testimony seems to favor certain conclusions as to the origin of Matthew and Mark. We certainly cannot conclude with the author of *Supernatural Religion*,² "It is manifest from the evidence adduced, however, that Papias did not know our Gospels." On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that Papias could have recognized all our present Gospels as having the sacredness or divine authority of apostolic writings.³ Nor are we sure how far the writings which he, as a "well-intentioned caterer of tradition," regarded as inferior to oral sources of information, were corrupt Gnostic versions of the life of Jesus. The conclusion of Hilgenfeld,⁴ that Papias held the other written Gospels in low esteem as compared with oral tradition and with the writings of Matthew and of Peter through Mark, has at first the appearance of truth. We should not expect, however, that one who used testimonies from the First Epistle of John would depreciate the kindred Gospel in case it

¹ *Supernatural Religion*, I. p. 212.

² I p. 485.

³ As John Delitzsch seems to think possible, *De Inspiratione S. S.*, p. 69.

⁴ *Der Kanon*, etc., p. 15 f. Hilgenfeld finds in the language of Papias proof of an intention to oppose the claims of Luke. Semler said of Papias (see *Praef. ad illust. orig. cath. ecclesiae*): "Ceterum nec Lucae evangelium amasse videtur qui Pauli comes fuerat; nec illud Johannis, quod satis alienum erat a judaico character." "

were known to him. But the silence of Papias concerning John is, until we have his own lost writings, very largely due to the silence of Eusebius; and the silence of the latter would indeed be remarkable and important, if we could trust the statement of Supernatural Religion,¹ that Eusebius "never fails to enumerate the works of the New Testament to which the Fathers refer." How untrustworthy, however, this statement is, has been made apparent by many of the researches of criticism, and especially by the detailed examination given to it at the hands of Lightfoot.² It appears clear, that the design of the Church historian as respects the Canon of Scripture led him only to notice the use made by any ancient writer of the books still disputed in his own time, and to record any anecdotes about the canonical books. Too much attention can, indeed, scarcely be bestowed upon the "silence" of the earliest Christian writers, if only this attention preserve us from filling up the gap produced by the silence with assumption and conjecture.

Scarcely less important is it that we should allow sufficient consideration for the inaccurate and free manner of quotation which prevailed amongst the Church Fathers. To conclude that verbal changes — even when so great as under other considerations to be conclusive — disprove the acquaintance of an ancient Christian writer with our present Gospels and Epistles, and also prove the existence of various other supposititious and apocryphal writings from which the changed words must have been taken, is, of all methods of reasoning, the worst substitute for sound criticism. The very process by which the Synoptic Gospels grew into being, and the early variations of text, make us uncertain as to the precise words which must have lain before the ancient writer in any MS. from which he might be quoting. The habit of quoting at least the shorter passages from memory is a sufficient general account of many variations. Only in the case, then, of the longer and more unfamiliar quotations (which are at the same time least likely to be made at all) should we expect the writer to consult his MS. roll and to transcribe accurately its text. Nor can we tell even in these cases what was the text of the particular MS. employed. Out of fifty-seven quotations made by Clement of Rome from the Old Testament, only seventeen are exact:³ "some of the

¹ I. p. 483.

² See article on the Silence of Eusebius, *Contemporary Review*, 1875.

³ *Sunday, Gospels in the Sec. Cent.*, p. 26; *Charteris, Canonicity*, p. xli. f.

others are so widely variant as to make it doubtful whether even a treacherous memory could be the cause of the divergence." Yet we do not need to announce the absurd conjecture that Clement in most of his quotations used spurious and apocryphal editions of the Old-Testament writings. Nor do we need to resort to similar conjecture when we find the same Church Father giving (xiii.) a brief account of some of Christ's sayings upon the Mount, which may very well be a kind of fusion and compound of Matt. v. 7, vi. 14, vii. 1, 2, and Luke vi. 31, 37.¹ So also in the case of Justin Martyr, we have a sufficient general reason for his alleged silence, in the apologetic nature of his work; and for the deviations of his language from the text of our four Gospels, in the universal habit of his age.²

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned and other similar cautions, we may claim a tolerably complete proof that all the principal New-Testament writings were in existence, and held worthy of a certain peculiar regard, previous to the middle of the second century.

¹ The author of *Supernatural Religion* (I. p. 223 f.), after quoting from Clement the words following his introductory οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν, adds with characteristic calmness in assumption, "It must be evident to any one who carefully examines the parallel passages, that 'the words of the Lord Jesus' in the Epistle cannot have been derived from our Gospels." But nothing of the kind is evident: in fact, we may say, that from this passage alone nothing of any kind is especially evident. We have, however, to consider the fact, that this same Clement (xxix. 4) introduces with words of citation, as from the Old Testament, what seems to be a similar compression and combination of three passages: viz., Num. xviii. 27; Deut. iv. 34; 2 Chron. xxxi. 14. Moreover, Polycarp quotes the Sermon on the Mount with as many (but not the same) variations as those of Clement. And, if the different elements of this compressed compound are not from our Gospels, no one can tell whence they came.

² The bearing of these facts upon the quotations in Justin Martyr has been presented by Dr. Ezra Abbot (*The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, Boston, 1880) with admirable clearness and thoroughness. His note A is an overwhelming refutation of the claim of *Supernatural Religion* (I. pp. 401-412), that the quotation of Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.*, c. 100) could not have been taken from Matt. xi. 27 (compare Luke x. 22). Such variations as *παρεδόρα* for *παρεδόθη*, the omission of *μου* and of *τις ἐκινῶσκει*, etc., are shown to be trivial in the estimate of the time, and are actually found in places where the present Gospel of Matthew was undoubtedly quoted. Indeed, the first substitution is found in Luke x. 22, in MSS. κ and π, and in several cursives. Of the two omissions mentioned above, one is found in Cursive 71 and even in the Sinaitic MS.; and the other or its equivalent is found in numerous early writings. Even the transposition of clauses which Justin here adopts is found in one MS. of Matthew, in an Armenian version of the Diatessaron of Tatian, and in a full score of the writings of the Church Fathers. The differences between the language of Justin and the Gospel of John iii. 3-5 (see *Apol. I.*, c. 61) do not show that he was unacquainted with our present Gospel, but rather the reverse. Dr. Abbot points out that Jeremy Taylor, "who is not generally supposed to have used many apocryphal Gospels," in quoting this same passage nine times presents all the peculiarities of variation which are shown by Justin.

The spurious Epistle of Barnabas, which was probably, however, written previous to the founding of *Ælia Capitolina*, A.D. 119, gives as clear evidence as could be expected of an acquaintance with Matthew; especially by citing its words in two places (c. iv. 14, compare Matt. xxii. 14; and c. v. 9, compare Matt. ix. 13; in the former passage, with the use of the formula *ὡς γέγραπται*), and by several other probable references.¹ Certain relations of thought and language suggest, but do not distinctly prove, an acquaintance also with the Gospel and First Epistle of John. The writer regards the incarnation of Christ in the same way as does the apostle,² and deals in certain phrases which have a Johannean cast.³

The First Epistle of Clement of Rome, which itself attained the dignity of liturgical use and even of a place in certain MSS. of the canonical writings,⁴ and which must have been written previous to A.D. 100, contains both direct and indirect testimony to several writings of the New Testament. Its resemblance to the thought and language of Hebrews is so marked as to have led to the theory that Clement was the author of the canonical Epistle. We have already seen that he ascribes Corinthians to Paul by name (*Ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου*, xlvii. 1); he also makes other indubitable references to this work of this apostle, especially when quoting (xlix. 1) at considerable length from 1 Cor. xiii. His acquaintance with Romans seems also to be proved by several quotations and indirect references. The use of First Timothy and First Peter seems clear; that of Second Timothy and Titus, probable, but more doubtful; echoes apparently from other Pauline epistles resound within our ears as we read Clement. The seeming references to the Synoptic Gospels are such as serve neither, on the one hand, to vindicate his acquaintance with them, nor on the other, to give ground for assuming the existence of apocryphal writings as his source. The words *ὁ ἀληθινὸς καὶ μόνος* seem to allude to the Gospel of John.⁵

¹ Compare iv. 3 with Matt. xxiv. 6, 22, v. 12 with Matt. xxvi. 31, vii. 11 with Matt. xvi. 24, xli. 11 with Matt. xxii. 45, and xix. 11 with Matt. v. 42; and see Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. 102 f.

² See Keim, *Geschichte Jesu*, I., pp. 141-143.

³ Such are conspicuously the phrase, *ἐν σαρκὶ φανεροῦσθαι*, vi. 7 and 9; and *θεοδιδασκοί*, xxi. 6, compare John vi. 45.

⁴ The Codex Alexandrinus has it as an appendix to the books of the New Testament; but the Syriac MS. found in Paris in 1876 inserts it in the middle after the Catholic Epistles.

⁵ See Clement, c. xliii.: other apparent allusions to John are to be found, xxxi. 2, xlix. 1, 6.

The author of that homily which has gone under the name of the Second Epistle of Clement (written about 150 A.D. [?]), quotes (c. ii. 4) from Matt. ix. 13 as *γραφή*, using the same word which he uses (c. vi. 14) for the Old Testament. "Thus saith the Lord," is a formula repeatedly used by him for the New Testament: in one place (c. xiv.) he alludes to both Testaments under the title *τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι*; ¹ he cites the words of Christ from the written record "as God saith" (c. xiii.); and refers to the substance of this record as *λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ*. But, on the other hand, he quotes words which are not found in our Gospels, with the formula, "the Lord saith," and reports a dialogue of Jesus which Clement of Alexandria ascribed to the "Gospel according to the Egyptians." While, then, the testimony of this author does not establish the canonical position (in his age) of any of our present writings, his references seem to show an acquaintance with all the Gospels, ² and with Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, First Timothy, First Peter, and James.

The testimony of Justin Martyr falls within the first period, and, considering the nature of his writings, must be regarded as quite clear and tolerably complete. This author quotes frequently ³ from certain writings which he styles memoirs, — *ἀπομνημονεύματα*, with or without the adjunct *τῶν ἀποστόλων*, — and even Gospels (*εὐαγγέλια*). ⁴ He also recites the custom of the time as being this: "On the day called Sunday, there occurs an assembly in the same place of all those who dwell in cities or in the country, and the Memoirs of the Apostles or the Writings of the Prophets are read, as long as time permits." ⁵ He is thus the first to give us clear information of the liturgical use of any part of the New Testament. ⁶ That the "Memoirs"

¹ The reading here is, however, doubtful: see Charteris, *Ibid.*, p. xx. f.

² Note, as to the Fourth Gospel, the *ἐγένετο εὐαγγ.* of c. ix. 5; and compare the entire passage with John i. 14.

³ According to John Delitzsch (*De Inspiratione* S. S., p. 70), the first title is used by Justin fifteen times, twice in the First Apology and thirteen in the Dialogue; and the second title four times, all in the Dialogue. According to the more exact statement of Ezra Abbot (*The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 20), they are called "Memoirs of the Apostles" eight times, the "Memoirs" simply four times, and at several other times by more descriptive expansions of the title.

⁴ The author of *Supernatural Religion* (I. p. 294) claims that the phrase *καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια* (*Apol.* I. 66) is a manifest interpolation. Against this claim some of his own suspicion as to the unworthy motives of other critics might well be utilized. "Perhaps," says Otto (I. p. 182, note), "there are some who would boldly expunge these words, and congratulate themselves on their emendation; but *verum nihil muto*."

⁵ *Apol.* I. 67.

⁶ See Reuss, *Ibid.*, II. p. 16.

of Justin included our present canonical Gospels, there can be no reasonable doubt. His acquaintance with Matthew is evident from the correspondence of his narratives with those of this Gospel, from numerous quotations, and especially from the long section in the Apology I., 15-17, which closely follows Matthew's version of the Sermon on the Mount. In certain quotations from the Old Testament he has followed this Gospel, while departing from both the Hebrew and the LXX.¹ Perhaps the most decisive passage to show Justin's acquaintance with Mark is his reference in the Dialogue (106) to the naming of Zebedee's sons as Boanerges.² The view which Justin takes of the life and teaching of Jesus, his diction, and his frequent minute verbal agreements, prove his acquaintance with Luke. His reference (Dial. cum Tryph., 103) to the sweat of Jesus in the garden points to the narrative of Luke xxii. 44. The evidence that Justin had read the Gospel of John may be regarded as cumulative, and as having attained a high degree of probability. The complete answer which can be made to objections derived from Justin's minute verbal changes in the case of John iii. 3-5 and the First Apology, c. 61, has already been alluded to. The probability is increased by the apparent use of the First Epistle of John (iii. 1 in Dialogue, c. 123).³ Nearly a score of other similar references still further heighten the degree of probability. Justin is the first to give us an explicit quotation from the Apocalypse,⁴ which he ascribes to the Apostle John. In the opinion that he nowhere alludes to Paul or his writings, Hilgenfeld⁵ is ready to conclude that these writings were not recognized by Justin as belonging among the primeval apostolic group, although he may have been acquainted with them. That he was acquainted with them seems involved, however, in the very fact of his controversy with Marcion,⁶ and especially in the remarkable coincidence between his quotations from the Old Testament and those of Paul. Westcott⁷ asserts of Justin, in contradiction of an opinion like that of Hilgenfeld, that "the Apostle of the Gentiles had

¹ See Kirchhofer, Quellensammlung, p. 89 ff; and Charteris, *Ibid.*, p. 120, note.

² If the *αἰρέσι* in this passage be retained, we have an ascription of this Gospel to the Apostle Peter; Otto (I., ii. p. 380, note) shows considerable reason for emending the reading to *αἰρέσι*. Compare Mark iii. 7.

³ See Ezra Abbot, *Ibid.*, p. 51; especially the additional *καὶ ἰσχυρ* in both Justin and John.

⁴ Dial. cum Tryph., c. 81.

⁵ Der Kanon, p. 27 f.

⁶ See Charteris, *Ibid.*, p. lxii.

⁷ Canon of the N. T., 1866.

helped to mould both his faith and his language." The Epistles from which such traces of influence can be most distinctly seen are Colossians, Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, and Second Thessalonians.

If the researches of M. Waddington may be said to have fixed the death of Polycarp at February, 155 A.D., this Church Father also can be regarded as standing at the close of the first period in the formation of the Canon. Polycarp certainly quotes First Peter, First John, and all the Epistles of Paul except Philemon, Second Timothy, Titus, and Colossians.¹ Among the Gospels, he seems to have made use at least of Matthew.² In one passage (i. 2) he appears to quote the words of Acts ii. 24.

Of other more obscure and contestable traces of the New-Testament writings in this first period, it is not necessary that we should at present take detailed account. In the Shepherd of Hermas, only one tolerably plain allusion appears; viz., that to Matt. x. 33, in Visio II. 2. We pass over to the next period, then, carrying with us these precious fragments of evidence from the earliest age. When arranged and viewed in one light, they show us that the principal writings of our present New Testament were known and recognized separately as of worth for their authentic record of the life of Christ, or for their apostolic instruction and exhortation. They had attained a certain liturgical standing in the use of the churches, and were sometimes quoted as Sacred Scripture; but they were not yet known as a collection with an authority which belongs to the idea of a sole and completed canon.

On taking our stand somewhat within the second period, we are at once made aware of a decided advance toward definiteness in the usage of its writers. Beyond dispute, at the close of the second century the present four Gospels were received as the genuine and sole canonical Gospels: their public reading was firmly and widely established; and many copies were in existence throughout the entire Christian world. They were continually quoted and appealed to as authoritative scripture. Of the Acts, thirteen Epistles of Paul, one of Peter, one of John, and the Apocalypse, the judgment of the churches was concord-

¹ See Charteris, *Ibid.*, p. xxxix. f.

² The passage from the Epistle ad Phil., ii. 3, seems to be made up from both Matthew and Luke. As we have already seen, the relation of the quotation of Polycarp to that of Clement and to the canonical writings excludes the hypothesis of one lost source for both. See Sanday, *Ibid.*, p. 85.

ant: they, too, were regarded as canonical. And if we inquire for the reasons of this more rapid advance, we shall find them not only in the nature of the case, but also in the force of ecclesiastical changes, and in the conflicts with heretics to which the Church Catholic was compelled. From this point onward, we are able to consider the undisputed books of the New Testament as constituting one Bible with the canonical Hebrew Scriptures.

The unsatisfactory nature of oral tradition, and the need of written sources, could not fail to become more apparent with the lapse of time; and especially in the face of those dangers from heretical sects which threatened the early churches. The number of spurious and apocryphal writings made some agreement necessary as to the more definite limits of acknowledged Christian Scripture. It is a noteworthy fact, that some of the earlier attempts to form an acknowledged and selected body of writings for their followers were made by the leading heretics. Marcion, a pupil of Cerdo, and the head of an anti-Jewish Gnostic sect, selected, on dogmatic rather than critical grounds, the Gospel of Luke¹ and ten of the Epistles of Paul as representing the true teachings of Christianity. It does not appear, however, that he denied the genuineness of those Gospels and Epistles which he rejected.² He is, therefore, a valuable direct witness to the existence and genuineness of the writings which he received; and he may also be considered as indirectly bearing testimony to those which he rejected. We may, perhaps, admit the truth of the statement of Reuss,³ that the heretics of the second century recognized, cited, and commented upon the writings of the apostles before the Church Catholic had come to an agreement upon the precise limits of the Canon. We may even use this fact, both to prove the genuineness of the writings, and also to show the reason why the Canon was now in its principal elements so speedily shaped. For when Irenaeus⁴ accuses the Gnostics of acknowledging the Scriptures, and yet perverting their interpretation; and Tertullian⁵ com-

¹ The priority of the canonical Gospel of Luke to Marcion may be regarded as definitely settled: the linguistic argument of Sanday (*Gospels in the Second Century*) having convinced the author of *Supernatural Religion*, who had resisted the previous conclusive arguments of Volkmar and Hilgenfeld. Compare *Characteris*, *Ibid.*, 393 f., note.

² See Kirchhofer, *Ibid.*, p. 337, note.

³ *Geschichte der heil. Schriften A. T.*, II. p. 13.

⁴ *Adv. Haer.*, III. 12: "Scripturas quidem confitentur interpretationes vero convertunt."

⁵ *Praescr.*, c. 17 and 38.

plains of Valentinus, that he does not receive them in their entirety; and Hippolytus¹ charges Apelles with choosing only those things from the Gospels or Apostles which suited him,—we must believe that the idea and fact of a New-Testament Canon had already for some time existed.

The key to a true knowledge of that historical process by which the Canon of the New Testament was formed is, according to Hilgenfeld,² to be found in this fact: "It is referable to the overcoming, by the Church Catholic, of an original opposition between Jewish Christianity and Paulinism." This truth Semler saw, although only somewhat dimly. In the view of Credner, the origin of the New Testament as a collection of acknowledged sacred writings is contemporaneous with the triumph of the Church Catholic over Jewish Christianity. But Credner here reverses the order of dependence, and ascribes the triumph of catholicity to the unity attained by the churches in the matter of the Canon. His theory, however, although often overwrought and so forced as to become a caricature of the facts, especially by the so-called Tübingen School, contains indubitable and important elements of truth. And some of these elements are duly taken into the account, even by critics as cautious as Westcott. The uniting of the two principal tendencies, which had earlier run somewhat separate,—viz., the Jewish-Christian and the Gentile-Christian,—into one force of a Christian Church Catholic, made it then possible to establish a Canon of Sacred Scripture. To the view of the Bible which underlay this Canon, each of these tendencies contributed some influence. The Jewish-Christian tendency had so far prevailed as to soften the sharp contrast which Paul had made between the spirit and the letter: hence the writers of this period give more emphasis to the perfect and enduring character of the Old-Testament revelation. On the other hand, the opposition to the more distinctively Gentile form of Christianity had itself so far softened as to permit the writings of Paul to be considered upon a level with those of the Old Testament. This recognition of one Bible with two classes of books, those of the Old Covenant and those of the New, and both to be placed in a like position of authority, was consummated in idea and in fact toward the close of the second century.³ The

¹ Philos., p. 259, τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἢ τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὰ ἀρίστικα αὐτῷ αἰρεῖται.

² Der Kanon, p. 112; compare pp. 1 ff.

³ See Reuss, Geschichte, etc., II. p. 18 f., for a brief but candid presentation of

increase of influence and of ecclesiastical authority in the hands of the bishops doubtless aided the work which was now consummated by the Church,—united, as it was, in the faith and in common opposition to those whom it deemed heretical.

It is needless to prove in detail, that the Christian churches and teachers of this period recognized the Old Testament (excepting the Apocrypha) and the New Testament (excepting the seven so-called Antilegomena) as constituting one Bible or collection of canonical and authoritative Scriptures. The proof, if needed, would be abundant and conclusive. We confine our consideration to a few important features.

The more formal co-ordinating of the writings of Apostles and Evangelists with those of the Hebrew Bible led to the common application of the title, "the Scripture" or "the Scriptures," to both classes. To distinguish the two, a term was taken from themselves: they were called respectively the scriptures of the Old and the New Covenant. This term being afterwards mistranslated, abbreviated, and applied to the books themselves, they became respectively the Old Testament and the New Testament.¹ How far the use of the distinctive terms, the "Gospel" and the "Apostolicon," which is found in Irenaeus,² Clement, and Tertullian,³ and which disappears in the next century, points to two separate collections of writings, the one including the Four Evangelists, and the other including the Acts and a shifting unregulated number of Epistles, it is not easy to determine. The term "Catholic" to distinguish

this truth. Of the Ebionites, Irenaeus says (Adv. Haer., I 26): "Solo autem eo, quod est secundum Matthaeum, evangelio utuntur et apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatam eum legis dicentes." Compare Origen, Con. Cels., V. 65; Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., III. 27, 4; and frequent references to the same fact in Epiphanius. Semler, who in so many of his conclusions both anticipated and impelled the statements of later criticism, even asserts that Tertullian, Irenaeus, Justin, and other writers of the second and third centuries, failed to know any thing aright about the origin of the Gospels and Epistles, because they neglected *istud discrimen Evangelii duplicis* which Paul as diligently as bravely pointed out (see Praef. ad illust., etc.). Compare Credner, Geschichte des Kanons, p. 23 f.; Hilgenfeld, Ibid., pp. 35 ff.; Westcott, Ibid., p. 292 f.

¹ The earlier terms were, the Law and the Gospel, or the Prophets and the Apostles; or, the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel. Compare 2 Cor. iii. 14, ἐν τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης; 80 τὰ βιβλία τῆς παλαιᾶς (καινῆς) διαθήκης became ἡ παλαιὰ (καινὴ) διαθήκη. The Vulgate translates Matt. xxvi. 28 with *testamentum*. (See Cremer, art. διαθήκη, Wörterbuch.) *Novum Testamentum* is first found in Tertullian, Adv. Prax., c. 15. The Greek terms used by Origen in his Περὶ ἀρχῶν, IV. 1, are wanting in the translation of Rufinus. *Scriptura omnis in duo testamenta divisa est*, says Lactantius, Instit., IV. 20.

² Τα εὐαγγελικά καὶ τὰ ἀποστολικά, Irenaeus, Adv. Haer., I. 3.

³ In Evangelis et in Apostolis, so Tertullian.

one class of Epistles seems originally to have indicated a recognition of the wider circle of readers who were addressed by some of the epistolary writings. According to Reuss,¹ this term was at first applied to the First Epistle of John and to the Epistle of Barnabas: it was afterwards used to designate all the non-Pauline letters, because the Epistles of Paul were in general more definitely addressed than those which came later into the Canon.

The order of books in the Canon was determined differently by different writers and by the influence of various considerations. The supposed order of origin, the rank of the supposed authors, the assumed rank of the congregations and persons to whom the writings were originally addressed, seem all to have been variously taken into the account. The Catholic Epistles ordinarily stand before the other Epistles, and in the earlier MSS. are connected with Acts. "The Epistle to the Hebrews," says Reuss,² "like an intruder, wanders from place to place."

The unity of view which was attained early in this period by individual teachers and churches in widely separated regions and under differing circumstances, is the most convincing proof of the substantial validity of the Canon and of the genuineness of its uncontested books. For such unity of view the names of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen stand as sufficient witnesses: each of them speaks for a large circuit of churches and a wide compass of time. They clearly show an intelligent concordance of view — although differing in details of opinion concerning the Antilegomena — as to the assured, and also as to the yet doubtful, limits of the Canon. Irenaeus († c. 200 A. D.), on account of his birth in Asia Minor (probably the cradle in which grew the infant Canon of New-Testament Scripture³), testifies to some extent for eastern Europe, Greece, and Palestine. In the front rank he places the Gospels,⁴ of which he speaks in such manner as to emphasize the harmonistic view: the canonical number of four he regards as due to an interior necessity on the part of a church which has spread itself to the four quarters of the earth. The one tetraform Gospel is held together and pervaded by one spirit.⁵ Among the Antilegomena he cites the Apocalypse and Second John, the latter of which appears as an integral part of the First

¹ Geschichte der heil. Schriften N. T., II. p. 22.

² Ibid., II. p. 24.

³ Reuss, Ibid., II. p. 20.

⁴ Adv. Haer., III. 1, 1.

⁵ Ibid., III. 11, 8: ἵδμεν ὑμῖν τετράμορφον εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν δὲ πνεύματι συνεχόμενον.

Epistle;¹ he perhaps also made use of Hebrews, but not as a writing of Paul.² Of James, Jude, Second Peter, and Third John, no undeniable traces appear. Tertullian († c. 220) shows from his writings that he regards the Old and New Testaments as together constituting the generically Sacred Scripture, but his method seems to confine the canonical writings of the New Testament to those of undoubtedly apostolic origin. In one passage he confines himself to the Gospels, Apocalypse, Acts, and Pauline Epistles;³ in another he adds the First Epistle of John, but places it with the Apocalypse at the end:⁴ of James, Third John, and Second Peter, he makes no recognition, and probably none of Second John. His single reference to Jude does not fully serve to class it with canonical Scripture.⁵ Hebrews he does not regard as canonical, but as much more worthy than the apocryphal Shepherd of Hermas.⁶ Clement of Alexandria († after 211) co-ordinates the Law and the Prophets with the Gospel, as, in the name of Christ, leading to one form of knowledge,⁷ and as constituting one body of Scriptures: his frequent and formal citations from the Epistles permit no doubt that he included them also in this category. But his manner of using Scripture indicates ill-defined and vacillating notions as to the nature and limits of the Canon. That he was acquainted with James, Second Peter, and Third John, his extant writings show no trace of evidence, but if we may trust the declaration of Eusebius⁸ concerning the scope of his lost work, the "Hypotyposes" (or "Outlines"), he gave in it concise explanations of all the disputed books of the New Testament, — as well as of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Apocalypse of Peter, — and asserted that Hebrews was written by Paul in the Hebrew dialect, and translated into Greek by Luke. To substitute a more precise view of the Canon for this vacillating one, was the aim and effort of Origen († 254). For the execution of this effort he relied upon the principle of tradition; but in its execution, even when confined to a domain comparatively so narrow, he found many difficulties. His influence upon the view to be

¹ Ibid., III. 16, 5; I. 16, 3.

² See Hilgenfeld, p. 36, note. Stephen Gobarus says of Irenaeus and Hippolytus: *τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου οὐκ ἔκρινον εἶναι φασιν.*

³ De resurr. carnis, c. 33 f.

⁴ De pudic., c. 6 f.

⁵ De hab. muliebri, c. 3: "Enoch apud Judam Apostolum testimonium possidet."

⁶ De pudic., c. 20: "receptor apud ecclesias epistola Barnabae illo apocrypho pastore moechorum."

⁷ Strom. III., IV., V.

⁸ Hist. Eccl., VI. 14, 1.

taken regarding the Old Testament was in favor of confining its Canon to the limits of the Hebrew version; and this influence was widely prevalent in spite of the customary use of the Alexandrine version.¹ Of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, he expressly introduces into the Canon only the Epistle of Jeremiah. To this effort of Origen we must refer the significant distinction of the New-Testament writings into the *ὁμολογούμενα* and *ἀμφιβαλλόμενα*. Concerning the Gospels he found universal agreement;² yet in one passage of his writings he uses somewhat doubtful language as to the position of the Gospel according to the Hebrews.³ In the Epistle to the Hebrews he found a matter of strife: "If any church, therefore, holds this Epistle to be Paul's, let it not be found fault with on that account; for the ancients have not handed it down as Paul's without a show of reason."⁴ The relation of Origen to the Catholic Epistles cannot be determined with certainty.⁵ First Peter, First John, and the Apocalypse he received as canonical, Second Peter, Second and Third John, he looked upon as disputed; it is doubtful how he regarded James and Jude, unless a distinction is made between Origen the scholar and Origen speaking popularly. On the other hand, it must be remembered that he was scarcely less loath to exclude from the Canon certain undoubtedly spurious books. He not only regarded the Shepherd of Hermas as useful and inspired Scripture, but speaks of it as though he himself could see no reason for not receiving it among the canonical writings; and, while excluding in one place the Preaching of Peter, in another he refuses to decide whether it be genuine, spurious, or mixed.⁶ It is not without good grounds, then, that Hilgenfeld makes the disputed writings as given in Origen include Hebrews, five Catholic Epistles, and the Shepherd of Hermas.

In substantial accord with this personal testimony stands that of contemporaneous collections of canonical writings. Of these, the ancient Canon of the Syrian translation, the Peshito,

¹ See Diestel, *Geschichte des A. T.*, p. 71 f.

² Tom. I. in Matt., Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VI. 25, 4 f.

³ Tom. II. in Joan: *ἐὰν δὲ προσέται τις τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγέλιον*: compare Hom. in Jer., XV. 4; Tom. in Matt., XV., 14. It may be used at pleasure, *non ad auctoritatem, sed ad manifestationem propositae quaestionis*.

⁴ Eusebius, *Ibid.*, VI. 25, 13.

⁵ See Hilgenfeld, *Der Kanon*, p. 49, note; and compare *Canonicity*, p. lxxxiv.

⁶ Of Hermas, Origen says, "*Quae scriptura valde mihi utilis videtur et ut puto divinitus inspirata*" (*Ad Rom.*, x. 31; compare *De Princ.*, I. 3, 3; II. 1, 5). On the Preaching of Peter, compare *De Princ. praef.*, VIII., and *In Joan.*, tom. XIII. 17.

is in the East the earliest witness. Its list of books is lacking in respect only of the Apocalypse, Jude, Second Peter, and Second and Third John. The earliest form of the old Latin version, which had been some time current before Tertullian, was, with the exception of Hebrews, Second Peter, and probably James, the same as our own. The evidence of the Canon of Muratori, on account of some manifest eccentricity of judgment in its author and of the imperfections in the text, cannot be considered wholly satisfactory: its list, as made up and compared with the present, would probably exclude Hebrews, James, the Epistles of Peter, and the Third of John; while perhaps including a Book of Wisdom and an Apocalypse of Peter.¹

Of the third and last step by which the Church reached its more permanent conclusion as to the nature and limits of the Canon, still fewer details need be presented.

During the third century the books hitherto disputed, with the exception of the Apocalypse, continually won their way into favor: especially was this true of Hebrews in the Eastern Church. The exception of the Apocalypse was not due, however, to an increase of doubt upon purely critical grounds, but rather to its supposed chiliastic tendencies. In the West the case of Hebrews and the Apocalypse was rather the reverse. Caius, presbyter at Rome early in the third century, did not accept Hebrews as a Pauline writing;² and Hippolytus, bishop in the same vicinity somewhat later, rejected it altogether.³ We are told by Eusebius that some of the Romans, and by Jerome⁴ that the Romans in general, down to their times denied its authorship by Paul. Cyprian († 258), whose arrangement of the canonical writings seems, however, to be controlled by the mysticism of numbers, does not cite any of the contested Epistles. The Apostolic Constitutions commend the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles for liturgical uses, but do not mention the other books of the New Testament: they contain, moreover, a warning against false and interpolated writings.⁵

¹ See Reuss, *Ibid.*, II. p. 29 f., for an excellent summary of the facts and points in discussion. For the text, see Tregelles, *Can. Mur.*, whose remark (p. 10) is to be kept constantly in mind: "Its evidence is not the less trustworthy from its being a blundering and illiterate transcript of a rough and rustic translation of a Greek original."

² Compare Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VI. 20.

³ Stephen Gobarus ap. Phot., *cod.* 232.

⁴ *De viris illustr.*, c. 5 f.; and *Ep. ad Dardan.*

⁵ See II. 57, VI. 16. It is probable, however, that this spurious writing belongs

Even Eusebius († 340) does not show a settled view as to the limits of the Canon, but with respect to the disputed writings holds somewhat the same equivocal position which we found in the case of Origen. In his principal passage upon the Canon¹ he classes among the books generally recognized and genuine, (*ὁμολογούμενα* or *ἀναντιρρήτα*), the holy quaternity of the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of Paul, First Peter, First John, and doubtfully (*εἴγε φανείη*) the Apocalypse. The doubtful and contested writings he subdivides (?),² and in the first subordinate class places the Antilegomena, James, Jude, Second Peter, Second and Third John; but among the spurious and plainly uncanonical (*νόθα*) he mentions the Acts of Paul, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Apostolic Constitutions, and doubtfully (*εἰ φανείη, ἢν τις, ὡς ἔφη, ἀθετοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις*) the Apocalypse of John. Elsewhere (VI. 13, 6) Eusebius classes Hebrews with the Epistles of Barnabas, Clement, and Jude, as belonging to the Antilegomena; although his own testimony is that Paul is its author.³ James and Jude, also, he in one place⁴ calls by the title "spurious." In all this we see no signs of advanced opinion concerning the seven disputed books as compared with the position of a full century earlier.

And yet a firmer condition of these doubtful limits seems to begin from about this time; and, if we are to trust the opinion of Credner and others,⁵ it was largely due to the action of Eusebius himself. This Church Father, on being commissioned by Constantine (331 or 332) to prepare for the use of the church in Constantinople fifty copies of the undisputed sacred writings (*τῶν θείων δηλαδὴ γραφῶν*), laid aside his critical doubts as to the canonicity of some of the Antilegomena, and introduced into these copies all the books of the New Testament except the Apocalypse. This Canon is the one given somewhat later by Cyril of Jerusalem as constituting the inspired Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.⁶ The class of the Antilegomena as formerly held by Origen and Eusebius no longer appears;

to the fourth rather than to the third century, where Reuss places it. See Charteris, *Ibid.*, p. 25, note.

¹ Hist. Eccl., III. 25; compare III. 3; 31; 39, and VI. 13.

² As to the nature and number of classes which Eusebius would make, there is inevitable difference of view: see Charteris, *Ibid.*, p. 10, note; Hilgenfeld, *Der Kanon*, p. 53 f.; Reuss, *Ibid.*, II. p. 36 f.

³ Through a translator: see *Ibid.*, III. 37; and compare Strom, VI. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 23 f.

⁵ See Hilgenfeld, *Ibid.*, p. 56, note.

⁶ *Θεόπνευστοι γραφαί*, Catech., IV. p. 36 f.

although Cyril alludes to certain writings of the second rank which are to be read only for private instruction, and probably placed the Apocalypse among this number.¹ But Athanasius places even this writing among the canonical, and thus seems to recognize in our present New Testament what may be called a closed and fixed Canon of Sacred Scripture: nevertheless even he recognizes the "previous fluidity" of this Canon by esteeming certain writings—as the Shepherd of Hermas and the Teaching of the Apostles—worthy of being read for Christian instruction.² Sporadic doubts, however, still appear; as, for instance, that of Theodore of Mopsuestia concerning the Epistle of James. Rufinus († 410) recognizes certain books which are not canonical, but which are called by many "ecclesiastical," because they are to be read in the churches; among these, as in the New Testament, he mentions the Shepherd of Hermas.³

In regard to the Old-Testament Apocrypha, reference has already been made to the vacillation of view which prevailed at this time. The fact may be still further illustrated in the name of Epiphanius († 403). In one place he mentions twenty-seven books of the Old Testament, enumerating⁴ them as twenty-two. Jeremiah appears as including Lamentations, the Epistle, and the Book of Baruch. These writings he explains to be those received by the Jews; while others, like Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon, they held doubtful: still others were to be regarded as apocryphal. In another passage,⁵ he places the two Books of Wisdom at the conclusion of the *New Testament*; and regards them as useful, but not to be reckoned with canonical writings. On the whole, then, the tendency in the Eastern Church was toward the stricter view of the Old-Testament Canon; and even in the Latin Church, some authors who preceded Augustine appear to have adopted the same view.⁶ Thus Hilary⁷ († 368), who does not mention the five contested Catholic Epistles, follows Origen in his stricter construction of the Old-Testament Canon, although with him including the Epistle of Jeremiah with the Prophecy and Lamentations in one book; and Rufinus, who received the entire New Testa-

¹ See Charteris, *Ibid.*, p. 19, note; and Hilgenfeld, *Ibid.*, p. 58, note.

² Hilgenfeld, *Ibid.*, p. 59, note; and compare Charteris, p. 13, note.

³ *Expos. in Symb.*, c. 37 f.

⁴ In *Haer.*, VIII. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, LXXVI.

⁶ Diestel, *Geschichte des A. T.*, p. 70 f.

⁷ *Praef. ad Psalm.*

ment, expressly says of Judith, Tobit, Maccabees, Sirach, and the Wisdom of Solomon, that they are *non canonici sed ecclesiastici*, and are therefore not to be brought forward in proof of doctrine. And yet the list preceding the Codex Alexandrinus includes the foregoing apocryphal writings, and First and Second Ezra besides. The order of the apocryphal writings in the Codex Vaticanus is such as to interject them at various points between the canonical. These facts, and many others similar which might be adduced, show a still unsettled doctrine and practice regarding the Apocrypha of the Old Testament and the Antilegomena of the New.

The two names which have most significance for the question of the Canon in this and all the subsequent ages are, undoubtedly, those of Jerome and Augustine. Of these two authorities Reuss¹ declares with excessive sharpness, but not without good grounds in truth: "To the critical examination of the Canon the former brought no courage, the latter no learning; and both, neither critical principles nor independence." As to the Old Testament, Jerome does not present us with a perfectly consistent view. In one passage² he utters a lively warning against the Apocrypha; but elsewhere³ his judgment is milder, and he seems to concede (without positively commending) the reading of certain of these books, in deference to their widespread existence, and especially to the fact that he had found some of them (First Maccabees and Sirach) in Hebrew. Nor are his statements consistent as to the chief ones of the Antilegomena. Concerning Hebrews he declares that it is placed by many outside of the Pauline Epistles, its style being regarded as unlike Paul, and even that the custom of the Latin churches does not receive it as canonical,⁴ concerning the Apocalypse, that some of the churches of the Greeks take the same liberty with it,—although *we receive both*. A difference in style between the two Epistles of Peter had also led some to reject the Second.⁵ He also affirms that James attained its position gradually and with great difficulty, and that Jude was still rejected by very many.⁶ He gives notice that Second and Third John have been ascribed to the presbyter of that name whose tomb was still seen at Ephesus.⁷

¹ Geschichte der heil. Schriften N. T., II. p. 46.

² Ep. 107 ad Laetam.

³ Prolog. galeat. ad lib. Reg., and Praef. in lib. Salom.

⁴ See De viris illustr., cc. 1-9; Ep. ad Paulin.; Ep. ad Dardan.

⁵ De viris illustr., c. 1.

⁶ De viris illustr., c. 4.

⁷ Ibid., c. 9.

It was largely Augustine by whose influence the questions concerning the Canon were — we cannot say settled, but formally put to rest. His influence must be declared on the whole unsatisfactory and even pernicious. Tradition was the avowed principle of authority upon which this Church Father would have determined the precise limits of the Canon; but tradition itself was not uniform, and could not be made so to appear. The necessities of a more strictly theological use of the Bible operated, however, to induce in his mind a sense of the value of some formal and authoritative pronouncement. The custom of the Church, then, must not only be evoked, but even made binding upon the future by distinct acts of self-consciousness, in order that the Bible might logically furnish the Church with an authoritative *regula fidei*. It was the liturgical and practical custom of the Christian congregations, rather than the critical judgment of scholars as to the true traditions of canonicity in the strictest sense, which triumphed at the present time: the triumph was, therefore, fit to establish a future uniformity of custom, rather than a true conception and historical definition of the Canon.¹ In the opinion of Augustine, the two Books of Wisdom deserved to be received as genuine prophetic and authoritative writings,² of Maccabees he says, "This Scripture is received by the Church, not without profit if it be read and listened to with sobriety."³ He enumerates forty-four books of the Old Testament. The Synod of Hippo (393), where his influence was strong, enumerates as canonical *five* Books of Solomon, two of Maccabees, two of Ezra, and Tobit and Judith. Among the canonical writings of the New Testament, Augustine enumerates *fourteen* Epistles of Paul.

The authority of the more critical Jerome retarded, especially in the East, the adoption of the views of Augustine; and even at Rome vacillations of view continued to manifest themselves.⁴ Cassiodorus places the two registers of Jerome and Augustine side by side.⁵ The Ethiopian Church appears to have had no fixed conception or practice with regard to the Canon. Yet the more formal view of Augustine and the African Church gained ground on the whole, and the theological and practical conception of the Canon prevailed over the attempts to establish one on historical and critical grounds.

¹ See Diestel, *Ibid.*, p. 75 f.

² *Con. Gaudent.*, I. 31.

⁴ See Credner, *Ibid.*, pp. 151-290.

² *In auctoritatem recipi meruerunt.*

⁵ *De instit. div. lit.*, c. 11 f.

It must not be forgotten, however, that neither now, nor at any time previous, do we find any proof that the doubts which were felt concerning the Antilegomena of the New Testament originally covered a more extended sphere. We cannot follow Hilgenfeld,¹ then, in refusing to affirm that the Homologoumena of Eusebius and Jerome were such from the first. The only items of proof by which this author can justify his refusal concern the Gospel of John. This Gospel he mistakenly regards as contested in Asia Minor down to the time of the fourth century.

At this point it is in place to add a word concerning the estimate of pseudepigraphy, and concerning the critical sense in general, within the ancient Church. We cannot believe that the Church Fathers were devoid of skill or conscience as to literary forgeries. If it appears as a fact that a certain presbyter of Asia in the second century, when he was caught in a forgery put forth in the name of the Apostle Paul, affirmed that he had done the deed *amore Pauli*, it is an important part of this fact that he was *caught* in his forgery.² When Dionysius of Corinth complains that many of his epistles had been corrupted by his own contemporaries, he indeed bears witness to the possibility of a successful literary forgery; but he is scarcely a witness to a universal lack of conscience about the matter, since he calls these forgers "the apostles of the Devil," and pronounces a woe upon them.³ The real critical question is not, however, whether the scholars of the latter half of the second century had the diplomatic skill to select from a large number of MSS. (some genuine, some spurious) those belonging to the century previous: it is, rather, whether they were interested in the question of apostolic authorship, and were able to maintain on this matter a sufficiently pure tradition for even a single century. As to the definiteness with which they proposed to themselves the real question of genuineness, there can be no doubt.⁴ As Westcott has well said, their testimony is "an inheritance, and not a deduction." The ability to raise, and in some good degree to answer, the question of genuineness, is involved in the very distinction which they made between the Homologou-

¹ Ibid., p. 72 f.

² And, moreover, was caught upon a critical point: see Tertullian, *De baptismo*, c. 17.

³ See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, IV. 23.

⁴ Compare the perfectly conclusive passages from Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, IV. 2 and 5.

mena and the Antilegomena, and in the fact that the term *vóba* came to mean both spurious and morally base or misleading. On what ground, indeed, — if we grant for a moment the assumptions made by the opponents of its genuineness, — did those who refused to receive John's Gospel base their refusal? Was it not on the ground of its alleged unguineness?

It is true that the process by which the formation of the Canon took place was an essentially uncritical process. It is true that the Church Fathers show many tokens of being without critical acumen. They in general accepted the myth as to the origin of the Septuagint. Tertullian referred the Book of Enoch to the patriarch of that name.¹ Irenaeus admitted the apocryphal saying of Christ concerning the enormous growth of the grape in the Messianic time.² Innumerable other proofs might be given of the unworthiness of these worthies to sit in the seats of critical judgment on a level with the modern critics. And yet there are not a few noteworthy facts of an opposite kind. Lardner was a penetrating and learned critic; although he might well enough have believed in witches, so far as the time of his critical writing is concerned. In the case of Hebrews, Origen certainly showed a penetrating critical judgment. And if the skill of his pupil Dionysius led him to anticipate most of the modern objections to the Johannean authorship of both the Gospel and the Apocalypse, we, on our part, are not inclined to depreciate that skill because he did not use it to decide the case in favor of the Apocalypse rather than of the Gospel.

From the Council of Carthage onward, the Canon of both Testaments — regarded as giving the authoritative rule (or canon) of Christian teaching — was substantially a closed question. Sporadic doubts and eccentricities of judgment, however, still appear. The seven Catholic Epistles are more uniformly included among the canonical writings in the stricter sense, all except certain favored ones of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament are more uniformly excluded. In the New Testament, Hebrews and the Apocalypse meet with least uniform favor. Esther is most apt to be excluded from the Old. The verse of Amphilocheus (written about 380 [?]) declares: "They do not speak well who say the Epistle to the Hebrews is spurious, for its grace is genuine;" but of the Apocalypse he asserts that most call it spurious. Gregory of Nazianzum

¹ De cultu fem., I. 3.

² Adv. Haer., V. 33, 3 f.

omits Esther and Revelation from his catalogue; but Philastrius († 887) in one passage denounces as heretics those who reject the Pauline authorship of Hebrews and the Johannean authorship of the Apocalypse. Later, Euthalius revived, in order to controvert, the ancient grounds of doubt regarding both these writings; but Cosmas¹ (about 535) confidently appealed to antiquity for justification in rejecting all the Catholic Epistles. Junilius² (about 560) proposes a unique division of the scriptural writings into three classes; viz., books of perfect, of medium, and of no authority (*perfectae — mediae — nullius, auctoritatis*): among those of the first class he places Sirach; among those of the second, the books of Job and Esther; while Canticles appears to be relegated to the last division of all.³ As to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, we find Pope Gregory First excusing himself for citing a passage from First Maccabees, and disclaiming its canonical authority; and Isidore of Seville placing them at the end of the other books. Both Leontius and the stichometry of Nicephorus omit Esther from the Old Testament: the latter omits the Apocalypse from the New. Hrabanus Maurus⁴ († 856) gives a catalogue of seventy-two books belonging to the Bible, but refers to the ancient doubts as to the Antilegomena. Elsewhere⁵ he says of the Apocrypha, in allusion to Jerome, "In recent times the Church numbers these among the Sacred Scriptures, and reads them as she does the other canonical books."

But during these centuries an unhistorical and unscrupulous spirit held almost unbroken sway. Even the theological truth of the Bible was determined by appeal to the dogma of the Church Fathers, rather than to its own authority. Biblical history was freely mingled with all manner of traditions and myths. The purpose of this perversion of doctrine and corruption of history was alleged to be the edifying of the people. The pious purpose to build up faith and religion justified the removal of all clearly defined lines as to the classes of legitimate means for accomplishing the purpose.

Yet the more critical view of Jerome was in the mean time not altogether wanting in influence. Nearly all the writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries give tokens of a distinction

¹ De Mundo, lib VII.

² De part. div. leg., I. c. 3 f.

³ It is in general true of the Song of Solomon, that it gained its place in the Canon only by the help of the allegorical interpretation.

⁴ De instit. cler., II. 53 f.

⁵ Prolog. ad Sap.

between the canonical books and the Old-Testament Apocrypha; and the sentiment that the latter are not to be used to establish doctrine is often repeated. The general rule of the time may be stated in the words of Hugo of St. Victor: "The divine Scriptures are those, which, being published by the teachers of the catholic faith, the universal authority of the Church has received to be reckoned in the number of divine books for the strengthening of the same faith, and has retained to be read."¹ But Roger Bacon expresses his astonishment that the writings of the Patriarchs have not been received into the Canon, for they treat more expressly of "the articles of faith" than do the canonical writings. Nicolas of Lyra, while distinguishing the Apocrypha from the canonical books, as uncertain in origin, asserts that there can be no doubt as to their truth; and Erasmus wishes to oppose no obstacle to their reception, on the principle that nothing forbids the approval of a book whose author is uncertain.

It was the indirect influence of the study of the classics which in large measure revived the interest in questions of the Canon, as in all other historical questions. In conjunction with the motive of historical and critical interest, that of biblical dogmatics came also into full play. The principle of the Reformation was by its very nature fitted to stimulate new and independent researches into the limits of those books which it required that the Church should acknowledge as its sources of faith. By the force of this motive the early Reformers were for a time impelled toward the position of the Church Catholic in the fourth century; but, when over-driven by the same force perverted, the post-Reformation theology surpassed even the Roman Catholicism of the Middle Ages in its disregard of the claims of history and of criticism.

The freedom of Luther's views is well known, as well as the fact that his later views were more conservative than his earlier; although, according to Reuss,² with regard to his position toward the Antilegomena he took no retrograde steps. Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation he placed at the end of

¹ See Diestel, *Geschichte des A. T.*, p. 181. Hugo of St. Victor says of Sirach, Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees, that they are read indeed, but not enrolled in the Canon (*Erud. didac.*, IV. c. 1 f.).

² *Ibid.*, II. p. 65. With significant and pardonable bitterness does Reuss say: "Luther's Vorreden sind von solchen die keine ältere echte Bibel zur Hand haben, bei Walch . . . zu suchen, nicht in den cursirenden von frommen Gesellschaften castrirten Special-Ausgaben."

the New Testament, and spoke of these four as entitled to a lower consideration than "the right genuine and chief books of the New Testament." Of Hebrews he judged that it was the work of a worthy and learned man who was a disciple of the apostle: it has some wood, hay, and straw, but also much gold and silver.¹ Of James he spoke contemptuously, and judged that its contradiction of Paul was such that it could not have been written by an apostle.² Jude he considered a transcript of Peter's Epistle, and unnecessary for laying the foundation of faith.³ The Apocalypse he did not consider to be the work of an apostle, and placed it in the lowest rank of prophetic writing, on a par with dreams and other such means of knowing the future.⁴ Melancthon's judgment was similar to that of Luther, though more mildly expressed. Carlstadt⁵ attempted to fix the canonicity of the books of the New Testament upon Protestant principles. He divided the writings of the Bible into three grades: (1) those *summæ dignitatis*, viz., the Pentateuch (not, however, written by Moses) and the Gospels; (2) those *secundæ dignitatis*, viz., the Prophets and the fifteen undisputed Epistles; (3) those *tertiæ et infimæ dignitatis*, viz., the Jewish Hagiographa and the Antilegomena of the New Testament. Oecolampadius and Bucer held that the latter are to be received as canonical, but not as upon a par with the other books. Calvin, however, does not recognize grades in canonicity; although he cannot bring himself to believe that Hebrews is Pauline, and ascribes Second Peter to a disciple of the Apostle, while passing in silence the canonicity of Second and Third John and the Apocalypse. The position of the early Reformers toward the Old-Testament Apocrypha may be expressed in the words of Oecolampadius:⁶ "We do not condemn Judith, Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, the two last of Ezra, the three of Maccabees, and the last two chapters of Daniel, but we do not give them the same divine authority, with the rest." That the Apocrypha are useful for edification, but not authoritative in doctrine, is the position of the Helvetic, Gallic, Anglican, and Belgic Confessions.

It is in respect only to the last-mentioned position that the Reformation made any improvement upon the view of Roman

¹ Works, edition of Walch, XIV. p. 146.

² Ibid., pp. 105, 148.

³ Ibid., p. 150.

⁴ Ibid., p. 151 f.

⁵ In his *De canonicis scripturis libellus*: see Credner, *Geschichte des Kanons*, pp. 291-412.

⁶ Ep. ad Valdenses, 1530.

Catholicism concerning the Canon of Sacred Scripture. Perhaps we should rather say, that, while Protestantism stood for a time in this position, — substantially where the Church had stood in nearly all the past, — Roman Catholicism went on to take a new and false position, from which it can hardly retreat, and from which it cannot possibly advance. The Council of Trent, not without opposition, and “in the spirit of the Synod of Carthage,” anathematized all who did not receive all the books contained in the Latin translation, in the same form and the same contents in which they existed therein. This action of the Council relegates almost the entire Church Catholic among the heretics, and stigmatizes the Church Father Jerome as the archbishop of heretics. It has been claimed, indeed, by writers both within and without the Roman-Catholic Church, that this decree does not forbid the distinction of the biblical books into ecclesiastical and deuterocanonical, or canonical of the first and second rank. This very distinction has since been advocated by certain Roman-Catholic writers like Sixtus Senensis, Bellarmine, and others.¹ That the express intention was, however, to forbid any view which did not place the Apocrypha on a par with the other books of the Bible, there can be no reasonable doubt.² Priestly influence gave to the same loose construction of the Canon an easy triumph in the Greek Church, where the people neither knew nor cared as to the real limits and valid contents of the Sacred Scriptures.

In the post-Reformation time, the distinctions which Luther and others had made in the books of the Canon, on the principle of a greater or less degree of conformity to the central doctrines of faith, were abandoned. The reign of tradition in its worst form again controlled the whole question, but now the tradition was divided. The Protestants agreed to disregard all the ancient views of Christianity upon the subject, while they attempted to level up all the books to the lofty demands of dogmatic infallibility. The Roman Catholics had decreed to level down all, that they might throw around them the fortifications of churchly infallibility.

Chemnitz († 1586), indeed, still maintained the distinction between the canonical and the apocryphal (*Antilegomena*) books of the New Testament. But Gerhard († 1637) reduced

¹ So Jahn asserts, *Einl. in das A. T.*, 1802, I. p. 140 f.

² Compare Reuss, *Ibid.*, II. p. 67 f.; and an article by Welte in the *Tübingen Quartalschrift*, 1839, II. pp. 224 ff.

the distinction to one of merely historical importance; and although Calixtus († 1656) revived it as a matter of consequence in Christian dogma and Christian life, it was soon substantially lost out of account. The lack of historical studies, the absorption of criticism in dogmatics, and the polemical exigencies of the time, conspired to destroy the fruitage promised by the utterances of the early Reformers. The complete identification of Scripture and the Word of God effectually prevented all inquiry into the true limits of the Canon; the theologians generally rejected every attempt to discriminate classes of writings in the Bible. Occasional advocates of another view appear, however, in the sixteenth century: Wolder, for example, in his Polyglot distinguished between canonical and uncanonical writings, even in the New Testament, and placed Revelation, Hebrews, James, and Jude among the latter.¹ Schröder, Hafenreffer, and others regarded the disputed books as unfit for the establishment of doctrine. But in the seventeenth century so completely did the regard for history and criticism disappear, that to distinguish grades in New-Testament books became a deadly heresy; and thus the customary view of the early Church Fathers took refuge in the post-Reformation era among heretical sects. We reach, finally, the false and misleading statement of Quenstedt,² that history shows no dispute as to their equal authority, but only a difference as to their equal recognition among men. The crafty inquiry is plainly seen to underlie all other inquiries into the Canon, whether it is worth while to injure the arguments of theologians by reviving an old and useless distinction; or else the entire subject is passed over in disingenuous silence.³

Nor do the symbols of all this period offer any relief to the mind which seriously raises the questions: What books constitute the sole divine and infallible *regula fidei*? and, On what grounds are precisely these books separated from other claimants to equal honors? To these questions the Belgic Confession can only answer, "The canonical books are those to which no opposition can be made;" and as to the reason for its answer it declares with a like uncertainty, "We receive only those books for canonical . . . not so much because the Church re-

¹ See Reuss, *Geschichte der heil. Schriften* N. T., II. p. 71 f.

² Theol. didac. pol., IV. quæst. 23.

³ Grotius († 1645) denied the genuineness of Second Peter, doubted that of Second and Third John, and gave to Hebrews only mediate apostolic authorship.

ceives and approves them for the same, as especially because the Holy Spirit witnesseth in our hearts that they came from God, and that they have their approbation in themselves." According also to the Gallic Confession, it is not only from the common consent of the Church, but even much more from the testimony and intrinsic persuasion of the Holy Spirit, that the canonical books are recognized. The stark conclusion that each body of Christians may make its own Canon on purely subjective grounds is thus enunciated in ill-considered proximity with a mistaken appeal to a tradition whose facts were kept covered from sight.¹ To what lengths this identification of the Bible (however published) with the Word of God may carry its declarations, can be judged by the following sentence: "It is enough (that is, in determining the canonical writings) to take the Bible in the original languages, and run over the titles of the books."²

The sceptical spirit of the eighteenth century, although essentially uncritical, did not hesitate to attack with bold assertions the orthodox view of the Canon. Spinoza's opinion, that the Old Testament originated in the time of Ezra did not, however, gain the credence of his own time. Diderot³ and De la Serre⁴ rejected all authority whatsoever in the historical decision as to the number of sacred writings. Edelmann in coarser language did the same. Some of the English Deists, like Toland, regarded the entire Old Testament as ungenueine: others, like Whiston,⁵ were ready to enlarge the Canon.

It was Semler († 1791) who made the first attempt to form an historical and critical estimate of the origin and nature of the Old and New Testament Canon. He strove to break the bands of dogmatism, and inclined rather to the Latin principle of a church-Canon than the Greek principle of a faith-Canon.⁶ He denied the complete identity of the inspired word of God and the canonical collection of sacred writings, he claimed as a critic the same right which the ancient community of believers had exercised, viz., the right of making true distinctions amongst

¹ The Strassburg Kirchenagende of 1596 avers an agreement with Dr. Martin Luther as to the inferiority of Hebrews, James, Jude, and the Apocalypse, and states that they should not be used for the settlement of doctrine; but *the edition of 1670 omits this*.

² Du Moulin, Bouclier de la foi, p. 38, ed. 1846, as quoted by Reuss.

³ Pensées philos., 1746, especially § 60.

⁴ La vraie religion, 1767, p. 37.

⁵ Whiston wished all the Apostolic Fathers, the Apostolic Constitutions, and other writings to be canonized.

⁶ So Reuss, *Ibid.*, II. p. 76.

different portions of the whole. Others followed with the same opinions; among whom we may mention Michaelis and Herder as being in substantial accord with the spirit of Semler. The old bands of dogmatism being somewhat loosed and broken, the newly freed critical desire showed that lack of moderation for which it is always prepared by long and severe repression.

The criticism of the present century has much enlarged the number of cognate interests and researches which enter into any well-considered view of the Canon. By its complete return to the original inquiry, When and by whom were the separate books composed? and by the varied new means which it has brought to light for the answer to its own inquiry, it has greatly increased the dignity and importance of the ancient history of the Church. The view which Baur and the so-called Tübingen School took of early Christianity has been of special importance with reference to the history and concept of the Canon. This view, in its extreme form, renders all inquiry into the canonicity of most of the New-Testament books of relatively little account to Christianity. By this view the direct or indirect apostolic origin of most of the books is made impossible; and the alleged manner of their production discourages any earnest intent to recognize a particular divine guidance in the complex origin of the Bible. But the facts to which this view, in its modified form, has directed attention, have been of great value in rendering a full and realistic account of that process by which the Christian Church came to have and to use its present collection of sacred writings. Much regarding the origin of the New Testament, both as a whole and with respect to its separate parts, is still obscure, in the history of the Old-Testament Canon the light places are few indeed. The important facts are, however, substantially

- such as have been presented in the foregoing pages. The story of criticism as to the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture, so far as this may be determined by the history of the Canon, is now before us. We are prepared, therefore, to answer summarily the third one of the questions proposed; viz., What doctrine of Sacred Scripture accords with a true conception and accurate history of the biblical Canon?

1. The history of that process through which the Church has obtained its present collection of sacred writings authorizes us to affirm that the result has been reached by guidance of the Holy Spirit. With the proper limitation of the words, we do

not hesitate even to say : The Canon of the Old and New Testaments is inspired. That the separate parts should so unite in history as to enclose a spiritual whole which closely resembles a living organism, is a proof of a divine work. The character of the total instrument of grace is to be ascribed to Providence; the indwelling of the Divine in that course of history by which the result has been reached must be assumed in order to explain the result itself. That the Canon of neither the Old Testament nor the New was formed by any single act of individual or collective judgment, is made evident by the history.¹ Something may be due, in the case of the Old Testament, to Ezra and the men of his time, but we do not know that it is much : without doubt the myth largely exaggerates their services. The influence of Augustine by his writings and through the Synods of Hippo and Carthage was considerable ; but no Church Father or Synod either constructed or finally determined the New-Testament Canon. Its final existence is the result of a complex and a somewhat tardy and contested growth. The author and director of the life which is manifest in this growth is spiritual and divine.

The doctrine of the providential origin of the Canon, however, does not negative a single one of those secondary and historical causes to which attention has been called. It does not in itself guarantee the infallibility in details of the process of selecting and combining the separate books. The secondary causes are rather to be regarded as the means through which the Spirit in providence and history has wrought ; the uncritical character, the faults and strifes of the individual judges, only serve to enhance the substantially noble and trustworthy result. The process of forming the Canon of Sacred Scriptures is in these respects precisely similar to that in which God has obtained all the greatest results of moral and spiritual growth through an historical process. The divinity of the Bible as a whole is all the better assured because it can be so closely correlated with what we know of the general nature of revelation. That the writings of the Old and New Testaments form, in their totality, a perfectly unique body of canonical Scriptures, is simply a matter of fact. In the earlier sense of the word, "*canonical*" Scripture is somewhat more than merely sacred or inspired writing. A Canon of Scriptures is composed

¹ Canon non uno, quod dicunt, actu ab hominibus, sed paulatim a Deo, animorum temporumque rectore, productus est.

of such ones among the larger number of sacred and inspired writings as the community of believers, guided by the Holy Spirit, has selected and set apart for its various historical, liturgical, educational, and doctrinal uses.

2. The foregoing statement brings to view another most important conclusion as to the nature of Sacred Scripture when considered in the light of the history of the Canon. A place in the Canon does not, of itself, guarantee the relative nature or value of any particular writing. All canonical Scripture is not necessarily the same in value, degree or kind of inspiration, doctrinal authority, degree or kind of usefulness, or even in claims to the title of canonicity. In brief, the history of the Canon not only permits, but imperatively demands, the making of distinctions amongst the books of Scripture. The actual process of forming a canon of sacred Hebrew writings was largely based upon such distinctions. The Prophets were not placed upon the same level with the Torah, the Hagiographa were ranged below both. Certain books, moreover, such as Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, found their way into the collection only at a late period and after much opposition. While even the Palestinian Canon was not perfectly fixed as to the precise limits of the Hagiographa, that of the LXX. — if, indeed, we can speak of a canon for the Alexandrine version — was much more loose and indefinite. Traditional distinctions were inherited from the Jewish Church by the Christian Church, and were also modified by the latter. For several centuries after the Christian era, the position of the Church Fathers toward the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, and even toward some of the canonical books (as, for example, Esther), was more or less equivocal and shifting. The position involved the fundamental postulate, that the privilege of making distinctions in Scripture belongs to the Christian Church. The same postulate also underlies the formation of the Canon of the New Testament. The seven Antilegomena — although the remark does not apply with the same force to Hebrews and Revelation — were neither originally received nor finally canonized as in all respects upon a level with the other New Testament writings. And, although the distinction fell into disuse during the period when Christianity made the least practical use of any of its Scriptures, and was formally abolished during the post-Reformation period, nevertheless the facts upon which the distinction is made can never be disregarded nor effaced.

It does not follow, however, that we must make precisely the same distinctions amongst the different parts of the Canon with which its history makes us familiar. The guaranty of sound judgment in that history is, nevertheless, partially given in the fact, that, on the whole, the distinctions of the past were well taken. Such a declaration is much more widely applicable in the case of the New-Testament Canon than in that of the Old. Since we do not resort for the divine command in ethical matters to the Mosaic Torah in precisely the same way in which did the pious Jews of old time, we are likely to accord relatively more of authority and influence to some of the Hagiographa, — especially to many of the Psalms. Since, moreover, we consider all things in the Hebrew Scriptures from the point of view which He furnishes who is the fulfilment of this Torah, we are inclined to esteem the religious teachings of the Prophets more highly than those of the Pentateuch. Nor can we, from the nature of the case, rate so highly that “*Wisdom*” in which the ancient Hebrews delighted: the writings of the Hokhmah of the Old Testament do not stand in the same relations to the Christian consciousness in which they stood to the religious consciousness of the ancient Jews.

In several important respects, however, the Christian consciousness, even when enlightened in its judgment by the results of modern criticism, commends and enforces the ancient distinctions. On the whole, we must judge, as did the Jewish Church, that the later writings of the Hagiographa are inferior to the older prophetic and historic writings. The books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Ruth, with respect to their religious tone and historic trustworthiness, deserve on the whole a rank much below the books of the Former Prophets. And yet, by relegating them to a position of inferior authority, we do not necessarily show a disposition to disregard their valid claims: much less do we advocate their removal from the Canon. In refusing to place Daniel upon a level, for prophetic authority, with Isaiah, we do not forget that the former has given us that vision of the coming “Son of man” which Christ appropriated to himself. The grounds, both objective and subjective, upon which the Jewish Church hesitated so long before canonizing Esther, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, were valid: they remain in the main unchanged to the present day. In respect to Canticles, we even find the difficulties greatly increased, because the alleged authorship of Solomon does not

carry with us the weight which it had with the Jews, and the allegorical interpretation cannot be employed by us with the same confidence which the early Christian Church possessed. In rejecting the allegorical interpretation we might seem also warranted in excluding Canticles from the Canon.

And yet the result of making the above-mentioned distinctions is not, on the whole, that of encouraging changes in the number of recognized books: it is rather that of accomplishing a change in our conception of the Canon of the Old Testament. In respect to the Canon of the New Testament, the character and grounds of the needed discriminations are much more clear. Objective and subjective grounds combined — the history of the process and the nature of the writings themselves — warrant us in receiving the entire collection of Christian writings as it now stands. With regard to all but the seven Antilegomena, the case was determined from the first beyond a reasonable doubt. Of the once disputed books, Hebrews and the Apocalypse, if we waive the question of their apostolic authorship, and agree to an inferior confidence in them for the establishment of doctrine upon apostolic authority, may be held to have been placed as inspired and canonical Scripture on incontestable grounds. Nor need we consider, even in the case of Second Peter and Jude, the expediency of retiring them from the New-Testament Canon. We cannot, however, receive these two writings, or indeed, any of the Antilegomena, to the same undoubted position for all the purposes of canonical Scripture which we accord to the other writings of the New Testament. In forming both the Canon of the New Testament and that of the Old, we must admit all the facts and truths which go to make up the entire case. There are various degrees of evidence, and there must be varying degrees of certainty. The great body of the biblical writings stands before us with sufficiently undisputed, and indeed indisputable, claims; but some writings in both Testaments have gained their places as the result of a struggle, as the termination of a difference of view. Such writings stand upon somewhat nebulous places. On subjective grounds we might affirm that some of the Old-Testament canonical writings have scarcely a better claim to canonicity than some of the Apocrypha which Protestantism rejects: on objective grounds, however, we can affirm the fact that the former have reached a surer position than the latter. On subjective and objective grounds combined we are perhaps justified in fixing the line between the

canonical and uncanonical Hebrew writings, so as to exclude the Apocrypha, and so as somewhat doubtfully to include Canticles, Esther, and Ecclesiastes. On neither ground, moreover, have we the right to class Second Peter and Jude with the Shepherd of Hermas and the Epistle of Clement, or Revelation with the Apocalypse of Peter.

Shall we, then, definitely revive the ancient distinction between writings of the first and second grade, between the more strictly canonical and the so-called deuterocanonical Scriptures? The answer to this inquiry may be in part given in the following considerations.

3. We are to recognize the varied uses of the different parts of the Bible, and their differing degrees of value in these uses. This variety of uses, with its differing degrees of value, is a proof of the divine nature and origin of the entire Bible. The truth will be made more apparent by a subsequent consideration of the Bible as furnishing the rule of faith and the instrument of grace: at present it is enough to announce this truth. The Church of God has a varied life and many needs in its course of historic development through the successive ages. No unity is made up of parts which are each alike useful for every purpose, or alike indispensable for any one useful purpose. We have some light upon essential Christian truth, and more light upon the early history of Christianity, through the Epistle to the Hebrews; even though we are obliged to acknowledge that it deals largely with the *argumentum ad hominem* upon the basis of an allegorical interpretation of the Alexandrine version — certain mistakes of the Greek translation included. We are not to follow Luther in calling James “a right strawy Epistle,” even after admitting that the central truths of Christianity are taught in a more advanced form by Romans and Galatians. The Church of to-day has, however, the same right which has always belonged to the community of believers; viz., the right of testing truth, and of making distinctions between truths and half-truths, and between different forms, degrees, and values of truth. The power to build, upon the foundation of the truth as it is in Christ, a varied and symmetrical manhood, and to serve the complex and changing uses of the Church of Christ — this power it is which constitutes the chief claim of the Bible to be divine.

4. The claim to a divine origin and nature belongs of necessity to the entire Bible, regarded as a collection of sacred and

canonical scriptures, in a manner and measure beyond any claim which can be made for its separate and isolated books. What one member of an organism may not do, that another can accomplish. The means for correcting such errors as may lie within the Bible is also given in the Bible itself. And certainly, much of the Bible which would more justly be accused of great imperfection if it were regarded apart from its normal connections, may be excused when regarded in the light of the rest. The foregoing statement may be applied even to the biblical history as a whole. As history, the Synoptic Gospels, for example, supplement each other; when taken all together, they are supplemented by the Epistles and the Acts, and especially by the Gospel of John. The same statement is pre-eminently applicable to the ethical and religious contents of Sacred Scripture. The morals of the Mosaic Torah are not perfect in themselves; the Prophets are but mistaken soothsayers unless they be regarded as interpreted ideally in Jesus Christ. We are not called upon to deny any fact of criticism in the affirmation of such a truth. But the historical errors of the Bible might be many times more manifold than they are, or its ethical imperfection in the earlier portions much more perplexing, and yet the truth regarding the Bible as a whole would remain the same.

5. For we are led from this point in our general discussion back to the point from which we set out, and to which we must be perpetually returning from all the different points of all our course. The Canon of Sacred Scripture, like that scheme of divine revelation of which it furnishes the authentic record, is Christo-centric. Both objectively and subjectively considered, the collection of the biblical books is to be regarded as arranged around the person of Jesus Christ. In maintaining this great truth, we do not need to distort the facts of historic revelation, or to pervert the rites and predictions of Judaism so as falsely to make them into types and symbols of Christianity. That Christ is the centre of New-Testament Scripture, as he is also of the history of Christianity, there is no temptation to deny. That he is also the One to whom the Old-Testament Scriptures point forward, was the doctrine taught by his apostles and by himself. This doctrine is not negated, nor even disturbed, by those other truths of history and criticism which point out more precisely the way in which the New Testament lies within the Old, and is at the same time perfected, corrected, supplemented, and

(in part) supplanted by it. In general it is true of the Hebrew as well as of the Christian sacred writings, that the ones whose teaching lies nearest to the very heart and mind of Christ are also those which the Church has with most confidence canonized, and now with most confidence uses for the knowledge and defence of truth.

Other elements which are needed to form a complete conception of the Canon must be gained from a detailed study of the separate books and of the individual truths of the Bible, both in their internal connections and in their relations to truths lying outside of the Bible. The question of the Canon thus becomes merged in the general question of the origin and nature of the Bible itself.

CHAPTER X.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE AS RELATED TO THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

It was a last and most desperate resort of the post-Reformation dogma of Scripture, to assume the infallibility of the text of the Bible. And yet such an assumption is a logical necessity for that claim of a complete and general infallibility which it was designed to support. If we are to base our claims for the divine origin and nature of Sacred Scripture upon our assumptions as to what it must be, in order to give a perfect guaranty to a particular system of theology, or to minister without the objective possibility of error to the demands of the religious life, then we cannot be too thorough-going in these claims. The general infallibility of the Bible necessarily involves a perfect certainty as to its text. And this certainty must attach itself to the text as we have it in existing MSS.: otherwise it does not satisfy the very assumptions of faith upon the basis of which we feel obliged to claim any such certainty. From its own point of view, then, the extremest form of the post-Reformation dogma — even when it asserts an infallibility for the text of the Bible which extends to the *minutiae* of vocables and punctuation — is most consistent and tenable.

But that we have no such infallible text of Sacred Scripture in any existing MS. or MSS. of either the Old Testament or the New, is as certain as innumerable facts can make it. And after a sharp contest with textual criticism, the dogma just referred to was obliged to relinquish its former claims. The dream of securing a diplomatic certainty by selecting or combining the existing forms of the biblical text has been closed forever. The same general view as to the nature and origin of Sacred Scripture has, however, devised a modified form of its previous untenable assumptions; this view still partially controls the judgment of persons who have no definite convictions like those which underlay the post-Reformation dogma. The

doctrine of a verbal inspiration and infallibility, or of some other form of inspiration which shall serve as the guaranty of a similar infallibility, can no longer hide itself in any thing concrete: it has, therefore, taken refuge in the unknown and the ideal. To be sure, we cannot claim that the assumed verbal inspiration and infallibility is evinced in any known or discoverable text of Scripture: on the contrary, every such text contradicts the earliest developments of such a claim. But may not—nay, must not—such inspiration and infallibility have belonged to the text as it came from the mouths and hands of its inspired authors? To such an inquiry it is enough at present to reply, that as a statement or suggestion of fact it is without proof, and as an assumption of faith it is utterly valueless.

For, if we are examining the dogma of verbal inspiration and infallibility in the light of a careful induction, we are obliged to declare that the facts are all against it. That the authors of Sacred Scripture neither make nor suggest such claims for themselves or for one another, we have already established. It has also been established upon the basis of a careful induction, that no such infallibility as was claimed for the Bible by the post-Reformation dogma is compatible with any of its chief classes of contents. The most superficial examination of the facts of textual criticism will convince us that biblical diplomatics also encourages no such claim. Shall we, then, when the facts have already disproved such a claim, still insist upon it as a necessary assumption of faith, that the Church should form the ideal picture of an infallible text, which at some remote and perhaps indefinite period belonged to all the separate books and individual passages of its Sacred Scriptures? If, however, the Church needs such an unrealized picture in order to right doctrinal and practical use of the Bible, does it not *a fortiori* need its present realization in such textual infallibility as it can really use? Of what benefit is it to assume that perfect diplomatic certainty and verbal inspiration and infallibility did belong to Scripture, when as yet all these qualities could be of no service; and that then, when, if ever, they were needed, they had already for a long time been lost?

Moreover, every thing which we can reasonably conjecture concerning that period which lies beyond our inspection goes to show that the texts and MSS. of the remoter antiquity were in no respect more secure against suspicion of inaccuracy than our own. We discover also, especially in respect to certain

books of the Old Testament, that the very text itself is the growth of hundreds of years of composition and redaction at many different hands. In order, then, to apply this assumption of verbal inspiration and infallibility to such books as these, we have not simply to claim that such a text as matches the assumption existed at one time: we must also assume that the scores of authors, redactors, and scribes who contributed to that text were, each one, gifted with the necessary verbal and infallible inspiration. But where shall we begin, and where end, in such assumptions, when the existence of such variations as preclude the assumption of verbal and infallible inspiration is prior even to the completion of the text itself?

But happily we are under no obligation, growing out of fidelity either to the doctrine, the facts, or the spirit of Sacred Scripture, to defend any form whatsoever of the post-Reformation dogma. We are interested rather to determine within what limits the actual corruptions and variations of the biblical text have taken place, and what is the bearing of these facts upon the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. And for the presentation of the necessary facts, and the statement of the inferences from them, only a moderate amount of research and a brief space are needed.

As to the general fact that there are numerous variations and corruptions in the text of the Bible; and that, therefore, Sacred Scripture has not been given to us in the form of diplomatic certainty and infallibility,—there is no room for doubt. The textual uncertainties of the New Testament, in view of the many comparatively ancient MSS. which have preserved them, and thus of the variety of means afforded for their study, cannot be denied. But in the case of the Old Testament, the MSS. which might have afforded both the proofs of uncertainties and the means of study are lacking. Has its text, therefore, unlike that of the New Testament, been preserved perfectly pure by miraculous measures? Or has it been kept relatively faultless by superior providential care? Neither of these questions can be answered affirmatively. We are obliged to suppose, that, although we have relatively few means for correcting the standard text of the Old Testament, it is itself relatively farther from the words as they came at first-hand from the authors, or even as they were left by the latest redaction, than is the case with the best MS. text of the New. In the Greek MSS. we have the record of that same process through which

the Hebrew MSS. went; but, in the case of the latter, the record of the process has been lost. And furthermore, as we have seen to be true on considering the composition and authorship of some of the Hebrew books, — this process in the case of the Hebrew text was much more complex, and its results much more dubious and obscure.

A brief statement of some of the many indirect proofs of the position just indicated must now be made. From the nature of the discussion, this statement must be taken largely from the proper authorities, must be confined within narrow limits, and yet must admit no little of conjecture and merely probable evidence.

The oldest MSS. of the Old Testament are, in part, Torah-rolls, which were prepared upon parchment (and earlier still upon leather), and which contain the Kethib, or standard text of the Pentateuch, written without pointing; and in part also, codices in book-form, which contain either the whole or some part of the Old Testament written with the Masoretic punctuation.¹ The only certain means thus far discovered for determining the age of these MSS. is by the subscriptions which they bear, and although cases of falsification are very rare, — if not absolutely confined to one or two instances, — the subscriptions are sometimes wanting. Of these MSS., the oldest belong to the thirteenth and twelfth centuries after Christ. A date as early as the ninth century has been claimed for some copies, but the claim is difficult to establish. Nor can even the subscriptions always be relied upon.² Indeed, as we shall soon see, the age of the MS., unless we could get back of the Talmudic fixing of the standard text, is a matter of comparatively little account. In the Middle Ages certain copies served as samples of a classic text, from which others could best be corrected: such copies were the one which the Spanish Jews used for this purpose in the time of Rabbi D. Kimchi; that of R. Moses ben David ben Naphthali, who lived in Babylon at the beginning of the tenth century; and that of Rabbi Aaron ben Moses ben Ascher, who lived somewhat later in Palestine. Of the various classifications of these MSS., that into Oriental and Occidental (or Babylonian and Palestinian) is perhaps the

¹ See Wellhausen in Bleek, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 563.

² The subscription of one MS. (Kenn., No. 89) was shown by Zunz to assign it to 856 A.D.; yet Kennicott, Bruns, and De Rossi all pronounce against such a claim to antiquity.

best founded and most important. According to Wellhausen, it seems to be established that the MSS. which contain the Babylonian punctuation contain also the Oriental consonant-text.

Of much importance in understanding and correcting the traditional form is the Masora, or "fixing of the right text upon the necessary passages by memorial rules and specifications." This Masora is preserved in two forms,—in remarks upon the margins of the MSS., and in separate works containing collections of such specifications. The separate works preceded the insertion in the margins of the remarks taken from these works. The later Masora is of two kinds or orders: viz., the *Masora parva*, which is placed beside or between the columns of the text, and consists for the most part of brief suggestions for learned readers; and the *Masora magna*, which is written beneath—or in rarer instances above—these columns, and is more explicit and diluted in form. This "fixing of the text," by written expression of oral tradition combined with learned conjecture, began as a process after the completion of the Talmud, and in the sixth century: the total result is due to the continuous work of many hands and minds, but pre-eminently of the so-called School of Tiberias. The contents of the Masora, as described in that unsurpassed monument of human learning, the "Tiberias" of the elder Buxtorf, comprise an enumeration of the verses, words, and letters of every book; a collection of verses which contain such or so many consonants of the alphabet, and of words either defectively or redundantly written; observations upon vocables, accents, dagesh, and mappiq; remarks on exegetical and grammatical peculiarities and difficulties, etc.; but especially a collection of Keris, the first rudiments of which meet us in the Talmud.¹

The text thus fixed by the process of recording oral tradi-

¹ The first edition of Buxtorf's great work appeared in Basle, 1620; the second edition, by John Jacob Buxtorf, in 1665. The following citations touch some of the main points of interest: "*Masora est doctrina critica, a prisca Hebraeorum Sapientibus, circa textum Hebraeum Sacrae Scripturae, ingeniose inventa, qua verus, voces et literae ejus numeratae, omnisque ipsarum varietas notata, et suis locis cum singulorum versuum recitatione indicata est, ut sic constans et genuina ejus lectio conservetur, et ab omni mutatione aut corruptione aeternum praeservetur et valide praemuniat* (p. 6). *Masora magna* est, quae totam criticen comprehendit, cum plena locorum Scripturae enumeratione, quam quaeque nota critica suo numero designat (p. 199). *Masora parva* est, quae literis numeralibus, vocibus decurtatis et symbolicis ad latus textus breviter et succincte describitur" (202).

tion together with conjectural emendations is the standard text, and, indeed, the only one which can be based upon an appeal to MS. authority. All the researches for new MSS. of the Old Testament, and all the collation of those already in possession, show a universal conformity to the one type which is known to us as the Masoretic, and which goes back at the earliest to the second and subsequent centuries after Christ. But this text is not itself wholly based upon the authority of MSS. The punctuation and accentuation which it has adopted are an integral part of itself. According to the necessities of the post-Reformation dogma, the vowel-points and accents of the Masoretic text were, like the consonants, inspired; for their origin they go back to the authors of Scripture, if not to the time of Adam. According to the statement of Elias Levita, the originator of the discovery that the pointing of the Hebrew arose centuries after the Christian era, the Masora was orally transmitted from one learned rabbi to another until the time of Ezra and his helpers, and from them to the rabbis of the School of Tiberias.¹ The probable origin of the Hebrew system of punctuation from the older Syrian has been treated by Ewald on the basis of an examination of MSS. made in Paris in 1829.² To the same opinion have Hupfeld and others been led by their researches.³ In the Syrian writing, the points originally served to distinguish words which differed in meaning while written alike. The Arabian as well as the Hebrew system of punctuation seems to have taken its rise from the simpler Syrian form. But the details of the development of the Hebrew system, and the relation of their origin to both the older Syrian and the later Arabian, cannot be accurately determined; since we know the Hebrew only in its most developed form, and the MS. traces of its development have so largely been lost. Some of these traces, however, remain, and afford an opportunity for restoring the process, especially by comparing the ordinary Occidental or Palestinian, with the Oriental or Babylonian, forms. MSS. of the latter form are found, especially in the libraries of London and St. Petersburg. The relative simpli-

¹ In the third preface to his *Masoreth ham-Masoreth*, he ascribes the punctuation of the text to the wise men of Tiberias in the time after the conclusion of the Babylonian Gemara. See Wellhausen in Bleek, *Einl. in das A. T.*, p. 612.

² The treatise, written in this year, appeared first in 1832 in Göttingen; and afterwards in enlarged form his conclusions were given in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1837 and 1839.

³ Hupfeld, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, pp. 785 ff.

city of the Babylonian would seem to favor the conclusion that the origin of both forms was in Eastern Syria; but which of the two is the earlier, is not a settled point. The common features of these systems are undoubtedly the oldest ones.¹

We should be quite mistaken, however, should we conclude from the relatively late origin of the written punctuation, the slow growth of the system finally adopted, and the uncertainties of the tradition which must meantime be relied upon for so much of the text as is involved, that either the proper vocalization of the words, or the interpretation of the Hebrew of the Old Testament as dependent upon this vocalization, were altogether in doubt. The Keri—that is, the pronunciation of the Hebrew text—was not fixed by the punctuation, but the punctuation was rather fixed by it. It was in existence as a matter of oral tradition for hundreds of years previous to its becoming recorded in the text. It was both constituted and preserved by the oral readings of the synagogue. This fact, of which the Talmud itself appears conscious,² gives greater authority, other considerations being equal, to the Keri of those portions of the Old Testament most used in the synagogue service; and of them all, of course, pre-eminently to the Keri of the Torah. The possibilities of which the merely consonantal writing of a Hebrew word admits, and of which the Talmud not infrequently speaks, do not in most instances imply any doubt as to the real meaning of the words. The ambiguity which Jerome asserts as existent in his day was one only to try the uninitiated: the Hebrew tradition itself knew no doubt. And even Origen regards the deviations from this tradition as un-Hebraic and impossible, rather than as contesting the ground with divers claims to probability. We may say in brief of the Masoretic text, punctuation as well as consonants, as does Wellhausen,³ “As a type of speech, the punctuation is for us unalterable; as a commentary, inasmuch as it reproduces that construction of the sense of a given passage which has prevailed since the Christian era, it is, although not unchangeable, still at least incomparably the most valuable help to the understanding.”

We find, then, that our present complete written text of the

¹ See De Wette-Schrader, *Eini. in das A. T.*, p. 218 f.

² *Megilla* 3^a and *Nedarim* 37^b, where the pronunciation of the words, and the division of the sentences and different members of the sentence, are referred to *Neh. viii. 8*; compare Wellhausen, *Ibid.*, p. 617.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 616.

Old Testament consists of two elements, viz., the traditional way of writing the consonants, and the traditional way of reading what was written; that the written expression of the latter of these two elements was a complex growth of several centuries, beginning after the close of the Talmudic era; and that the MS. authority for the written text, as combined from these two elements, does not in general go back of the twelfth century A.D. We are thrown back, then, upon the trustworthiness of both the MSS. and the oral tradition of the Talmudic era.

On the whole, we can speak very highly of the care given to the pure transmission of the text during the Talmudic era. From the time of the Hexapla of Origen and the translations of Jerome to the end of the fifteenth century, Christianity was satisfied with the Vulgate and the LXX., and gave no attention to the original text; but with the Jewish rabbis the case was far otherwise. As early as the second century we find the proofs of their sharp and eager searching into all the particulars of the Hebrew: "In brief," says Geiger,¹ "the Masoretic studies penetrating to the smallest detail had at that time not merely begun, but had already secured a broad foundation." The nature of these Masoretic studies has already been indicated. The work of the rabbis, however, was not critical work in the modern understanding of the science of criticism: it consisted in part, indeed, in the repetition and perpetuation of errors. Yet the elements of criticism and the germs of a critical sense were by no means wholly wanting to this work. The Talmud² alludes to the comparison of MSS., and the numbering of the verses and words, and even of the letters of the text. Directions are given for its accurate transcription.³ Certain critical improvements of the text, such as the *ablatio scribarum* which concerns the omission of *v* in five passages,⁴ and the *puncta extraordinaria* in the case of several words,⁵ were

¹ Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel, p. 3.

² See Tr. Taanith, f. 68, c. 1; compare Tr. Sopherim, VI. 4: "In uno (libro) invenerunt scriptum (Deut. xxxiii. 27) יְיָ, in duobus יְיָ, et approbantes duos, rejecerunt unum." The same rule of adopting the testimony of two MSS. against one is given for Exod. xxiv. 5 and Gen. xxxii. 23.

³ Tr. Gittin, f. 45, c. 2. Sumere possunt libros ab extraneis, ubicumque fuerint, si modo sint scripti ad normam. Tr. Schabb., f. 103, c. 2. Ita autem scribendum vobis est, ut sit scriptura perfecta, ne scribatur Aleph pro Ain, et vice versa; Beth pro Caph, et v.v.; Gimel pro Zadeh, et v.v.; Daleth pro Resch, et v.v.; etc.

⁴ These passages are Gen. xviii. 5, xxiv. 55; Num. xii. 14; Ps. lxxviii. 26, xxxvi. 7.

⁵ Tr. Sopherim, VI. 3, enumerates six; the Masora, fifteen.

introduced in the early Talmudic writings. The Talmud alludes to different readings:¹ in seven places it provides for readings which did not stand in the text, and in five for not reading the text as it stood. It makes, that is, the critical distinction between the Keri and the Kethib. The peculiar letters, which are alluded to even as early as the Talmud, seem originally to have had a critical significance.² The rabbis of the Talmud are aware of the ambiguity which arises from the fact that they have no way of giving expression in writing to the vocal difference of words with like consonants. They can only say, for instance, that שבעים, and not שבועים, is to be pronounced, and then leave it to the reader to conjecture, in the light of this indefinite warning, whether they intend or not to point out the difference between *schebuaim* and *schib'im*.³

To attempt to vindicate the perfect accuracy of the text as formed in the Talmudic era, and this after having discovered that the Masoretic version must be accepted for lack of other texts with which to compare it as the only MS. authority for the earlier form, would be to go beyond the Talmudists themselves. The Masoretic text is undoubtedly, within certain very narrow limits, precisely that upon which the Talmudic authors from the second to the ninth centuries determined; and the grounds of their determination were undoubtedly only in small measure critical. But when we inquire further, How far is the text which was fixed during the Talmudic era that which the books had, when after the Exile they were through several centuries undergoing the process of collection and canonizing? only the most general answer can be given with confidence. The substantial agreement of the standard text (so far as we can speak of such a standard text) of the Talmudic era with the post-Exilian may fairly be affirmed. As Wellhausen asserts,⁴ the translations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, the Peshito, the Targums, and the Vulgate, as well as the Mishna and Gemara, presuppose the official text in a form similar to the Masoretic. The fact that the different orthography of different scribes, and the different uses and forms of the divine name, as

¹ Tr. Sota, V. 5, and Joma, f. 21, c. 2. Quid est, quod scriptum exstat (Hag. i. 8) ואכבד, et nos legimus ואכבד?

² See De Wette-Schrader, Einl. in das A. T., p. 210.

³ Compare the words of Jerome on Isa. xxxviii. 10 f.: "Media vocalis litera Van si ponatur inter duas Samech, legitur *sus* et appellatur equus, si Jod, legitur *sis* et hirundo dicitur" (15).

⁴ In Bleek's Einl. in das A. T., p. 623.

well as the variations of parallel passages, have been on the whole so accurately preserved through so many centuries, is further evidence of the same truth. This regular repetition of the idiosyncrasies of authors and scribes is related to the general carefulness of those who prepared the way for the work of the Talmudic era, somewhat in the same manner in which the repetition of irregular spaces in the middle of a verse, or of letters of extraordinary size or shape, stands related to the general carefulness of those who prepared the Masoretic text.

But we can no more properly carry back this care and zeal for the propagation of a pure text of Sacred Scripture from the Talmudic era to the time of Ezra, than we can ascribe the fixing of the Canon to this ancient worthy and his contemporaries.¹ Neither can we conclude from this care and zeal, that, if we had more abundant material for comparison, we should find an increasing harmony of witnesses concerning the so-called original text. If, by an *original text* of the Old Testament, we should mean such a form of writing the consonants, and such a tradition of vocalizing them as prevailed during the pre-Talmudic era, we have no means of reaching it for all passages, either with much certainty or in considerable detail. In general, the farther back we go, the greater the uncertainty. The Masoretic text is in itself very uniform, and doubtless represents with much fidelity the text of the second century, — the beginning of the Talmudic era. But we find all the witnesses which we have for this and the preceding time far from showing the same uniformity. The oldest of them, viz., the LXX. and the Samaritan Pentateuch, vary most from the Masoretic text; the three Greek translations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, are not concordant; the Syriac, when independent of the LXX., often seems to be the translation of another form of the Hebrew; the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan show certain — for the most part unimportant — variations.

The testimony which the LXX. offer concerning the satisfactory condition of our Hebrew text is exceedingly important; but it is as multiform, disputable, and apparently diverse, as it is important. The truth is, that the fundamental questions as to the general relation of this Greek translation to the original text are as yet in debate, and greatly need detailed investiga-

¹ See Geiger, p. 97: "Die spätere ausserordentliche Sorgfalt für die Reinhaltung des Bibeltextes darf uns nicht zu einem Rückschlusse auf die früheren Zeiten verleiten."

tion. In spite of the very circumstantial story which Aristeas tells of the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek by seventy-two venerable Jews, who were sent to Alexandria by the high-priest Eleazer in response to the request of Ptolemy Second,¹ we know little of the origin of the LXX. The correspondence which this author gives between these high contracting parties is a manifest falsification. The general facts, that this translation began in Alexandria in the reign of this Ptolemy (283–246 B.C.); and that it began, not as the result of religious activity on the part of the Jews, nor of a desire to possess accurate MSS. for the synagogue-service, but rather as a result of literary activity on the part of a king that he might adorn his library with distinguished books, — may be admitted. In the opinion of Wellhausen,² the oral translation into Greek of the Hebrew text was the original and sufficient instrument for the services of the synagogue in Egypt; just as the same text was read into Aramaic in the synagogues of Palestine. The written translation was, then, first naturalized, so to speak, for private use, and afterward introduced into the public services. Its Greek, which necessarily seemed barbaric to men who used the literary Greek of the day, suited better the Hellenizing Jews.

That several hands worked upon the translation of the Greek Pentateuch, has been argued by Ewald from the very name, *Septuagint*, which seems undoubtedly to have been in existence and applied to this translation previous to the story of Aristeas.³ How far the present text evinces this difference, is a disputed question, and one — like so many others concerning the LXX. — needing further investigation. The translation of the other portions of the Hebrew Scriptures, when they followed, seems also to have been of the nature of a private literary enterprise. Both the history and an inspection of the text — so far as the latter can be conducted with confidence — convince us that the Greek text of the different books is the work of a number of translators. Certain “family similarities” are said, however, to belong to the older “strata” of the Canon; as may be seen by comparing Samuel and Kings with Chronicles, Isaiah and Jeremiah with Daniel. Of the Hagiographa, Chronicles, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes have an aspect of anxious endeavor to

¹ Compare Josephus, Ant. praef., § 3.

² Ibid., p. 575.

³ See Frankel, Ueber den Einfluss der palästinische Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik, p. 110 f.

reproduce the exact words of the original text; but Ezra, Esther, and Daniel show a free handling of it, with numerous additions. Whether, indeed, we have any true text of the LXX. for Daniel, is a matter of debate. The translation of different parts of the Pentateuch seems to be unequal. On the whole, however, the Pentateuch of the LXX. is marked by literalness, lack of acquaintance with the original language of Scripture, and a certain inability to distinguish between anthropomorphic figures of speech and exact definition.

It is difficult — and hitherto it has been impossible — to conceive with confidence how the different elements which might produce the manifold variations between the LXX. and the Hebrew text could have originated and been combined. The only certain result is the conclusion that various elements, the origin of which is obscure, have combined in proportions and ways which we cannot accurately describe. Something is due, without doubt, to very considerable differences between the present Hebrew text and the texts from which that of the LXX. was constructed; something to ignorance of the Hebrew, which in some cases amounts to utter helplessness in the presence of the task of real translation; something to idiosyncrasies of design and ability in the different translators; something to the adapting of the Greek text to suit Greek thought or individual preference; something to such subsequent changes of both the Greek and Hebrew texts as have tended in some places to bring the two together, and in others more widely to separate them; something, finally, to the influence of different theories of interpretation. The nature of the text which formed the basis for this translation, and the relation of that text, as determinable through an examination of the LXX., to our present Hebrew text, are the questions of main importance to our subject. But unfortunately they are questions which do not as yet admit of a satisfactory answer. The opinion that the Pentateuch of the LXX. is from a Chaldaic version goes back to Rabbi Azariah De Rossi.¹ According to Frankel,² this author did not hold, as Gesenius supposed, that the Alexandrine Jews, out of hate toward the Palestinian, deliberately adopted the Samaritan text; nor that the Aramaic copy of the Pentateuch was constructed independently of the Hebrew: but that the Septuagint

¹ Berlin ed. of Kings, 1794.

² See Ueber den Einfluss, etc., pp. 33 ff.; and compare Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, pp. 15 ff.

was from a Chaldaic translation which had been in use even before the time of Ezra, was inaccurate, periphrastic, and full of alterations; and that the Greek, although originally a good translation, had been corrupted by the later Alexandrine Jews. The supposition of an intermediate Chaldaic text between the Hebrew and the LXX. is superfluous, and may be rejected. The changes which must be accounted for were more likely to occur in the Greek than in the Aramaic, which is more closely allied to the Hebrew. In some of the differences from the Hebrew, the Samaritan text agrees with the LXX.; and certain of the very mistakes of the LXX. plainly spring from misunderstanding the Hebrew itself. It is calculated that in about one thousand places the LXX. differ from the Hebrew, and accord with the Samaritan Pentateuch; that about the same number of reverse cases occur; while in certain other cases the LXX. stand entirely alone. The relation of the Masoretic text to that of the LXX. seems to be different in different books. There are reasons, for instance, for supposing that a peculiar recension must have been the basis of the text of Jeremiah; while, in the judgment of Gesenius, the Masoretic text of Isaiah explains that of the LXX.; and, according to Thénius, the latter text of Samuel is much preferable to the former.¹

Among the Hellenistic Jews in Christ's time, the Septuagint had taken the place of the original text for both public and private reading: from it many of the New-Testament writers quote for the most part, especially Mark and Paul.² The general enmity which the Jews both incurred and exhibited after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and that particular enmity toward Christianity which is referred to in the writings of Justin and Irenaeus, operated to lessen their confidence in the LXX. This enmity also operated to produce a re-action in favor of a restricted Canon and a more careful protection and promulgation of the Hebrew text. The translations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus are witnesses to this re-action.

The date of the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the

¹ See his *Kurzgef. exeg. Handbuch*, XXVIII. f. Robertson Smith presents in clear and skilful manner several instances — for the most part taken from the Books of Samuel — in which the text used by the LXX. was plainly preferable to the Masoretic (see *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 88 f. and p. 125 f.). It is perhaps to be regretted that the author has not called attention more clearly to the peculiarities of *these* books in the LXX., and that he has not presented the considerations on the other side which make his views on this subject so uncertain, if they do not quite disprove them.

² See Kautzsch, *De Veteris Testamenti locis*, etc.

occasion of its reception are unknown. There seem, however, to be sufficient grounds for assigning it to the time of the building of the Samaritan temple and the establishment of the Samaritans as a separate religious sect. The objections to the view that it reaches back to the separation of the kingdom are insuperable. Modern investigation¹ of the character of the Samaritan Pentateuch has shown that its text is quite uncritical, and that its variant readings arise almost wholly from merely grammatical corrections and conjectures, grammatical and historical glosses, changes and additions from parallel passages, and from the peculiar speech and theological and hermeneutical views of the Samaritans.

If we take the Aramaic versions also into the account, the Peshito and the Targums, we receive additional indirect and doubtful but corroborative evidence for the general conclusion, made sufficiently sure by the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch. A process of change, not wholly checked by the Talmudic care which belongs to the centuries after Christ, went on during the centuries preceding. The early treatment of the text was not so scrupulous; the limits of change cannot be so nearly defined. Even by a comparison of all the different translations with the Masoretic text and by free but cautious conjecture, we have no means of reaching a conclusion as to what in details was the standard text of the time following that of Ezra. We cannot, indeed, trust the individual conjectures of Geiger² and other similar critics; but we can scarcely maintain a general opinion different from theirs. When the translations of the LXX. and the Samaritan Pentateuch were made, the Hebrew text was unfixed, and differed rather widely from the present Masoretic text. And yet these very translations prove the substantial accord of the latter with the former. A long course of perpetual growth and re-adaptation has had its effect upon both the Hebrew text and the work of translation. This is true, even if we regard the *original* text in each instance as that which the book had reached during what we may call the post-Exilian era.

But if we go back of the Masoretic, the Talmudic, and the post-Exilian eras, and inquire, in the case of those books whose

¹ De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, etc., Gesenius, Halle, 1815; Kohn, De Pentat. Samaritano, etc., Leipz. and Vratisl., 1865; De Wette-Schrader, Einl. in das A. T., p. 202 f.

² Ibid., p. 99 f.

origin speedily follows or even antedates the time of Ezra, what was the condition of *their* text, we have no means but the internal criticism of these writings themselves for answering this question. The question, indeed, soon becomes a question of opinion as to the composition and authorship of the books. We have already seen how complex and long-continued a growth was the composition of some of these books. Their text, therefore, changed with the additions, emendations, and redactions to which they were themselves subject. But enough has already been said for our purpose upon the question of construction; and, indeed, until a writing is in some real sense regarded and treated as a substantially finished product, we cannot properly speak of its *text*.

We should be warranted in assuming from what we know of all ancient writings, that many changes of orthography and transcription both preceded and accompanied the formation of the traditional Hebrew text. In detecting and illustrating these changes, we are obliged from lack of other evidence to resort much to analogy and conjecture. In the comparisons necessary to such conjecture, the oldest of all the available inscriptions — viz., that of the Moabite king Mesha in the ninth century B.C. — is of great value. It appears that the Hebrews used the same ancient Semitic alphabet which was, with slight differences, in use among surrounding nations from the Tigris to the Nile, and which had its historical centre, if not its origin, in Syria. Its oldest form most resembles the Greek alphabet. From the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. downward, it underwent an Aramaic development, which could no more be escaped by the Jews in the case of their writing than in that of their speech. These changes began to be felt after the Exile, and are not to be regarded as improvised by Ezra and his contemporaries; since the Samaritans seem to have received their Pentateuch (400 B.C. [?]) in the unchanged older character.¹ The formation of the Kethib, or official written text so far as the consonants are concerned, implies a process of change: the growth of the Keri, or traditional way of pronouncing these words, implies the same. But especially must we admit the fact that the differences between the Kethib and the Keri cannot be explained wholly by simple variations in the way of pronouncing which grew up after the Kethib was fixed, but

¹ So Wellhausen in Bleek, *Einl.*, pp. 626-643, where find an account of the literature on Semitic Paleography. Compare De Wette-Schrader, pp. 184-240.

must rather be due to more original differences both in Kethib and in the traditional oral Keri.

A few words as to the different sources and classes of errors in the Hebrew text will suffice. The sources of error are all such as are now well known to the science of paleography. They include errors of sight, extending to single letters (where one letter is mistaken for another, as γ for η , or κ for χ , or ι for ϵ ; or where two letters are transposed, as when the שְׁמַי — Sham-lai in margin — of Ezra ii. 46 is written שְׁלַי — Salmai — Neh. vii. 48), or to entire words transposed (as seems to be the case in Neh. vii. 73 and Ezra ii. 70), or to entire sentences transposed (as the case may be argued from a comparison of 1 Chron. xvi. 30–32, and Ps. xcvi. 9–11), or to letters, words, and sentences omitted through confusion. Errors of memory are supposable, as in the instance of Isa. lxiii. 16. It is scarcely necessary to allude to the probability of marginal notes, which are themselves often misunderstandings, creeping into the text. In certain places the “senselessness” or inappropriateness of the authorized text indicates undoubted errors of transcription. In such cases we are invited to resort to cautious conjectural emendation; for instance, in Exod. xvii. 16, where the בַּז of the Masoretic text is conjecturally a corruption for בִּז (banner) instead of an archaic form of כִּסֵּא (throne); and 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, where יָשָׁב בַּשָּׁעַר (translated in our version “that sat in the gate”) is corrupted from the proper name given (1 Chron. xxvii. 2) יִשְׁבָּעִם by the scribe being turned aside from the transcription of this name to repeat the last two letters of a word in the preceding verse.

More important still are the so-called “tendency” changes. Certain euphemisms appear in the Keri to take the place of offensive or objectionable expressions.¹ Among such euphemisms Vatke pointed out the correction of the name Baal (lord), which was anciently applied to Jehovah, as we learn from Hos. ii. 16 f., and from many proper names. Thus the Jerubbaal of Judg. vi. 32 is interpreted to mean, “Let Baal contend;” and the name is changed, 2 Sam. xi. 21, into Jerubbesheth. A similar change through dislike of the name Baal has been made in the case of the names Ish-bosheth and Mephi-bosheth. Thus the Meri-baal of 1 Chron. ix. 40 is the conjectural source of Mephi-baal, which is changed into Mephi-bosheth. By a

¹ These have been pointed out in detail by Geiger, who, however, has greatly overworked the application of the principle.

reverse process the name of David's son, which is written Beel-jada (1 Chron. xiv. 7), is given as El-jada (2 Sam. v. 16). Now, the fact that the earlier form is sometimes found in the later books, and in the LXX., while the euphemisms appear in the earlier books, shows that these alterations of scribes are not older than the third century B.C. Similar influences worked upon the mind of the scribe who changed the name Bethel to Bethaven,—house of nothingness or idols, instead of house of God.¹ Other instances of an effect upon the text from the dislike of idols and their surroundings may be seen in the change by the later Jews of the word מַזְבֵּחַ, —sacred stone-images which served also as altars, but which were regarded as objectionable, although they appear in Genesis as used by the patriarchs, and were often consecrated to the service of Jehovah,²—into מִזְבֵּחַ, or altar. Among these "tendency" changes of the text, those which concern the divine names are especially interesting, and are discussed by Geiger³ at great length, and with a great amount of learning.

On the basis of those traditional accounts from the Talmud, to which reference has already been made, the same author⁴ thinks himself able to detect other variations of text which must have existed in the Palestinian MSS. In Gen. xxii. 13, for instance, the original text must, according to Geiger, have read, "Then he lifted up his eyes and saw, and there was *another* ram" (אֵיל אַחֵר נֶאֱחָז); but this indirect designation of Isaac as a sacrificial lamb was offensive, and אַחֵר was changed to אֶחָד (*one* ram), as the Samaritan text and the LXX. (ἐἷς) must have read it;⁵ then again the ך was changed back to ך, and, the word being differently punctuated, the reading became "he looked *behind* him."

The direct proofs that the treatment of the text was especially free in the case of those books which were most worked over before the closing of the Canon and the accumulation of reverence in the minds of the scribes for the exact wording of the sacred writings, are not altogether wanting. When the

¹ Compare Hos. iv. 15, and Amos v. 5.

² See Deut. xvi. 21 f., and Hos. iii. 4. That the former is the original reading in 1 Kings xvi. 32, seems evident from 2 Kings iii. 2, and from the fact that וַיִּסֶּד, "he set up," does not well apply to an altar. See also Gen. xxxiii. 20. In similar manner the substitution of אֲשֵׁרָה, "the sin," of Samaria, for אֲשֵׁרָה, the Asherah (or wooden pillars which were set up in the grove near where the idol was worshipped), may be conjectured to have taken place (Amos viii. 14).

³ See Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel, p. 261 f.

⁴ Ibid., p. 244 f.

⁵ So also the Targums, Peshito, and a number of Hebrew MSS.

writing copied was very ancient, and existed without the name of an author attached, the copyist or collector might allow himself considerable liberty in improving it to suit his own ideas, and might even introduce material from other sources. The results reached by such free handling may be estimated by comparing Ps. xiv. and liii., xl. 14 f. and lxx., cviii. and lvii. 7-11; Ps. xviii., and 2 Sam. xxii.; Ps. cv., and 1 Chron. xvi. 8-22; Ps. xcvi., and 1 Chron. xvi. 23-33; Isa. xxxvii. and xxxviii. with 2 Kings xviii. and xix.

When, however, we turn our attention from the Old Testament to the New, and consider the general conclusions to be derived from the condition of the text respecting the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture, we find much more abundant means in MS. authority for confirming the position already taken. The phenomena of variation in the MSS. of the New Testament are so well known, that they need only the briefest discussion in this connection. Respecting the condition of its text as early as the fourth century, we can decide all important principles by inspection, and have little need to resort to conjecture. Preceding this time, the analogies and indirect testimonies are so clear as to guide us to a tolerable degree of certainty.

The autograph copies of the New-Testament writings had apparently perished without remnant or trace before the individual books had come to be received as of canonical value. The earliest defenders of the faith against heretics make no appeal to any text at first hand which could be used in the settlement of disputed passages.¹ Through use and transcription the first MSS. were doubtless soon destroyed; for it is probable, that, in the very congregations which were the possessors of these priceless treasures, no considerable value was placed upon the autograph copy, and a new and clean transcript might readily be accepted in its place. Nor are we to suppose that their first readers regarded them with any such 'critical curiosity, scrutiny, and care, as we should be inclined to bestow.² And, furthermore, if we had copies at first hand of these originals, or even the originals themselves, we should probably not then be assured of perfect diplomatic certainty. For even an apostle, or his amanuensis, might make a mistake in writing:

¹ The meaning of the *Authenticæ Literæ* of Tertullian, *De præc. hæret.*, c. 36, is doubtful.

² See Reuss, *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften* N. T., II. p. 87 f.

the very first copy would be liable to any one of all the forms of error which belong to the construction of ancient transcripts. It is certain that variations meet us as soon as we have any opportunity to compare scripture in MS. with scripture cited, or two citations of the same passage by different authors. Indeed, the corruptions of text appear to have been in full bloom a century or two before the oldest extant MSS.¹

Concerning the purity of the text as transmitted to us, the nature of its corruptions, and the fixing of that conjectural original, to find which is the utmost limit of our effort,—three classes of witnesses may be sought; viz., the MSS., the ancient translations, and the citations of the earlier Church Fathers. Of these three, the MSS. are, of course, the chief reliance. The adjustment of the different classes of evidence, it is the work of a special and subtile science to decide. It is by no means the case, that, with all the recent pains-taking and critical exploration of the text of the New Testament in its various sources, little remains to be done. The critical consideration of the citations in the Church Fathers is still largely to be accomplished; the text of the ancient translations is in an unsatisfactory condition; many Greek MSS. of more or less value are not as yet carefully collated. Still “enough is already known,” say Westcott and Hort,² “to enable us to judge with reasonable certainty as to the proportional amount of valuable evidence likely to be buried in copies (cursive) as yet uncollated.”

The very nature of the early MSS. of the Scriptures is such as to rebuke undue attachment to the outward and perishable. In the time of the New Testament their substance was occasionally of parchment (see 2 Tim. iv. 13, τὰ βιβλία μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας), but usually of the cheaper material made from the papyrus of Egypt (χάρτης, see 2 John 12, and compare Tob. vii. 13). From the fourth century onward there was an increasing use of parchment. The first traces of the use of paper made from cotton are said to be found in the ninth century: in the thirteenth, linen paper came into use. Of the earliest papyrus copies of New-Testament writings, not one is known to exist. The earliest MSS. extant are all written on parchment, and consist of four, five, six, or eight leaves, laid within

¹ See previous chapter for proofs as to the freedom with which the early text of the New Testament was treated in citation and in transcript.

² Vol. ii. p. 77.

one another, or fastened together in folio, quarto, or smaller form. As to the perishableness of ancient books, Jerome¹ tells us that the library of Pamphilus of Caesarea was within a single century fallen so into decay that the work of copying it upon skins was undertaken.² The eternal Word was committed to the world as faultily written with poor ink upon decaying papyrus: the Scripture which this Word made sacred, began at once a process of corruption, such as forever to prevent us from identifying the certainty of the truth itself with the diplomatically uncertain words in which we have received it.

As in the case of the Old Testament, so in that of the New, the text, as dependent upon divisions and punctuation, is especially uncertain. The letters called "uncial"³ were alone in use until into the ninth century: the cursive letters came into customary use in the tenth. Although marks of punctuation are mentioned among the Greeks as early as Aristotle, and traces of them among the Romans are found in Cicero, we are not to suppose that they were habitually used by the authors of the New Testament. These authors did not punctuate or divide the words. Some of the oldest MSS. of the New Testament, as, e. g., the Codex Vaticanus, have scarcely any of these means for determining the sense. Accordingly we find disputes among the early Church Fathers as to the right reading when it is dependent upon punctuation; and no means are at hand in the form of MS. authority to settle such disputes. Thus Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, connect the δ *γενον* of John i. 3 with the following clause, and read, "What has been made was in him life;" or, "What has been made in him was life." And this division of clauses was subsequently rejected, not on the ground of external authority, but because the Macedonians had used the passage to prove that the Holy Ghost was a creation of the Son.⁴ That the need of fixing certain divisions between words was early felt, and in a measure

¹ See *De viris illustr.*, cc. 3 and 113.

² The great work of Bernard de Montfaucon — *Palaeographia Graeca*, Paris, 1708 — still remains the best authority on the subject of Greek MSS.: see Scrivener. Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, pp. 21 ff.; and Bleek, Einl. in das N. T., pp. 803–826. More recent, Gardthausen, Griech. Palaeographie, 1879.

³ A term as old, indeed, as Jerome, but used then to designate especially large letters in the finer MSS., and not to distinguish a style of writing: see Praef. in Job, "*uncialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, litteris*;" but Scrivener (p. 28, note) favors the conjectural emendation "*initialibus*."

⁴ For other examples, see Reuss, *Ibid.*, II. p. 108.

met, we may illustrate by the way in which certain codices (Alex. and Cantabr.) place a point after the οὐδὲ ἔν of John i. 3, although they are in general written continuously. Soon after the middle of the fifth century (458 or 462), Euthalius, a deacon in Alexandria, prepared and dedicated to his bishop an edition of the Epistles of Paul, which he arranged in lines of such length as could be read somewhat rhythmically in a single breath (*πρὸς εὐσημιον ἀνάγνωσιν*); afterwards the Acts and Catholic Epistles were treated by him in the same way. Tregelles asserts that Euthalius treated the Gospels also in the same manner, and that he was not the originator of the method as applied to the New Testament: the assertions are, however, at best, doubtful.¹ This stichometric form of writing Scripture found much favor even outside of Egypt, and some of the oldest MSS. are in this form. To save room, the separation of the lines was subsequently made by a point or an enlarged letter. This division in MSS. so prepared sufficed for interpunctuation: in those not stichometrically arranged, other means were resorted to. In some, a cross; in others, two points, one above the other; in others, points like our comma, — are employed. Some adopt the form which was probably in use among Greek grammarians, and place a point above with the value of a period, in the middle with the value of our colon, below with the value of our comma. The more developed form of our present punctuation dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century: the separation of words by a space or a point came into general use in the ninth century.

The accentuation of the Greek words, although the present system is attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium (200 B.C.), was not in general use when even the oldest MSS. of the New Testament were composed. Euthalius added accents to his stichometric edition of the Acts and Catholic Epistles. The writers of the New Testament probably did not make use either of the rough breathing or of the iota subscript or postscript. The prevalent use of breathings and accents belongs to the ninth century.²

Whether the authors of the New Testament made sections of their writing, by new lines or brief spaces between, we have

¹ Compare Reuss, *Geschichte der heil. Schriften N. T.*, p. 109; and Bleek, *Einl. in das N. T.*, 791 f.

² Among the oldest MSS., D and E of the Pauline Epistles, and E, K, L, M, of the Gospels, have accents and breathings.

no means of knowing: such sections, if they existed, were not deemed of enough importance to be preserved in the traditional text. Tertullian¹ several times alludes to chapters in a New-Testament writing. The remark of Dionysius,² that some before him had considered the Apocalypse chapter by chapter (*καθ' ἕκαστον κεφάλαιον*), is of doubtful meaning: it may refer to merely ideal divisions, as De Wette, Reuss, and Tregelles suppose, or to sections in some MSS., as Bleek is inclined to believe. Chapters (*κεφάλαια*) much smaller than ours, of which Matthew contained 355, Mark 234, Luke 342, John 231,³ were in wide use very early. Whether the enumeration of these *κεφάλαια* is to be ascribed to Ammonius in preparation for his harmony, or to Eusebius, is undeterminable. A division of the Gospels into larger sections, called *τίτλοι*, — probably because it was common to prefix a title to each as a designation of its contents, — originated not earlier than the fifth century; the time and manner of its origin are unknown. Of such *τίτλοι* Suidas gives to Matthew 68, to Mark 48, to Luke 83, to John 18. Among the Latins they were called *breves*, and the lists of their contents *breviaria*. The present division of chapters originated in the thirteenth century, and is probably to be ascribed to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury († 1228), who introduced it into his Latin Postilles; that of verses is the work of Robert Stephens in 1551.

The unauthoritative character of all these helps to interpretation — accents, punctuation, breathing, iota subscript or postscript, divisions of words, chapters, and other sections, etc. — scarcely needs in these days to be asserted. But it is a truth for the thoughtful to consider, that, from the very first-hand copies of the authors through all the subsequent changes, the call has necessarily been upon the *hearer* of Sacred Scripture, — to take heed how he hear. The very style of writing and propagating this Scripture evokes and demands activity in judgment for reception and understanding on the hearer's part. The word is not fixed in words alone, but conveyed by a facile and plastic art which involves the participation of several hands and minds. The hearer and the scribe have always had some share with the author of biblical writings in determining the

¹ Ad uxor. II. 2, "De illo capitulo sibi blandiuntur primæ ad Corinthios, ubi scriptum est, etc.:" compare De monog., 11, and De carne Christi, 19.

² Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., VII. 25.

³ So Caesarius, Dial. 1, resp. 39; and Epiphanius, Ancor. 50, p. 54.

precise form of the words. In some real sense of the declaration it is true, that the present diplomatic form of the Bible involves the co-operation of a community of souls inspired with a common impulse of religious thought and feeling.

The amount of the resources in MSS. which can be made satisfactorily available for a criticism of the text is not to be estimated by counting the number of uncials and cursives. Of the latter, Scrivener asserts (p. 73) that "the long list of the cursives is but a snare and a delusion." Of the uncials, the same author states the number to be as follows: in the Gospels, fifty-six, which are for the most part fragments of inconsiderable length; in the Acts, fourteen; in the Catholic Epistles, six; in the Pauline, fifteen (many of them fragments); and in the Apocalypse, only five. A more recent and full statement, made on the authority of Dr. Ezra Abbot, in the Introduction to the American edition of Westcott and Hort, increases the number of uncials to sixty-one of the Gospels, fifteen of the Acts, seven of the Catholic, and twenty of the Pauline Epistles. The whole number of *distinct* uncials (not including lectionaries) is given at eighty-three. Of these codices, $\aleph$, A, B, C, for their critical value, and D for its many strange and suggestive deviations from the other authorities, are our main reliance. The variations of reading to which all the MSS. introduce us are innumerable: they were computed at the time of Mill as thirty thousand, and are now, says Scrivener, "at least fourfold that quantity." That the essential doctrine and testimony to the facts of Sacred Scripture are not affected by the phenomena of variation in its text, is both to be claimed and to be conceded. It would not be correct, however, to represent these phenomena as trifling in importance, or affecting only the unimportant *minutiae* of verbal form. The phenomena themselves are of such nature as to raise, and also in part to answer, the questions: With what limits of diplomatic uncertainty has Sacred Scripture been given to us? and, What are we to infer from a consideration of these limits concerning its origin and nature?

It is certain that the variations and corruptions of the text of the New Testament are in number so many, and in kind such, as belong to the very nature of the case. Of the more familiar of the phenomena, we need barely notice the following. Marginal notes have crept into the text through either the intentional manipulation or the carelessness of some scribe.

Such cases are perhaps 1 John v. 7; the *εἰς* found in some MSS. and versions of Matt. v. 22; the *ἀναξίως* of 1 Cor. xi. 29, — probably intended to tone down the respective passages; the *μὴ κατὰ σάρκα . . . κατὰ πνεῦμα* of Rom. viii. 1, an explanatory gloss on *τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* suggested from verse 4; and the *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, μὴ πείθεσθαι* of Gal. iii. 1, to explain the intent of a question and round off a sentence. From the Church Ordinal, Acts viii. 37 seems to have come, and the doxology of Matt. vi. 13 from its ritual. Of slight variations in the order of words, mistakes of one word for another closely resembling it, of variations in spelling, of the omission or insertion of words that little affect the sense, of differences of position for the Greek article, etc., etc., numberless instances are found. Of more importance are those interchanges of synonymous words which have been introduced in order to refine and modify according to the taste of the transcriber. The Codex Beza has *ὀμμάτων* for *ὀφθαλμῶν*, Matt. ix. 29. The conflict of testimony between *ἐποίησεν* and *ἐκέρδησεν*, Matt. xxv. 16, originated in this manner: so also the more interesting question, whether we are to read *δικαιοσύνην* or *ἐλεημοσύνην*, Matt. vi. 1.

Other errors have arisen from Homoioteleuton, when, two contiguous clauses ending with the same words, the eye of the scribe has wandered from the end of the former to the end of the latter so as to omit the intervening words. Of this we have examples in some MSS. of Luke xviii. 39, and 1 John ii. 23. Itacisms, or the confusion of vowels and diphthongs having the same or similar sound, may be accounted for either by the habit of writing from dictation, or by the corruption of the spelling through careless pronunciation. Thus are *ι* and *ει*, *αι* and *ε*, in the earlier, and *ηι* and *ει*, *η*, *ο* and *υ*, and even *ο* and *ω*, *η* and *ε*, in the later MSS., — used almost promiscuously. According to the nature of the Greek language, such changes sometimes affect the grammatical form; as, e.g., *ἐγειρε* or *ἐγειραι*, Mark iii. 3, and Acts iii. 6; and *καυχᾶσθαι δὴ οὐ συμφέρει*, or *καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ οὐ*, etc., 2 Cor. xii. 1. Ancient dialectic forms are changed into those in vogue in the age when the MS. was produced. A Greek idiom may be transformed into simpler language, or a Hebraism softened. The customary abbreviation of words (least met with in the Cod. Vatican.) — such as *θε̅ς* for *θεός*, *κυ̅ς* for *κύριος*, *ισ̅ς* for *ἰησοῦς*, *χ̅ς* for *χριστός*, *π̅ς* for *πνεῦμα*, — might result in corruption of the text. Of such corruption the most important case is that of 1 Tim. iii. 16, where the

choice lies between $\overline{\Theta C}$, an abbreviation of $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$, and OC.¹ The interpolation into the text of introductory clauses or proper names (such as $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \delta\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron>s$, Luke vii. 31, and $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\tau\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\iota>s\ \pi\rho\acute{o}s\ \tau\omicron\upsilon>s\ \mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}s\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon$, Luke x. 22, and the frequent interpolation and changing position of the name Ἰησοῦς), either from the margins of the MSS. or from the service-books, is also frequent.² A sentence overlooked by the scribe on the first writing of the text might subsequently be written by him, or by some one else, upon the near margin, and then be copied into the wrong connection by some other hand making another text. In this way it may be conjectured that the clauses of Phil. i. 16, 17, came to be reversed.

The scribal amending of the text, which has entered so largely into the Old Testament, has been a relatively small element in the New, and yet it is by no means wholly lacking. The corruptions of the text which have been wrought by changing the text of one Evangelist in order to assimilate it to that of another are extensive and troublesome: they tend to be more fundamental, and more to increase distrust of both text and scribe, than almost any other form of corruption.³ Probable instances may be found in the interpolation of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}s\ \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$ into Matt. ix. 13, and Mark ii. 17, from Luke v. 32; the citation ἵνα πληρωθῇ , Matt. xxvii. 35, borrowed from John xix. 24, the entire verse, Mark xv. 28, which is introduced from Luke xxii. 37. So do many MSS. add $\text{ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου σατανᾶ}$ (Luke iv. 8) from Matt. iv. 10; and some repeat Luke vii. 10 after Matt. viii. 13. Other corruptions have taken place through the scribes writing in the quotations from the Old Testament more fully than they were given by the authors of the New Testament themselves. Thus has the clause beginning ἐγγίξαι μοι (Matt. xv. 8) been added in certain MSS.; so also the clauses, $\text{ἰάσασθαι . . . καρδίαν}$ (Luke iv. 18), $\kappa\alpha\iota\ . . . \tau\hat{\omega}\nu\ \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega\nu\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$ (Heb. ii. 7), and $\text{ἡ βαλὶδι καταροξενθήσεται}$ (Heb. xii. 20). The desire to remove difficulties of harmony or interpretation has

¹ The former reading is authorized by some two hundred cursives and by the uncials D at third hand, K, L, and P. This authority is, however, of relatively light weight against $\aleph$, A (?), C at first hand, F, and G, and also against all the more important ancient versions, the Fathers, and the decisive considerations of internal criticism. Even Scrivener gives up the reading; although he is convinced, after at least a score of examinations of that MS., that it is favored by A.

² Instances of similar interpolations in the English Book of Common Prayer are given by Scrivener (p. 11 f.) and Burgon (The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark's Gospel vindicated, p. 215).

³ See Reuss, Geschichte der heil. Schriften N. T., II. p. 96.

also resulted in certain cowardly and unfaithful omissions or substitutions. Of such omissions, the *δεντροπρώτῳ* in some MSS. of Luke vi. 1 has been regarded as a case; but the explanation of the origin of the word adopted by Westcott and Hort is perhaps preferable. More clear are the cases of the *τὸ μαρτύριον* of 1 Tim. ii. 6, and the *υἱοῦ Βαραχίου* of Matt. xxiii. 35 (omitted in a few MSS., apparently because the scribe did not like to face the fact of a *lapsus memoriae*). The change to *τοῖς προφήταις* from *Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφῆτῃ* in Mark i. 2, because this reading implies a mistake in the Evangelist, is an example of such a substitution. The number of deliberate falsifications of the text for dogmatic purposes is, in spite of the fact that the Catholic Church Fathers and the heretics were given to ready and frequent charges to this effect against one another, exceedingly small. The examples with which these charges are supported arose for the most part, if not wholly, from critical blunders now familiar enough to the science of ancient MSS.¹ The influence of dogmatic views upon the text is in certain cases, however, to be detected. For this reason it would seem that the *Ἰησοῦ* after the *τὸ πνεῦμα* of Acts xvi. 7 has fallen out of most of the cursives; and *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός* has been changed to *ὁ μονογενὴς Θεός* (John i. 18). To the same influence are due the corruptions in the text of Matt. xix. 17. Of the examples which might be chosen to exhibit the power of sectional ecclesiastical authority over the text of the New Testament, that of 1 John v. 7 is the most conspicuous. This reading, now universally rejected, probably entered the text as a pious gloss, and was widely retained in the Latin copies in Africa as a test of orthodoxy. Indeed, the utterly disingenuous part which dogmatic considerations have constantly played in the opposition to a critical purity of text for Sacred Scripture, may be abundantly illustrated from history. Ecclesiastical bigotry and pious fears have hindered the attempt to revise and edit critically the favorite text of any particular time or locality. In the translation of the works of Origen he is made to say, after speaking of his critical labors, "In the copies of the New Testament, however, I have not thought that I could do it without danger." Jerome foresees that he will be called by the hard names of *falsarius* and *sacrilagus* for his work upon the Latin translation. In the Decree of Gelasius, the critical attempts of Lucianus and Hesychius are designated as falsified and apocryphal.

¹ See Reuss, *Ibid.*, II. p. 96.

The limits of variation in the text of the New Testament, so far as we have adequate MS. authority, may be fixed with tolerable definiteness; that is to say, we may affirm, with the exception of many minor differences and certain more important ones of limited and specified number, what was the condition of this text in the fourth century after Christ. The two passages of most considerable length, where the genuineness of the text may be disputed, are Mark xvi. 9-20, and John vii. 53-viii. 11. Although the former passage has been defended most elaborately, and in the full light of modern criticism, by Scrivener and by Rev. J. W. Burgon in his "brilliant monograph,"¹ we cannot advance a step beyond the confession that this text has come down to us so lacking in full support, so manifestly corrupted and suspected in very early times, and so under the shadow of difficulties of internal criticism, that we cannot have any firm confidence in its genuineness. As to the latter, Scrivener is forced to admit, that, "on all intelligent principles of mere criticism, the passage must needs be abandoned."

In attempting to fix the limits of variation, which, as we may assert with a high degree of probability, have not been crossed in the period preceding the earliest MSS., we are more in uncertainty and doubt. The critical examination of our helps, viz., the citations of the Church Fathers and the ancient versions, must progress much farther in order to secure a satisfactory result. Certain unanswerable questions will always remain. The nature of the text of the Itala, for instance, is still an unsettled question. Are we to speak of different recensions of one Latin translation, one of which recensions is to be recognized as the Itala; or of different translations into Latin, one of which translations is the Itala? Nor are we quite certain whether the Latin translation of the New Testament to which Tertullian refers, and which must even then have been some time in existence, since it is spoken of as in common use (*in usum exit*), is the one customarily used by Tertullian himself. The differences which were observable in these old Latin MSS., regarded as a whole, could not have been due simply to the mistakes of scribes: the MSS. appear too readily separable into classes which seem to be formed with respect to their variations according to a certain model. We must therefore assume

¹ The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to St. Mark vindicated against Recent Objectors, and established. Oxford and London: 1871.

a number of recensions, if not of independent translations. At least thus much would seem demanded by the *codices aliarum regionum*¹ and *interpretum numerositas*² of which Augustine speaks; if not by the complaint of Jerome, — *tot sunt enim exemplaria pene quod codices*.³ There must have been great diversity and uncertainty in the text of the various Latin MSS. The same condition of the text in general is witnessed to by the other more ancient versions. And when we recur to the earlier Greek MSS. themselves, and read them in the light of these more ancient helps, we are doubly convinced that a process of change preceded our most ancient direct means for determining the exact text, the precise limits of which we are unable to define. The wide spread of Christianity, and the more and more frequent copying and translating of its Scriptures, would tend greatly to diversify their form; but the influence of the central churches, the fame of certain particular MSS. or libraries, and the local peculiarities of taste and style, would tend to secure classes of more uniform text. Thus did a process of extending change and recurring conformity to a type antedate our oldest copies, — a process which we have, with all our MSS. and citations and versions, only the very partial means of reproducing. How important a matter these peculiarities of local coloring might become, is notably illustrated by Reuss in the case of 1 Cor. xv. 51, where the so-called Constantinopolitan family of MSS. has πάντες οὐ κοιμηθήσόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα; the Alexandrine, πάντες μὲν κοιμηθήσόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα; the Occidental, πάντες μὲν ἀναστήσόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, — a very considerable variation in the doctrine which the apostle is made to teach.⁴

It must be confessed that the conclusions concerning the origin and nature of Sacred Scripture which can be derived from a study of the text of the Old and New Testaments, are almost wholly of negative character. The strong protest which the phenomena of the biblical text offer to every assumption of verbal inspiration and infallibility has already been pointed out. These phenomena confirm the impression that the written record and instrument of revelation has been made subject to all the forms of material weakness and human error which be-

¹ Con. Faustum, XI. 2.

² De doctrina Christ., II. c. 12, 13, 14.

³ Praef. in Ev. ad Damas. Compare Fritzsche, art. Vulgata, etc., in Herzog and Plitt; Bleek, Einl. in das N. T., p. 848 f.; Reuss, Geschichte der heil. Schriften N. T., p. 187 f.; and the writings of Röscher.

⁴ Compare Westcott and Hort, Appendix.

long to other written records. It has not been given or preserved with diplomatic certainty; it has not been providentially kept from mistake and corruption; it is not now possible to determine with more than a greater or less degree of probability the precise limits of details within which these mistakes and corruptions from the original writings may be confined.

We must, then, receive the divine and imperishable Word, if at all, in the human and perishable clothing of words in which it has come down to us. That the general style and mode of this clothing of words itself bears the impress of the Divine Spirit as a spirit of revelation, we have already seen reasons to believe. But it is only within certain limits, and at most with a certain degree of assurance, that we can rely upon the precise text of the Old and New Testaments. These limits are happily such as to include a certainty concerning all the truths of religion and morals, — the Word of God which is in the changing words of the record, — so far as they are dependent upon the text. They are such as to prevent any reasonable doubt concerning the same truths.

It may perhaps be added, that the devout mind will discover, in the history of the construction and preservation of the biblical text, not a few proofs of a certain providential care extended to the diplomatics of Sacred Scripture. This care has been exercised *through* the ordinary instrumentalities of papyrus and parchment MSS., printed books, industry and diligence of scribes, and especially the interest and uses of the Christian Church. But it cannot be forgotten, that, by as much as we piously augment in our estimation this element of Providence, by so much the more do we also emphasize our confession that the Spirit in providence, the Spirit of revelation, has not freed its sacred record and instrument from the frailties, changes, and errors which belong to all human works.

CHAPTER XI.

INDUCTIVE THEORY OF SACRED SCRIPTURE.

BOTH the exegetical examination of the claims which the Bible makes for itself, and the critical examination of its various classes of phenomena, have now been accomplished in detail. In order to complete an inductive theory of Sacred Scripture, the work remains of summing up the results of previous examination, and of uniting them into a more comprehensive and organic presentation of their truth. In this manner the entire circuit of sacred writings contained in both the Old Testament and the New—when considered as to all their direct and indirect claims, and when tested by the judgment of modern science, history, and criticism—may be heard to answer for themselves.

Two classes of questions, the answers to which involve the results of all the previous research, may be made to cover the main points of the induction. Of these two classes of questions, one class concerns the relation of the conclusions of modern science, history, and criticism, to the claims, direct and indirect, of the Bible itself. Where no conflict appears between such conclusions and such claims, we may at once derive an inference from the substantial coincidence of the two. But wherever a conflict of testimony has appeared, we need to review carefully both the exegetical evidence by which the biblical claims have been established, and also the evidence for the critical conclusions. If, after this review of evidence, the appearance of conflict still persists, both the claims and the critical conclusions may be considered as proof that we need to regard the origin and nature of the biblical writings from a new point of view. It would seem, then, that we cannot in all cases reconcile the claims of the biblical writers with the conclusions of criticism. We must remember, however, that so-called modern criticism is not infallible. Its more doubtful conclusions, its conjectures and speculations, form no warrant for rejecting such claims of

Sacred Scripture as have had the continuous testing and approval of the moral and religious consciousness. For, while subjective considerations cannot, on matters of fact, reverse the conclusions of objective evidence, critical theories may often be refused the power to reverse traditional judgments on matters closely connected with ethical and religious truth. But, on the other hand, it may not infrequently happen that the critical conclusions require a modification or surrender of the biblical claims.

The other class of questions, the answers to which are involved in an inductive theory of Sacred Scripture, concerns the manner in which we must synthetically construct all the results of the previous research. What, judging from the evidence already examined, may we conclude that the Bible is? This one comprehensive question naturally separates itself into the following three: first, What is the true inductive theory of the unity of the Bible? second, What is the nature of its so-called infallibility? third, What is the nature, and what are the proofs, of its so-called inspiration? Partial answers to these three questions have been involved in the previous exegetical, historical, and critical research.

We consider, then,—in answer to the first of the two classes of questions,—some of those points of coincidence or divergence which have been seen to exist between the claims of the Bible and the conclusions of modern scientific and historical study. For the mind which accepts the religious teachings of Christ and the apostles, and the reality of an historic course of divine self-revelation, no theory of Sacred Scripture can be satisfactory which does not take the biblical claims into the account. But for the mind which understands the methods and results of the modern scientific study of the Bible, no theory can be satisfactory which does not employ certain of these methods, and accord with certain of these results. Do faith and science, then, irreconcilably differ as to the origin and nature of the Bible? And must we find our choice between an inductive statement which contradicts all the biblical claims, and a dogmatic statement which upholds those claims at the sacrifice of the most conclusive results of scientific study? An affirmative answer to these questions would place us in a distressful dilemma.

But the previous discussions have disclosed the right position for understanding the import of just such questions as those

proposed above. Considering together all the claims which the writers of the Bible make for any portion of its varied contents, we must conclude that some of the claims are modified or contradicted by modern research, while others of them are most amply confirmed. The inquiry becomes, then, of vital import: What, and what kind of claims, are modified or contradicted, and what confirmed?

In general, it may be affirmed that the claims of the Bible, direct or indirect, which can fairly be said to have been modified or contradicted by modern research, do not affect the substance of its own doctrine as to its own nature and origin. All the most important elements of all the claims, and all the claims which have most important bearing upon the authority with which the Bible teaches its distinctively ethical and religious truths, remain untouched by our previous critical conclusions.

In general, also, it may be affirmed that the parsimony with which the sacred writings put forth all their claims is a valid argument for regarding favorably the claims which they do make most strongly. If the Bible had made for itself one tithe the claims which have been made for it, it would have involved all its authority in hopeless conflict with human reason and historico-critical research. In spite of this general parsimony, however, there are certain claims of the Bible which cannot be accepted as wholly valid in the sense in which they were intended. In rejecting these claims we do not reject the authority of Sacred Scripture upon matters upon which it both claims and possesses the authority to teach. We may even save the more important claims by separating them from those which we are obliged in part to reject. Thus the validity of the more important claims stands all the more secure, because it is no longer liable to be involved in the fate of such claims as cannot bear the tests of science, history, and criticism.

The Bible does not lay claim to historical science or historical criticism in the modern understanding of the words; it does not directly claim any infallibility, or even extraordinary security against mistakes in historical composition. The biblical historians tell their story in a straightforward manner; using the best helps at their command, — whether of previously written documents, oral tradition, or the memory of living witnesses, — and handling their material with a freedom which savors as little as possible of any fear lest they might not be exact in every detail. In the mere fact that they are writers of *such*

history, the general claim to veracity and accuracy is, of course, implied. But this implied claim, in most cases, is not primarily a claim to be veracious and accurate historians; it certainly is not a claim to have composed their history in a manner which corresponds at all to the modern notions of accuracy. The biblical writers, on the contrary, show little or no comprehension of the conditions which the modern notions impose upon the critical writer of history. They write, that is, so far as the strictly historical qualities of their work are concerned, with precisely the same notions of the nature of historical composition as those which belonged to their contemporaries. The historians of the Old Testament do not think it incumbent upon themselves to subject the materials (written or oral) of their history to a process of critical examination. They are chiefly intent upon the arrangement and reproduction of these materials for a purpose which is at least *semi*-ethical and *semi*-religious. Thus they see no inconsistency, as judged by their purpose, in placing two divergent traditions of one event side by side, or in combining them, without blending, into a single narrative. In many such cases, it is a decided help, instead of a hinderance, to our understanding of the history, that the biblical writers have preserved the traditions in their divergence rather than rejected either one wholly; it is also a help, that they have made no futile effort at a critical selection amongst the divergent details. How much richer and more certain, for instance, is, on this account, our knowledge of the history of Christ! The circle of traditions touching the history of Christ which is preserved in the Synoptic Gospels is, indeed, a limited one; and at times we ardently wish that it could have been greatly enlarged. But such as it is, it is limited for the most part by an ethical and religious purpose: it is limited by the same kind of purpose which has been served ever since by this same circle of traditions. If the divine plan for the Christian Scriptures and the Christian Church provided that this limit should be so fixed, who could wish that the Evangelists, instead of recording in simple good faith what they found, had attempted to write critical lives of Jesus after the modern fashion? One of them, namely Luke, does indeed distinctly avow his purpose to make a sifting of his materials, to search diligently after the truth, and to give an orderly arrangement of what he finds to present. But the very fact that this Evangelist agrees so substantially with the other Synoptists in the picture which he presents of

Jesus should convince us how faithfully they all present the true picture as it had become stamped upon the memories, and was depicted in the preaching, of the eye-and-ear witnesses. And—to recur again to examples which might be taken from the Old Testament—we have no reason, in any claims which the writers themselves make, to attempt a defence of the historical infallibility, or the extraordinary historical accuracy, of the Books of Kings and Chronicles. The witness of both these writings testifies that the materials which their authors used contained elements doubtful, discrepant, and even demonstrably false. Although we are persuaded that Graf, Kuenen, and their followers have maligned the later writer beyond all warrant from the facts, we cannot withhold the acknowledgment that he is inferior, in respect to historical trustworthiness and freedom from so-called “tendency” influences, to the writer of Kings. But we do not thereby depreciate the increased opportunity afforded us by the Book of Chronicles for obtaining a substantially valid history of ancient Israel. As we have already seen, the *πρῶτον ψεύδος*, historically considered, of Graf, Kuenen, and all their followers, consists in this: they make use of the variety of material afforded them for positively constructing a history of ancient Israel, only to destroy the possibility of such a history. This they appear to do, not so much because of the discrepancies which exist in the materials, as because of their predetermination to reject as untrustworthy all the materials which partake largely of the Hebrew belief in the supernatural.

We do no violence to the spirit of the biblical claims, as made for the historians of Sacred Scripture, when we consider these historians as subject to all the imperfections and limitations belonging to any writer of those times who dealt, in the manner of the times, with such kinds of materials. In other words, the claims of the writers are not lodged in, or entangled with, the perfect historical accuracy of all that they record. Even in the case of that most important history of the life and discourses of our Lord to which his promises of divine assistance for the memory especially apply, the same truth holds good. For it is not historical accuracy in details which is included in the promise of Christ to his apostles. Indeed, it is not so much the mere facts as the meaning, ethical and religious, of the facts, to which his promise chiefly applies. It certainly does not embrace a claim for the perfect historical accu-

racy of those who, at the second remove from the apostles, wrote down the traditions of his life. His promises do, however, involve the claim, in the behalf of those apostles, to recall by divine assistance the substance of the acts and teaching of their Lord, and to understand these acts and this teaching in their fuller import up to the point of comprehending in its fullness the great truth revealed in them.

Concerning this entire class of claims, we can assert with confidence that critical and historical research does not contradict, but rather confirms them. There are certain entire books of the Bible, and certain passages of other books, however, whose apparent claims to even substantial historical accuracy such research either modifies or disproves. But these cases do not affect the verdict which must be rendered in behalf of the biblical histories at large. The Bible gives us a substantially true history of the progress of divine self-revelation in Israel, of the life, discourses, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and of the founding of the Christian Church. And this — accepting its claims as a whole, and regarding them in their spirit and intent, rather than in the case of certain special and exceptional examples, like the Book of Esther and the historical chapters of Daniel — is what the Bible assumes to do. What it assumes to do by its histories, that it really and in good faith accomplishes: so much we can conclude after the most thorough criticism of its historical contents. It fulfils its implied promises, indeed, with a wide range as respects the amount and limits of its historical accuracy. The history of the kingdom of God in Israel, like all human history, arises from the mists of antiquity. It emerges into clearer and yet clearer detail of outline. But all the while we may be sure that the Disposer of history is both the guide of its events, and the guardian of their record. The historical accuracy is sufficient to allow of the biblical history being what it chiefly claims to be, viz., the vehicle for those ethical and religious verities, both of fact and of doctrine, which God has thus given to men. In the use of our superior means for the critical study of the history which they uncritically recorded, we can confirm by this record these important verities, while modifying our views as to the nature of many of the events in which the verities were made manifest.

Another class of claims, nearly allied to the foregoing, and yet not so purely historical, are more difficult of adjustment

with the apparently valid results of modern research. Such claims concern the nature and origin of the Mosaic law,—more particularly of certain portions of the Middle Books of the Pentateuch. They are, therefore, closely allied with the views which the later Hebrew writers held as to the authorship of the Torah, and of the books which contain it. In the view of these later writers, this Torah was revealed in detail to the inspired person Moses, at different periods of his history, and therefore with different historical setting; and it was revealed in the form of concrete institutions, enactments, or transactions of a legal kind. The constant formula for the historical announcement of the appearance of any of these institutions, enactments, or transactions, is the following: "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying,"—or some equivalent for this formula. In such cases an ethico-religious doctrine as to the divine origin of the Torah is blended with an historical opinion as to the circumstances in the midst of which some one section of this Torah originated, and as to the recipient or scribe of such a section. In other words, the ethical and religious truth, that the Torah of Israel was a divine gift to the nation, is repeatedly stated in the form of an historical opinion, that, at given times and under given circumstances, God revealed the several portions of it through Moses. This statement of times and circumstances is essentially an historical opinion. The question arises at once, In what manner did it become known to the writer that the several portions of the Torah called Mosaic were revealed to Moses, at precisely such alleged times, and under such alleged circumstances? If these historical statements were all of them made by Moses himself, or by any of his contemporaries or immediate successors to whom he had himself confided the truth, they would, of course, have the historical value of statements made at first hand. But we have already seen that the composite nature, not only of the Pentateuch as containing the record of the Torah in its widest circuit, but also of that Torah itself when regarded as an aggregate of legal institutions, enactments, and transactions, is as well established by modern criticism as any truth of such a nature can well be. Moreover, these very statements, "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying," etc., as well as the contents of law and history which follow them, seem in not a few cases to bear the marks of a date much later than the age of Moses. We are obliged, then, to press the inquiry, On what grounds

can the later writers base their historical opinion that such and such contents of the Torah were actually revealed to Moses *at the times and under the circumstances which they assigned to them?*

In reply to the question raised above, several answers are conceivable: but only one can be rendered probable in the light of all the analogies; and, of course, only one can be true. Let it be steadfastly kept in mind, that, when a writer of a later generation asserts that any portion of the Torah was revealed to Moses at a certain period in history and under certain definite circumstances, he makes an assertion which is historical, and is therefore subject to the tests of accurate history. Now, it is possible to affirm that information upon such a fact of accurate history might be imparted by divine revelation: the later writer might be informed in a purely supernatural way, that, at such times and under such circumstances, a certain portion of the Torah had been, centuries since, revealed to Moses. Such a form of revelation would be the definite imparting from God of a definite historical truth, which the writer would have no means of knowing, and no means of verifying, outside of the revelation itself. But certainly, if such revelations were made as to particulars in the history of the origin of the Mosaic Torah, they are quite unique as examples of even biblical history. For we have seen no other proof that the writers of this history did not get their materials in the very form in which they either openly or implicitly assert that they got them: they got them, that is to say, in the form of previous written sources, of oral tradition, and of eye-and-ear witnesses. In the case of the Gospel history, the one Evangelist who writes most self-consciously, and who gives us most information as to his method, openly asserts this truth regarding himself. The Apostle John bases his knowledge upon memory and observation. We should certainly need considerable evidence to convince us that Providence has suffered the history of Jesus Christ and of the founding of the Christian Church to submit to the necessary conditions of human historical composition, but has given by direct revelation all the otherwise unknown items as to the history of the Mosaic Torah.

Moreover, it is very difficult to see how the divine purposes of revelation could be accomplished by the making known of historical facts to an uninformed author. The very nature

of revelation seems to require, that, when it concerns historical facts, it should be made upon the basis of such facts as are already known in the historical way. What purports to be a definite history of the past, when given forth to men on a claim to have received it by revelation from God, is quite too uncertain and ideal an affair to form a basis for more purely moral and religious truth. A similar theory, in its attempt to account for the Mosaic cosmogony as a product of prophecy looking backwards, quite breaks down. To discern the ethical and religious meaning of past facts, and to anticipate the course of history in so far as it is the working-out of ethical and religious elements,—these are gifts of prophecy. But where do we find the historians of the Bible claiming to know the definite events of the past by divine revelation? While, then, we should not venture to pronounce such a method of arriving at the truths of history abstractly impossible, we have no hesitation in saying, that, as a matter of fact, there are no authenticated examples of it in Sacred Scripture. And nothing else would more surely destroy all prospect of permanent confidence in the history of the Bible than to find its authors claiming to have had the events of the past revealed to them. The most uncritical summary of meagre records and traditions would inevitably command more permanent confidence and respect than such a claim as this. To base a knowledge of the facts of revelation upon another revelation, made to the writer who recorded the facts, could never be the method of founding the kingdom of God in actual human history.

Moreover, the existence in later writers of claims to give by revelation the detailed history of the origin of the Mosaic Torah would not relieve us from our embarrassments: on the contrary, it would rather increase them. For these embarrassments do not arise from a lack of such claims: they arise rather from the abundance of facts which would seem to contradict such claims. All the facts which historical and critical research has elicited to show that the Mosaic Torah, in its complete form and as we have it left on record, is an historic growth, would be adverse to such claims. The claims would need, then, to be supported by such a demonstration of the infallibility of the biblical writers in all matters of history and criticism as would be strong and complete enough to sustain the immense weight of counter evidence. But how could such a demonstration be, of itself, accomplished? It cannot be assumed as a necessity of faith, that

the later Hebrew writers must know all the historical facts with regard to the origin of their national Torah. It cannot be inferred from the claims of these writers, that they are infallible in their historical statements or assumptions; for they make no claims which will serve as legitimate points of starting for such an inference. The historical infallibility of the writers must, then, be demonstrated, if at all, by historical and critical researches: it must be shown, as a matter of fact, that these writers are correct when they affirm that the different portions of the Torah were revealed, at such definite times and under such definite circumstances, to Moses. But this is the same kind of evidence which we seem to have for asserting, in a considerable number of instances, precisely the contrary.

It follows, then, that any historical statements which the later hands, who labored in completing the record of the Mosaic Torah, made regarding the origin of that Torah, must be tested by critical and historical researches. When it is said, "The Lord spake unto Moses saying," an historical statement is made to lend its form to an ethical and religious doctrine. Such a statement may fitly be subjected to all the tests of accurate history. It is a question of fact, whether or not any given section of the Mosaic Torah came into existence at a particular date and under certain particular circumstances.

In the case of the Law of Moses, certain important historical claims are, then, more or less modified or abrogated by historical and critical researches. The only escape from this conclusion is the assumption, either that all these parts of the Pentateuch are Mosaic in origin, or else that all the claims of its later authors and redactors are historically infallible. But neither of these claims can in any way be established without historical and critical researches; and to either of them such researches are decidedly unfavorable.

There is, however, an important choice as to the manner in which such biblical claims shall be modified. The conclusions of certain critics oblige us to regard these claims as almost wholly of late origin, spurious, and, indeed, largely designed to foist into the meagre ancient records of the Torah the recent ritualism and ecclesiastical order enacted by the writers themselves. The phrase, "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying," then becomes an expression of the design to give to certain late enactments the authority of an ancient name; and the historical setting of the enactments becomes a manufactured framework,

in which the ideal picture of what might or should have been is set. The reasons which prevent our acceptance of such critical conclusions regarding the Mosaic Torah have already been given. It should be noticed in this connection, however, that such conclusions almost inevitably involve the sacrifice of other claims of the biblical writers more important than any mere claims to historical fidelity. It is quite possible, abstractly considered, that the divine revelation of the Law might have continued through the post-Exilian period, might even have flourished in that period beyond all others. Why might not God reveal ethical and religious truth to Ezra as well as to Moses; and that, too, in the form of legal institutions and enactments? We cannot affirm that he might not. What we know of the age of Ezra tends of itself, however, to convince us that no such revelation took place. Perhaps we ought also decidedly to hesitate before we affirm that certain contents of a law revealed from God could not be given in forms that partake so largely of pious fraud. We have already refused unqualifiedly to affirm that the Fourth Gospel could not contain a substantially true view of the life and person of Christ as revealed to an inspired mind, even if it were not written by the Apostle John. In the cases of Deuteronomy and Daniel, we have found later writers assuming to speak in the name of men of earlier generations, and in their name to communicate ethical and religious truth; and yet we are not able to say precisely to what extent they give us historically accurate representations of the deeds and teachings of those earlier men in whose name they speak. Again, in the case of the New Testament, we should not feel compelled to deny that the ethical and religious truth of Second Peter or of the Pastoral Epistles could be truth of revelation, received through inspired minds, because the genuineness of the former is very doubtful, or because it is hard to find a place in the life of Paul for the latter.

But the case of the Middle Books of the Pentateuch is in some respects different from any of the above-mentioned cases. An elaborate, manifold, and continuous attempt to fabricate the contents of these books, and to foist them into earlier legal writings, is necessarily assumed in the theories of those who assign the books to the post-Exilian period. Moreover, this attempt is the result of action on the part of a class: it manufactures a course of history in which to set its manufactured laws. It does not simply represent Moses as giving a hortatory and

rhetoical version of a law which is honestly accepted as coming from him, and is known for substance to be on record in ancient documents and usages. It does not simply represent Moses as enforcing for the present generation the moral and religious truth which was actually believed to have come from him. It largely hypothecates an entire system of laws, and also a course of history, within the details of which it arbitrarily disposes these laws.

In the view of such a theory as the foregoing, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to regard the so-called Mosaic Torah in its completeness as being in any sense of divine nature and origin. It is difficult, that is, not to deny *in toto* both its own claims and those made for it by Christ and the apostles. For the ethical and religious claims of the Mosaic Torah seem, within certain limits, to involve a different view of its nature and origin. It is, indeed, also difficult to say at precisely what point, if any, the critical and historical questions of the manner of its origin become inextricably involved with the ethical and religious questions of its revelation and inspiration. Again we aver that we do not admit the claim so persistently made by Kuenen; viz., that his own critical opinions as to the date of the Mosaic writings are irreconcilable with the supernaturalistic view of the origin and nature of the Mosaic Torah. Again, however, do we also aver the very plain fact, that the reconciliation of these opinions with the supernaturalistic view seems especially difficult.

We have a right, then, to demand of critical and historical research some very plain evidences for the validity of critical opinions which it is so difficult to reconcile with an important dogmatic view, received in part on the testimony of Christ and the apostles. To demand this is simply to ask for evidence which in quality and amount is competent to serve as a proper basis for the opinion which is demanded of us. The opinion that the legal contents and writings of the Middle Books of the Pentateuch are largely the result of pious fraud in the post-Exilian era has no such evidence to offer. We have not found proof that the claims involved in the *quasi*-historical statement, "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying," were largely made with the knowledge that the statement is a mistaken one.

But, on the other hand, it cannot be admitted that the claims made for the writings of the Torah are all historically and critically accurate: it cannot be admitted that the later writers

stated an historical truth whenever they represented a particular section of this Torah as revealed at a given time, and under given circumstances, to the person Moses. In proof of any such statement they could have had only such evidence, satisfactory to themselves, as belonged to their times and circumstances. It does not follow that the same evidence would justify us in making the same statement. Precisely what the evidence was in each particular case, we shall never know; for to know this evidence we must be able to reconstruct the history of Israel in all its details precisely as it occurred. But to reconstruct the history in its details, we should require far more of contemporaneous records than these historians themselves ever possessed. We can, however, in some general and indefinite way form a very probable opinion as to what was the state of the case. The opinion which seems to us most probable is that which has already been given in considering the Mosaic Torah, and the Hebrew legal writings which contain it, as a composite historic growth.

Let us, then, suppose one of these later workmen upon the legal writings of Mosaism to be engaged in his work. He receives these writings as they have been left by earlier workmen. His written sources consist, then, of larger and smaller documents, for the most part legal, but also in part historical. In addition to such written records of the past, he finds certain legal customs, enactments, and institutions, which represent in concrete form the Torah of his own day. To him the whole of this material constitutes the one law, — the Torah called by the name of Moses, and perpetually regarded by the nation as revealed by God to the one great lawgiver among their ancestors. So truly did this Torah become, in the mind of the pious Hebrew, the universal solvent of all customs, institutions, and enactments, that each custom, institution, and enactment is scarcely established by one generation before it is regarded by the next as part of the one Law of Moses. The Torah is a living and organic whole: it grows by assimilation of all the elements upon which it can lay hold. The Torah is a perpetual voice from God, — sounding to the nation from antiquity in the name of his servant Moses, and gathering to itself all the separate voices which speak from the succeeding centuries. But the scribe of the Torah must receive the Torah as he finds it, — one law in several members. It is his work, in part, to give it more of that express organic unity which he, in common with

all the others, regards as really belonging to it. And as the law grows, the book of the law, following not far behind, grows also. In addition to the more distinctively legal records of the previous national life, there are those which are more distinctively historical; the latter records are also the inheritance and possession of the scribe of the Torah. Such records are, to a large extent, the history of how Jehovah dealt with his people in founding and executing the Torah. But the two convictions—viz., that the law is one and of Mosaic origin, and that the history of Israel is a narrative of the dealings of Jehovah with Israel on the basis of a law which is a covenant—cannot remain apart. The very process of unifying leads to the presentation of the Mosaic Torah in those historical relations in the midst of which it was supposed to have been enacted. And doubtless the more definite fixing of such historical relations was itself, like the law and its record, and like the history and its record, a matter of growth. Some of these relations might be fixed on the authority of ancient written sources, others on the authority of concurrent or undisputed traditions, still others by the conjecture of the writer himself.

In some such way as the foregoing does historical and critical research seem to compel us to picture to ourselves the process in which the writings of the Pentateuch combined their ethical and religious doctrine of the nature and origin of the Mosaic Law with incorrect historical opinions as to the times and circumstances of its separate enactments. The validity of the ethical and religious doctrine, in that understanding of it which we have already defended as the teaching of Christ and the apostles, we find no reason in historical and critical research to retract: the historical opinions touching the times and circumstances, we must modify according to the evidence furnished by such research.

With the exceptions and limitations which have been made either in this chapter or in preceding chapters, we can assert that the claims of the Bible to historical veracity are fully maintained by a scientific treatment of its historical contents.

Besides the more purely historical claims, those that concern the authorship of the books are the claims with respect to which the biblical writers receive most important corrections from modern critical researches. The claim to historical and critical knowledge concerning the date and authorship of ancient writings nowhere appears in Sacred Scripture. Many of its most

important books are left entirely without any claim, direct or indirect, concerning either their date or their authorship. In other cases, however, an ancient writing is assigned to some ancient author on the authority of a later writer. This appears to be the case with those portions of the Pentateuch, the writing of which is ascribed to the hand of Moses. In all such cases the general rule seems to hold true: The testimony of the later biblical writer as to the authorship of an earlier writing is to be taken for what it appears to be worth when examined in the light of critical and historical research. It never appears that the means by which any later writer assumed to know the truth concerning the authorship of an earlier writing were extraordinary, not to say supernatural. Ancient superscriptions, common report, or conjecture, furnished means which were deemed abundant. The modification or correction of such an indirect claim of the Bible by the doubts or discoveries of modern criticism does not affect any of its more direct and important claims.

Decidedly more serious, however, is the case of those doubtful claims to a particular authorship which are either implied or expressed within the contents of a writing, and which belong to the author himself. But serious as such a case may appear to be, we cannot *a priori* affirm that no pseudonymous writing exists in the Canon of either the Old or the New Testament. On the contrary, we have already had our attention called to a very few instances of this kind. The fact that such instances are so rare, when considered in connection with the fact that the Bible is generally so sparing of all kinds of claims, accords with our favorable view of the complete honesty of its books. We have already seen how the writer of Deuteronomy wished to be understood in making Moses speak to the people, and how substantially true was his claim that Moses did speak to them in the words of the later writer. We have also seen that the most important case of alleged pseudonymous writing — viz., the Fourth Gospel — can successfully vindicate its claim to be the work of the Apostle John. For certain other books of the New Testament, and notably for Second Peter, Jude, James, Second and Third John, by no means so clear a case can be made out. Nor can we deny that difficulties encompass the acceptance of the claims, with respect to their own authorship, which are made within the Pastoral Epistles. In the case of Daniel, the decision of criticism is decidedly adverse to its claims. But all these cases, in which a fair consideration of the evidence

of criticism and history demands either a suspension of judgment or a decision adverse to the claims, do not necessitate a change in our inductive theory of Sacred Scripture. We cannot deny that ethical and religious truth may be revealed, in certain times and circumstances, through pseudonymous literature. The biblical writers in general attribute the biblical writings to their alleged authors in genuine good faith; but criticism, on the ground of new and different evidence, may either accept or reject the ancient opinions. The opinions themselves are not such that revelation and inspiration can be claimed for them: they are not put forth in connection with such a claim.

But, after making the foregoing exceptions, which are applicable to certain implicit and unessential claims of Sacred Scripture touching its own nature and origin, we may rely with all the more confidence upon its other more express and essential claims. Of such essential claims, every one is either left untouched, or else greatly strengthened, by all legitimate critical and historical research. The conclusions arrived at in the separate chapters of the second division of our work confirm the claims which were summarized in the last paragraphs of the preceding division. For the detailed proof of this important assertion, each of these chapters has already made its own response. But a brief exhibit of the nature and extent of the proof is in place at this point.

That all the essential claims (both direct and indirect) of the biblical books, to give the means for a substantially true and sufficiently accurate history of the kingdom of redemption in Jesus Christ, are verified by historical and critical research, we confidently affirm. The amount of accuracy which is necessary to substantial truth, the amount of inaccuracy and even of unhistorical matter in the form of historical narrative which is compatible with such truth, cannot be determined *a priori*. We make the above statement, however, on the basis of an examination of all the important facts concerned. The Bible undoubtedly claims to be a record of the historic process of divine self-revelation: it cannot, therefore, make good one of its most essential claims without being essentially historical. And yet we do not simply assert that it *must be* substantially true history: we say, on the basis of careful researches, that it *is* so. But we can neither say that it *must be*, nor that it actually *is*, a record perfectly accurate and free from all elements

of uncertain tradition, partial and faulty information, mistaken apprehension of historical facts, or even cases of conjectural and idealized narratives of alleged facts. To what extent any such elements have entered into it, and either mar or vitiate its perfect historical accuracy, we can only pronounce as the result of historical and critical research. As one most important result of such research, we are able to maintain that these elements have not entered into Sacred Scripture to such an extent as to refute its more direct and important claims.

Both the claims and the phenomena of the Bible, when considered in their widest extent and most important relations, enable us, therefore, to make the following statement as to what the Bible really is. The Bible is the record, substantially true and sufficiently accurate, of the history of that process of divine self-revelation and redemption which culminates in Jesus Christ. This record is made up from sources which are so ancient, and so well preserved and faithfully handled, as to give us a substantially true knowledge of the origins as well as progress of this process. Both as to the origins of the preparatory process in Jewish history, and as to the origins of the process of fulfilment in Christ, we have substantially true knowledge. The clearness and extent of our knowledge in the two grand stages of this process are, however, very different; and the superiority of clear and accurate knowledge is precisely where we most need it,—that is, with the later stage.

Do such affirmations as the foregoing seem of little importance to any mind that at all appreciates the long and difficult course of examination which is indispensable in order intelligently and confidently to make them? Do the claims of the Bible as to its own history, when thus explained and re-affirmed, seem of relatively little importance? Does it appear quite unworthy of so much effort at thorough and candid research, to be able to affirm only this? Let him who is inclined to answer these questions by a speedy and unqualified "Yes," pause long, and weigh well his one word of answer. Let him rather conclude, that, if the Bible could substantiate only this claim, it would be incomparably the grandest and most important collection of books. Nay, more: this claim is precisely the most important of all the claims which can possibly be made and substantiated for the biblical books. Nothing else is so important for the perpetuation and future growth of the kingdom of redemption as a substantially true record of the process of its founding and early

growth. For this kingdom is essentially and pre-eminently an historic affair. It is not a bundle of speculative ideas; it is not a growth of ideal origin and nature. It is emphatically a series of stupendous and correlated facts. No discourses of Jesus himself, no explanations or exhortations (in themselves considered) of the Apostle Paul, no profound and mystical contents of Johannean faith, are so important as the facts which underlie them all. Jesus Christ is an historical verity: the facts of his presence, his life, his death, are the matters of primary concernment and peerless value. His relations with Old-Testament religion, its history, its predictions, its ethico-religious truths, are historical facts. And this Old-Testament religion, with which he places himself in such relations, is pre-eminently an historical affair. However misty are its historical origins, however doubtful are the precise arrangements which we must make of many of its principal facts, the religion, in all that circuit of truth within which these relations of Jesus are comprised, is an historical fact. If, then, we know the most central and important facts on the authentic record of the Bible, and on that alone, the value of the book to us as a simple record can only be measured by the magnitude of the facts.

Let us consider briefly the question: What could be the conceivable nature of revealed religion, without a record of facts? The briefest consideration convinces us, that either the whole nature of revelation must be essentially changed, or else a record of its historic process must somehow be preserved. To be sure, the fact of ultimate and supreme importance is the fact of revelation itself. But the very nature of revelation, if it is to take the form of an historic process, is such as to demand a record of that process. The foundations of Christianity are historically laid; they are laid in such manner that its origin could not have been secured without centuries of previous history which had somehow preserved itself in records of the past. For us, Christianity must ever remain largely a matter of recorded history. The record, we say yet again, is to have its value, as a simple record, measured by the magnitude of the facts which it records. Moreover, between the record of the religion in its founding, and the religion as a life, there exist many important relations, to which we shall recur more in detail in other connections.

But this one important result of an induction which has taken into account both the historical claims and the historical

contents of Sacred Scripture must be supplemented by still other results.

The Bible claims to be somewhat more than a history of the process of divine self-revelation and redemption: it makes certain very direct and important claims concerning its ethico-religious truths. These claims are, indeed, most intimately connected with the foregoing. The most fundamental of its ethico-religious truths are given to the world as they are embodied in facts of history. But the claims authoritatively to bring before men such ethico-religious truths extend far beyond the simple claim to contain a true history of the process of revelation and redemption. There are many claims in Sacred Scripture to bring before men the truths of revelation; e.g., in prophecy with its element of prediction, in law with its ideal contents of absolute righteousness, in the more purely doctrinal and more nearly speculative portions, in practical exhortations, rebukes, encouragements, and manifold means of chastening and building up the religious life, in various appeals to the experiences of that life. Such claims, in the sense and with the limitations to which abundant reference has already been made, are all verified by the phenomena of the Bible, even as seen under the light of the most penetrating historical and critical research. Both the claims and the contents agree in their testimony that the Bible contains elements of ethical and religious truth which have been revealed to inspired minds; and which, when interpreted in the due order of revelation and of their relations to the most central truth, both constitute, and are comprised in, the historic process of divine self-revelation. In other words, the Bible both claims to be, and really is, not simply a record of divine revelation and redemption in its historical elements, but also a vehicle which conserves and conveys to men many different divine words, or communications of truth divinely revealed. And if we conceive of all these separate words, or communications of truth, as in some sort unified about the central truth, and therefore as capable of being called by a common title, then we may say that the Bible claims to contain, and actually does contain, the veritable Word of God.

The more complete statement and discussion of the doctrine of the Sacred Scriptures as containing the Word of God, and the more detailed consideration of the relations in which it thus stands to the Christian consciousness and to the whole system

of Christian truth, will occupy us farther on. But a certain doctrine of the Bible, as containing the Word of God, may be said to have been already inductively established by the agreement of its claims with its phenomena.

It has already been proved that the one claim of the teachers and writers of the Bible, which is most generally applicable to its writings, is a claim that arises from the nature of its contents. More particularly, this claim is the claim that certain contents of the Bible are eternal truths of religion, which were received by revelation through inspired minds. The claim applies to certain contents of Mosaism and Prophetism, and especially to those contents of Christian truth which apostles and apostolic men claimed to receive by revelation and inspiration from God. In the wider meaning of the term, these contents are all *ethico-religious*: they are such, not as separated from the other classes of contents, but rather as pervading the other contents, and as being embodied in them. Similar claims are enforced by the teaching both of prophets and apostles; they are authenticated absolutely by the word of Christ himself. They are, moreover, either verified or left untouched by all merely critical and historical researches. Whether such contents be given in the particular form of law, prophecy, miracle, doctrine, exhortation, or expression of experience, they in each form bear the marks of their origin through revelation given to inspired minds.

But even the ethico-religious contents are neither all alike important, nor all alike verifiable and unmixed with erroneous formal and material elements. They do not, however, claim to be what they are not. Indeed, taking the Bible in its largest circuit, it is itself our best guide in distinguishing what Christ has bidden us to distinguish; viz., in distinguishing between the absolute and permanent, and the fallible and changeable. The total record of Sacred Scripture is designed to furnish us with the means of seeing how the shadowy half-truth gave way to more exact and eternal truth; the typical, to its realization, the imperfect and transitory, to its complete fulfilment in Christ. Such is, in part, the truth which underlies the declaration (often perverted) that the Bible is its own interpreter. Each separate part of the process of divine self-revelation must be considered in its relations to the whole. And the necessity of discriminating is even more imperative with respect to the ethico-religious contents of the Bible than with respect to its

history. Each stage in the process must be considered in the light of the final result. The demand that the critic shall thus consider the alleged elements of revealed ethical and religious truth is not a demand simply for respect and reverence: it is also a demand for fairness, intelligence, and insight. When thus fairly and intelligently considered in its relations to the entire process, and in the light of its final purpose, the true nature of each moment or increment of truth (so to speak) is most clearly apparent. Each one partakes of two sets of characteristics, which may be called the absolute or perfect, and the relative or imperfect; each one partakes both of the natural and human, and also of the supernatural and divine. The means of testing the characteristics, and so of distinguishing the divine from the human, are generously furnished, however, by the Bible itself. When considered in its complete compass, Sacred Scripture corrects its own errors in ethical and religious matters, supplements its own deficiencies, and warns and guards against its own mistakes.

The truth of the foregoing statements might be illustrated by an examination of all those portions of Sacred Scripture by which its ethical and religious verities are conveyed to the mind. Such verities are conveyed by the biblical form of the cosmogony, and by the biblical view of the origin and nature of the human race. The very progress of revelation throws off some of the formal errors which belonged to the earlier statement of the verities: others of them it is left for modern science, centuries after the biblical books were finished, to discover and correct. But the essential truths concerning the relations of man to nature, of man and nature to the supernatural, and of the origin of both man and nature, remain the same throughout all time. These truths are truths of revelation: they are truths which man knows only as they are made known to him by God. They are also pre-eminently truths of *biblical* revelation; because in the Bible alone do we find them in their purity, at so remote an antiquity, and in true relations to human history and to the other contents of revelation. Moreover, the germinal truths of a divine covenant for the redemption of man are given by revelation as lodged within certain half-truths or mistakes concerning the phenomena and second causes of nature. But it is not concerning the phenomena and the second causes of nature that the Bible is chiefly interested or fitted to teach.

In like manner does the process of revelation, as recorded in the Bible, correct and clarify the biblical conceptions and statements as to miracles and prophecy. The biblical conceptions of the miracle and of prophecy come to their highest and absolute form in the teaching of the New Testament, as that teaching is concentrated in the words and work of Jesus Christ. It does not follow, however, that relatively imperfect conceptions and faulty records may not have their necessary place in the entire course of divine self-revelation. And, in the case of both miracle and prophecy, we behold in the record of revelation a nearer and yet nearer approach to the perfect conception. The merely physical excitement and excesses, the swarming in schools under a common and lower impulse, which characterized prophecy in its earlier stages, become in the later stages of relatively little account. The tendency to look upon the miracle as a mere wonder gives place to the feeling which regards it as the natural characteristic (so to speak) of Him who is the ideal of God's servant, to do all works of grace upon the bodies and souls of men. But as long as man remains both body and soul, and as long as nature and God stand in the relations which necessarily belong to them, the permanent and essential elements of such biblical conceptions will remain unchanged. It is especially true of prediction, that each separate element must be considered in its relations to the whole process of revelation, and in the light of its final result. If we could properly consider the biblical predictions as isolated attempts to foretell precisely what will in the future take place, we should be compelled to pronounce many of them quite false and misleading. But looked at in the light of the divine intent, as shown by that which is their real fulfilment, they may confidently be affirmed to have had their origin in the Spirit of all revelation, who forms the anticipatory ideas and typical judgments of prophecy within the hearts and minds which he inspires.

That the Bible is, and does, what has been briefly described above, is precisely that which the biblical claims may be summed up as affirming. This is also precisely that which the phenomena of the Bible confirm. Both claims and phenomena accord in the conclusion that the writings of the Old and New Testaments contain the record of those words of the Lord to Israel and to the early Christian Church, which were revealed to his inspired servants, and which, when considered in the unity that they

attain by their relations to one another and to their central truth, constitute *the Word of God* in redemption to the entire race of men.

Furthermore, the loftiest and most convincing claim which the biblical writings can possibly make arises out of the relations in which some of them stand to the person and work of Christ. The Bible, then, is not simply the history of that process of founding the divine kingdom of redemption which culminated in Christ; it is not simply the record of those communications of revealed moral and religious truths which, taken together, constitute a word of God to men: but it is pre-eminently the book which brings before us the true picture of the person and work of Christ. In this statement we reach the very kernel of its ethico-religious claims. This one pre-eminent claim is, indeed, virtually included in the two preceding claims; and yet it needs separate recognition and statement on account of its surpassing import. So far as the doctrine of the person and work of Christ is lodged in the historical records of his life, the Bible brings this doctrine to us under the essential conditions which belong to the formation and transmission of historical records. So far as the doctrine is a result of the revelations made to inspired apostles and other early disciples, it is subject to the conditions which belong to all such revelations. But inasmuch as this doctrine is the peculiar possession of the biblical writings, and is recognized as the very heart of all its history and of all its revealed truths, it is most wonderfully and effectively guaranteed and guarded by all the biblical phenomena and all the biblical claims. By every critical token of true history, we know the history of Christ in the New Testament to be substantially true. By every token of revelation, we know the essential truths concerning his person and work to be truths of revelation. So far as the truths concerning Christ have been given in Old-Testament prediction, we distinguish between their formal and imperfect elements and the absolute truths which these elements envelop and contain. We even mark a progress of the truths revealed to the writers of the New Testament regarding the essential nature of his person and work. But with regard to the doctrine of that person and work, the most searching criticism of the New-Testament writings reveals no essential variation from one and the same pattern of truths. The true norm and fruitful germ of this doctrine are unmistakably furnished by the word of Christ him-

self. From this personal word of Christ concerning the person of Christ, we find in the writings of the New Testament no important departure. It is this doctrine of himself as the Christ, which Christ taught his apostles in his personal work with them, and into the fulness of which he promised that his Spirit should lead them after his death. By his teaching and by his promises, by the essential agreement of his inspired apostles with all other disciples, by the concord of the history with the doctrine,—in brief, by all the claims and all the phenomena which are concerned in the case,—we know that we have in Sacred Scripture the very word of God regarding the person and work of Jesus Christ. For this reason pre-eminently do we speak of the Bible as sacred and inspired.

Moreover, in this case the more objective tests and proofs of verity are supplemented and confirmed by the more subjective. For the truths of revelation, and pre-eminently the true doctrine of the person and work of Jesus Christ, appeal to a certain phase, or condition, of the consciousness of man. This phase is the so-called religious consciousness: pre-eminently it is the so-called Christian consciousness. Just as the historic and critical sense, and the researches of those who have this sense, tests and approves, or corrects, the historical claims and contents of the biblical writings, so does the religious and especially the Christian consciousness test and approve the ethico-religious contents and claims of the same writings. That this consciousness in certain cases, especially of the Old Testament, corrects the biblical claims, is precisely what it is empowered to do by the same Spirit who communicates all the ethico-religious truths of revelation. That in the case of the New Testament, and especially in respect to the doctrine of the person and work of Christ which is there taught, it only approves the biblical claims,—this is both a proof and a result of the identity of the Spirit in the Christian's soul and the Spirit in the book. But upon this point we must not further anticipate conclusions subsequently to be made.

Can it be that any reader is inclined to complain of the meagre and unsatisfactory nature of those conclusions which have been reached by an examination of the biblical claims and the biblical phenomena? Let such an one reflect upon the shallow ingratitude, and sad lack of confidence in the divine wisdom, which would characterize such a complaint. He has in the Bible a substantially true and sufficiently accurate history of the

kingdom of redemption on earth; he has a record of the truths of a divine process of revelation, so complete and united as to constitute an organic word of God to man; he has the true doctrine of the person and work of the Redeemer Jesus Christ, — he has all this, and yet complains that he has not enough. Without doubt, the foolishness of God in providing *only this* is as far above all human thoughts touching what God ought to have done as the highest heaven is above the earth.

Certain more remote inferences as to the characteristics of the Bible are also warranted upon the basis laid in the agreement of its claims with its phenomena. We may derive from the previous exegetical and critical examination certain rudiments, at least, of an inductive theory of the unity, the infallibility, and the inspiration, of Sacred Scripture.

What, then, is the view warranted by the previous induction concerning the unity of Sacred Scripture? The answer to this inquiry may be made both negatively and affirmatively. That this unity is not one of date, language, authorship, or specific contents, there is no need to say. Judged both by the claims of the Bible and by the tests of critical and historical science, all the contents of Sacred Scripture are not alike excellent and unimpeachable, or alike intimately related to revelation and inspiration. The various divisions of the gross contents of the Bible which may be made and justified also clearly exhibit certain particulars in which its unity cannot consist. The grand division of the biblical writings into the Old and New Testaments corresponds to a great number of facts; and these facts include not only differences of language, date, and authorship, but also differences of relation and grades of importance in the contents themselves. The New Testament, when compared with the Old, shows in respect to every class of contents perhaps as many points of unlikeness as of likeness. Its history is, on the whole, more clear and authentic; its prophecy is of a more subdued type, its miracles are far less affected with any of the characteristics which belong to ordinary prodigies; its ethical and religious contents are of a higher and pre-eminent kind. Moreover, its doctrine of the person and work of Jesus Christ differences it from the Hebrew writings as substance from shadow, or as an ideal realizing of the highest type from more or less crude and imperfect preparatory types.

Within the Old Testament, moreover, we may break up whatever unity its writings possess into the three main divisions

of Mosaism, Prophetism, and the Hokhmah. These three divisions we find making different claims, standing in different relations to the New Testament, and exhibiting quite diverse phenomena. We find, besides, in the Old Testament, writings historical, prophetic, and more distinctively ethical and religious: we even find some writings which appear to have small claim to any place in Sacred Scripture on account either of their sacred history, their prophecy, or their ethical and religious truth. And when we consider the different ways of dividing the writings, as indicating the general estimate which must be put upon their place in the sacred records, and upon their uses for the larger purposes of Sacred Scripture, we are obliged to make other very plain distinctions in the apparent unity of the Bible. The Prophecy, with its ethical and predictive elements; the Law, with its pedagogic uses and anticipatory cultus, the Psalms, with their relations to religious experience and religious growth,—these are the chief parts of the Old-Testament Scriptures. With the exception of the Psalter, the writings of the Hokhmah are only somewhat remotely connected with the true centre of the Hebrew sacred writings: the claims of the Hokhmah are little dwelt upon in either Old Testament or New.

The writings of the New Testament, both with respect to those more external characteristics which criticism can discover and appreciate, and also with respect to the more interior characteristics of an ethical and religious kind, are a unity in a stricter sense than those of the Old Testament. The history of their origin, with its more definite limitations of time and circumstances and classes of authors, reveals many of the causes of this unity. They were nearly all written within the same half-century, in the same characteristic form of the Greek language, and under the impressions of essentially the same characteristic ideas. Yet even in the New Testament we find several types of Christian truths, several views of Christ's person and work; and we also find a progress of thought which evinces the results of the reflection of various minds upon the same circle of facts and truths. It cannot be denied that there are some particulars in respect to which we can assert a correspondence with the essential unity of the New Testament only after we have understood them somewhat differently from the way in which they were understood by the writers themselves. Nor is the division which we might introduce into this unity, by speaking of the body of Gospels and the body of Epistles,

entirely without significance for our present purpose. This division introduces the distinction between facts, which are capable of different degrees of importance and of historic credibility, and teachings which are given upon the basis of the facts, but with different degrees of intimacy in relation to the principal facts and with varying degrees of authority. And yet such a distinction cannot be strictly carried out in the New-Testament writings; for the histories show abundant results of reflection on the part of their writers, and the Epistles assume a certain history as the motive for their exhortation, warning, instruction, and advice. Whether, then, we consider the subject from the critical point of view, or from that furnished by the Christian consciousness, it is an undoubted fact that the New Testament is a unity of a decidedly higher and stricter order than the Old. Were we to sum up the difference between the two in a word, we might say: The Old Testament is a *providential* unity, but the unity of the New Testament is *theopneustic* in the stricter sense.

But all the forms and degrees of diversity which a critical examination shows to be actually present in the Bible do not prevent a certain unity of Sacred Scripture. Indeed, it may be said, that, the higher and more strictly organic the unity, the greater the diversity of elements and energies which enter into that unity. We cannot, however, hold any view of the unity of Sacred Scripture which does not permit us to assign each part of the whole to that position in which the examination shows it to belong. We cannot justify any conception of an organic unity of Sacred Scripture which abrogates a single one of the important distinctions already established by historical, critical, and exegetical science. Such science shows that the different parts of the Bible are not of like quality and value, whether for the constructing of the history of revelation, or for the establishing of doctrine, or for the building-up of the religious life.

Nevertheless, both the claims and the phenomena of the Bible authenticate a certain doctrine of the unity of Sacred Scripture. A certain unity, that is to say, may be inductively established and defended by all the proofs appropriate to the subject. And to the proof of biblical science the proof of Church history and of Christian experience may be added. That the Church Catholic has in some sense agreed to regard the canonical writings as constituting a unity, is an undoubted fact of the history. That the impression of a certain unity in the biblical writings

is made upon the religious mind, is a matter of common religious experience. But, on the other hand, the history of the formation of the Canon, and of the use which the Church Catholic has made of the sacred writings, gives emphasis also to the fact of their diversity. Within the Canon of Sacred Scripture, a considerable number of writings stand only on the borderline: it is even doubtful whether certain writings would have been admitted into the Canon at all if mistaken views of their nature and origin had not prevailed when they were canonized. Still other writings stand within the Canon of a section of the Christian Church, while they are, by a purer and more defensible conception of Sacred Scripture, placed outside the Canon by another section of the Church. Moreover, common Christian experience emphasizes the differences as well as the unity of the biblical writings.

Still further must it be admitted, that, from the very nature of the case, no claims of the Bible itself can cover this subject of the unity of Sacred Scripture. For, as a total collection of books, the Bible makes no direct claims for itself. We are obliged, then, to resort to certain of the more indirect claims, and to certain valid inferences from those claims, in order to discover the nature of the unity of Sacred Scripture. For a description of the nature of this unity, the mention of the four following particulars will suffice.

The writings of the Bible have a certain unity which is due to the unity of revelation itself. The essential unity of revelation is an assumption of all faith, made on both philosophic and religious grounds. Inasmuch as God, the source of all revealed truth, is one and self-consistent, the various truths of his revealing must be portions of one self-consistent truth. That the Bible contains a body of facts and truths divinely communicated to men, and set in the various forms of history, law, prophecy, doctrine, and the expression of experience, we have ample reason to affirm. We have already reached the conclusion that this body of facts and truths constitutes so much of a unity of divine communications of truth as to enable us to affirm: The Bible brings to us the Word of God. It is from the unity of the revealed truth which it brings, that the Bible derives, at least in part, the unity of its various writings. One Spirit, the Spirit of revelation, moves through all those writings which convey the truths of revelation; the movement of the one Spirit articulates and organizes all the truths.

We notice, moreover, that the unifying effect of revelation upon Sacred Scripture is exercised in a twofold manner, according as its influence is more or less immediate. There are some writings, and portions of writings, which contain the truths of revelation in the strictest sense and in the most immediate form. Such are the writings which record and contain those original communications of the divine mind and purpose made to inspired men, which are truths of revelation in the strictest sense. But such truths, when once lodged in the minds of men, cannot subsequently lose their influence. Even after they have become truths of record and of common acceptance, they continue to shape the writings of contemporaneous and subsequent times. The revelations which the authors of other writings receive through truths previously revealed are more properly called secondary and mediate; perhaps, in the strictest and highest sense, they should not receive the name of revelations at all. Both original revelations and traditional revealed ideas have largely shaped the writings of Sacred Scripture throughout. In the Old Testament, many of those parts which are in their characteristics most remote from the truths and ideas of original revelation have received an indirect impress from them. Even Proverbs and the most untheocratic portions of the historical writings have been indirectly reached and shaped by truths and ideas of revelation. Indeed, we can speak of only a few portions of the canonical Hebrew writings which exhibit no valid tokens of such influence. In the New Testament we find the plain marks of revelation and its influences, either immediate or mediate, from first to last. With but few exceptions, then, we can say that the biblical writings have a certain unity that is due to the unity of the revelation which has, either immediately or mediately, pervaded and shaped them throughout.

The writings of the Bible have also a certain unity which is due to the unity of the Divine Spirit as a co-ordinating force in history. In other words, Providence has, by directing and combining the forces and materials of the history of Israel and of the Christian Church, secured a certain unity to these Sacred Scriptures. Such a statement is a legitimate inference from some of the most indubitable and important claims of the Old Testament, it is also virtually involved in the promises made by Christ to his apostles. But the same statement can be enforced in detail by reference to all the various orders of the

biblical phenomena. All the phenomena of the biblical writings exhibit the historical connections of one writing with another, and of each portion of each writing with a certain historical unity. The Pentateuch is an historical unity because it is an historical growth; it is a single result because the separate parts were subjected to the conditions of several centuries of history as all those conditions are secured and controlled by God in history. By historical forces working together to accomplish a plan, and therefore working in a superior kind of unity, this literary growth attained its present unity. The whole historical process has itself been unified by the divine idea, which has given it a final purpose, this process has unified the writings which have resulted from the process. The same unifying force is apparent, although in less degree, in other writings of the Old Testament. Each one of these writings is, in some large measure, not simply the product of one author, but the child of history. Each individual historian entered into an inheritance of previous records, each prophet, as a writer of prophecy, stood in historical connections with the previous works of his class. The unity of the history of Israel, regarded as the result of a divine co-ordinating force, gave a certain unity to the writings which sprung up under the conditions of that history. In the case of the New Testament, all the writings may be regarded as one jet or outburst of certain forces in history that were manifestly made to co-operate according to a divine plan.

But the unity of Sacred Scripture which is secured by God in history has yet other relations of more extended import. Great ideas, impressions, and doctrines, concerning man, God, and the kingdom of God, were transmitted from generation to generation, and are seen growing along various historic lines. To assert this is but to recur again to the great truth that the divine self-revelation is given to man in an historical process. What takes place in the literature of every nation took place pre-eminently in that of Israel. The literature underwent a certain course of historical development which secured a certain unity to all the portions of the literature. What takes place in any great epoch of surprising and sudden literary development took place pre-eminently in the case of the New-Testament literature. Great forces of history combined with the opportunities offered by suitable individuals to produce a sudden and matchless literary result. And, on the level of the lowest

considerations, whoever sees anywhere the unity of the divine will carrying out a divine idea in the history of literature, should certainly see pre-eminent proofs of this unity in the literature of Israel and of the Christian Church. But even in this one respect, the biblical literature is quite peculiar. For there is abundant proof that many of the writers wrought with more or less self-consciousness and intelligent conception of their part in a common work, and that the later writers looked upon the previous writings as constituting a peculiar kind of unity. Moreover, the fact that the historical and literary unity is itself due to a higher ethical and religious unity, can scarcely be too much emphasized.

The unity of the writings of the Bible is further due to the unity of the Divine Spirit, providentially securing and guiding the formation of the Canon of Sacred Scripture. As co-operating with this providential impulse and guidance, we must also admit a work of the Divine Spirit in the consciousness of the entire community of believers. The inspiration of the community of believers is, whatever form it may take, to be ascribed to one and the same Spirit. The same spiritual influence which impels to the production of Sacred Scripture also impels to its collection and preservation. But the same imperfections and limitations may surround and envelop the divine elements in either case. The spiritual illumining which results in the production of sacred writings by certain members of the entire community, results in their approbation, preservation, and appropriate estimate by other members of the same community. In neither case is the process once for all guaranteed, or placed beyond the power of subsequent investigators to detect its imperfections and apparent failures. We have already seen that the history of the Canon shows tokens of an illumining spirit and a guiding hand. We cannot affirm *a priori* that Providence will prevent all misjudgment and error with respect to the testing and collecting of sacred writings by the Church. But we can affirm: The more thorough our researches, the more convinced do we become, that, with few if any exceptions, the Church has been guided aright in the formation of the Canon. The work of the spiritually illumined consciousness of the community of believers, in selecting and segregating a certain number of writings to be formed into a canonical whole, has imparted a certain unity to that whole. How important this fact has been in determining the nature and origin of

Sacred Scripture, it does not require deep reflection to perceive. Many as are the difficulties now encountered in forming a tenable theory of Sacred Scripture, how greatly would they have been increased if the selective process had been much less discriminating than it really was! As the case now stands, it is much embarrassed by the attempt to enclose within the Canon of the Old Testament those apocryphal writings which only a part of the Christian Church receives. But if the limits of New-Testament Scripture had in fact been so loosely fixed as to include, not only the so-called Antilegomena, but also that swarm of apocryphal Christian writings which is now lost, how insecure would have been the historical foundations of Christianity, how vague and unauthoritative its system of doctrinal truth!

But, once more, a certain pre-eminent unity is given to some of the biblical writings by the unity of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ. The history of the Old Testament may be regarded as the history of that preparation in Israel which God secured for the coming of Christ. Its law may be regarded as pedagogic for his coming, and as containing certain elements of ethical and religious truth which were anticipatory of the truth of Christ. Its prediction is distinguished from all mere prognostication, whether amongst the Jews themselves or in heathen antiquity, by being typically Messianic, in the largest sense of these words. The history, law, and prediction of the Old Testament are, therefore, capable of being regarded as a peculiar kind of unity, in that they all are so largely filled with one divine idea, and swayed, as it were, with one divine purpose. But this very bond which unites so many of the principal elements of the Old Testament into a peculiar kind of unity is, of course, the same as that which unites the same elements of the Old Testament with the entire body of the truth in the New. In a looser sense, and yet in a sense important and significant, we can say that the biblical writings are, like the Christian Church, made one in Jesus Christ.

The unity of the Divine Spirit in revelation, the unity of the same Spirit as a co-ordinating force in history, the unity of the Spirit as Providence securing the formation of the Canon, the unity of the truth as it is in Christ, — these forms of an organizing and unifying energy are manifest in Sacred Scripture. From them the Bible derives its peculiar kind of unity. And to say that such unity cannot co-exist with all those diver-

sities which historical and critical research points out in the Bible, is to sacrifice the verities both of faith and of science to a worthless *a priori* assumption.

What, moreover, is the view warranted by the previous induction concerning the infallibility of Sacred Scripture? The more important part of the answer to this question can be given in full only after an examination of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, as giving the rule of faith and of life; and this examination belongs to another part of our work. A certain view, however, is both suggested and in part proved, as one result of the previous induction. This view, like that which we have set forth as to the unity of the Bible, involves both negative and positive considerations.

The word "infallibility," as applied to the biblical writings, is so indefinite, misleading, and provocative of irrational and fruitless debate, that it would be well if it could be banished from the literature of the subject. Especially out of place is this word in the attempt to establish an inductive theory of Sacred Scripture. The theory of the infallibility of the biblical writings, in the sense that these writings, being throughout co-extensive with the word of God, cannot err, — the doctrine that the Bible has the quality *non posse peccare*, — can never be established by an induction. Such a theory is entirely out of the range of possible results of induction. For the most that any induction could possibly seem to establish would be the judgment: We find no error in the Bible. On the other hand, such a theory, as a pure assumption of faith, breaks down under the weight of a single opposing fact, once established by legitimate and trustworthy historical and critical science. But if the form of infallibility claimed for the Bible be modified so as to take the shape of the theory that it is conceivable, or possible, that its writings should contain no error at all, — *posse non peccare*, — its case is but little better. The abstract possibility of infallibility, considered as belonging to human writings, is indeed contrary to all human experience. An inductive theory of Sacred Scripture, if it raise the question of biblical infallibility at all, can do nothing more nor less than present the evidence from established facts. These established facts require the denial of all the ordinary theories of the infallibility of the Bible.

In the first place, our previous induction obliges us to affirm that the Bible is not infallible — in the sense of having either

the quality of *non posse peccare* or of *posse non peccare* — in the following respects. The biblical text is not infallible; Sacred Scripture is not given to us in the form of a perfect diplomatic certainty. That infallibility can be predicated of no one present form of the biblical text, is, of course, indisputable. But the best form of text at present attainable is the only text which can furnish any basis for a judgment as to what were the qualities of Sacred Scripture in its original texts. All that we know convinces us that neither the original writers themselves, nor the redactors and copyists of the original writings, intended to lodge any of the qualities of their gifts of revelation and inspiration in the mere letter of their text. God has not thought it wise to teach the world by the perpetual miracle of a race of infallible scribes: he has rather sent the scribes to the inferior positions in his great school. Nor is there proof, that could we attain the exact form of the original writings, and had they been transmitted in perfect diplomatic accuracy, we should be helped in any of our more serious difficulties with the Bible. Indeed, in the case of the Pentateuch, and to a certain extent of some other biblical writings, some of our difficulties arise from the very fact that one scribe after another has had so much to do, not only with fixing, but also with making the text.

Neither can we affirm with perfect confidence the infallibility of those conclusions, which, in their common effect, have resulted in fixing the Canon of Sacred Scripture. We can indeed affirm, as a matter of fact, that the Christian Church appears to have decided, within very narrow limits, precisely what books shall be considered as constituting her sacred writings. Narrow limits, however, yet remain, within which she is not wholly agreed as to her Canon of Sacred Scriptures. We believe that the final and unanimous judgment will exclude rather than include those apocryphal writings about which the two sections of tradition divide themselves. Nor is it certain that the Church will not revive in some form the distinction, which has, indeed, never been wholly lost, between *proto-canonical* and *deutero-canonical* writings; or between writings which are to be used as sources of doctrine, and others which are to be used as building up (or simply interesting) the ethical and religious life. At any rate, we cannot affirm the perfect infallibility of the judgment of the Church, without distinctions or limitations: therefore we cannot affirm the *a priori* assumption of an infallible Canon of Sacred Scripture.

Neither can we affirm the infallibility of the historical views and statements of the biblical writings, even when they concern the narratives of miracles, or of the miraculous life and resurrection of Christ. We cannot ascribe to the histories of the Bible the quality of either *non posse peccare*, or *posse non peccare*; or affirm that it is actually without any historical error or fault. The limits of the historical fallibility of the biblical writings cannot be definitely fixed by *a priori* assumptions: they must be determined by historical and critical research. There is, indeed, a certain centre of historical truth, which we might assume it would accord with the divine purpose in revelation to secure against such an amount of error as would vitiate this purpose; and, as a matter of fact, we find much more of trustworthy history within the Bible than barely enough to serve such a purpose.

Neither can we affirm that the scientific and literary form of the Bible is infallible; nor that its grammar, language, and style are without fault; nor that the logic of its argumentative passages is irreproachable, and its interpretation of its own earlier passages always defensible; nor that its selection and arrangement of material is in the best possible system; nor that its views of external nature, and of its own literature, are in all respects true to the facts as they are now known. With regard to all these matters of scientific and literary form, if we were entitled to make any *a priori* assumption at all, we should be warranted in assuming the probable fallibility, rather than infallibility, of Sacred Scripture.

Neither can we affirm, without making distinctions and limitations, the infallibility, both in form and contents, of all the ethical and religious teachings of Sacred Scripture. The relative imperfection and formal inferiority of the entire Old-Testament dispensation communicates itself to the writings in which the truths of this dispensation are scripturally fixed. The Old-Testament writings bear in many places the marks of the ethically imperfect conceptions which belonged to their authors; in all places they bear, to a greater or less extent, the marks of those historical limitations which belong to every stage of the divine process of self-revelation. In a certain few places, we cannot assert that the Scripture is free from even immoral feelings impressed upon it by the human character of its origin. But in the New Testament, as a matter of fact, — although we find stages of development in its ethical and religious truth, and

differences of impression as to the nature of such truth,—we find everywhere a remarkable elevation of moral and religious tone, a remarkable freedom from every form of ethical and religious error. Even in the New Testament, however, we cannot deny that there exist mistaken impressions in matters of ethical and religious kind; as, for example, in respect to the precise manner and time of the second coming of Christ. In general, it is true of the predictive elements of biblical prophecy, that they are ethical and religious in their characteristics, as distinguished from all mere prognostication and divination, and yet that they contain some erroneous impressions as to the precise time and manner in which the substance of truth predicted should reach its fulfilment. The word of the Lord in prophecy is unfailing; but the impressions of the prophet, and therefore the predictions of the prophet, are not in all respects infallible. Thus, also, may certain maxims and precepts for the conduct of the religious life be given as applications of unchanging principles of religious truth, and yet the form of the precepts and maxims may be affected by the false impression that the conditions of human society (considered as affecting the form) are themselves also unchanging. In all such cases, however, we must distinguish between false teaching of an ethical and religious kind, and the teaching of ethical and religious truth under forms that show elements of fallibility in the human judgment of the teacher.

In general,—with regard to ethical and religious truth, as with regard to all other kinds of truth,—we cannot make the *a priori* assumption that the biblical writings are infallible. We are, however, entitled to the presumption, that the record of revealed ethico-religious truth, if its purpose be the ethical and religious well-being of man, will be kept from such error of an ethical and religious kind as shall vitiate this purpose. Precisely how much of infallibility (if, indeed, we may speak of *degrees of infallibility*) is necessary to secure the purpose, we are not competent *a priori* to assume. As a matter of fact, however, the critical examination of the biblical writings shows that we must distinguish between the Old Testament and the New; and that in both Testaments we must distinguish between matters essential to faith and matters unessential, and, amongst the unessential, between matters important and matters unimportant. Both the power and the right to make such distinctions are lodged in the Christian consciousness, which is itself depend-

ent upon the facts and doctrines given to us in these same biblical writings. We have thus established, to be sure, a certain *circulus in arguendo*; but this *circulus* is only of such a nature as is involved in the verification of all ethical and religious truth, when considered both as a matter of objective revelation and of subjective susceptibility to the contents of revelation.

But in what positive sense, if at all, can we feel warranted in declaring the infallibility of the Bible? If by infallibility be meant an assumed or actual freedom from all admixture of error, we cannot affirm infallibility of any one of those classes of contents under which we have considered the subject-matter of the Bible, or of any one of its separate books or larger divisions of the contents. But if the question be raised: In what sense, and within what limits, do the biblical writings, when considered as a whole and in their right relations to their own central truth, afford an unfailing and essentially trustworthy source of knowledge upon the origins and history of revealed religion, and also an unfailing source of those truths of revealed religion which constitute the contents of faith? then the answer may be confidently given. The detailed answer to precisely this question will occupy the entire second volume; but certain items of the answer may fitly be indicated at this place, as agreeing with the results of the previous induction.

The Bible is the unfailing and sufficiently trustworthy source of the history of the divine work of redemption, both in the preparatory stage of the Old-Testament religion, and in the life, death, and resurrection of the Redeemer, and the founding of his Church.

The Bible is the unfailing source of those ethico-religious truths which were revealed by God to his inspired servants during the process of the biblical history, and which, taken together in their due relations to one another and to the central truth of revelation, constitute the Word of God to man.

The Bible is the unfailing—and when its facts are sifted by critical and historical research, and its truths are apprehended and developed in the Christian consciousness, it is the perfect and complete—source of the true doctrine of the person and work of Jesus Christ.

Finally, what is the view warranted by the previous induction concerning the inspiration of Sacred Scripture? To this third inquiry, the negative answer which is made necessary by the induction may be given in a single sentence: Neither the claims

nor the phenomena of the biblical writings permit us to regard them as all inspired to the same degree and in the same sense; or to regard any portion of them as written under any such divine impulse, or influence, as may not belong to other members of the community of believers in the same era, and to the authors of the writings themselves as speakers of the same truths which the Scripture records. In other words, while there are abundant claims and evidences of the inspiration of the biblical writings, in several meanings of the word *inspiration*, there is no claim and no evidence for any peculiar kind or degree of inspiration which is imparted to the authors simply *ad scribendum* or *in scribendo*. Every special form of inspiration assumed for the writings, as writings, must, then, be referred to the claims and the evidence for the inspiration possessed by the writers in their personal activities in behalf of the kingdom of God. With this statement, and whatever limitations are legitimately contained in the statement, once for all admitted, we may affirm the inspiration of the biblical writings in the following meanings of the term.

Certain portions of the biblical writings may be called inspired, because they contain in written form those ethico-religious ideas and truths which the Divine Spirit has revealed through the selected and inspired souls who were the authors of the writings. In all such cases we apply the term "inspiration" to both the author and his writing, because of an assumed or obvious connection between the two. The quality of the author's mind and heart determines the character of his writing. If the author be inspired, and express himself in writing upon the subjects to which his inspiration extends, the written form of his inspired thought and feeling may also be called inspired. If, on the other hand, the contents of any writing which is by an unknown author, when examined by the appropriate tests, appear to possess those qualities which we know in other cases to have resulted from an inspired mind, it may be assumed that such writing also is by an inspired mind: a writing by an unknown author may, therefore, be spoken of as inspired. Considerable portions of the Old and New Testaments make, in this form, a direct or an implied claim to inspiration: they claim to give in written form the ideas and truths of revelation which have come to mankind through the media of selected and inspired minds. Of such inspired writings, the prophetic and apostolic stand in the first rank. The genuine prophetic

and apostolic writings of the Bible claim to contain, scripturally fixed, certain ethico-religious ideas and truths which the Holy Spirit revealed to their authors. But inspiration is the inseparable accompaniment and correlate of revelation. Such writings, therefore, claim to be inspired. The word of God to Israel, when lodged — as it were — in sacred writings, imparts such a quality to those writings that they may fitly be called inspired. In contradiction of such a claim for these portions of the biblical writings, critical and historical research has nothing valid to urge. On the contrary, all research tends to confirm and illustrate the claim. Critical research does indeed disprove many of the claims which have been made for the historical and critical accuracy of the biblical writings; but such disproof does not also disprove the inspiration of the writings, until it is shown that historical and critical accuracy is an indispensable quality of inspired writings. The elements of error, however, may be most reasonably ascribed to the nature of the second causes through which the Spirit of revelation has accomplished his work. Certain elements of error have plainly been eliminated from the writings by the inspiration of their authors. Certain elements of imperfection and fault, belonging to other writings, have been excluded from the inspired. For inspiration has so operated as to make for itself, to a considerable extent, its own peculiar form. But the merely historical and human elements have not all been excluded by revelation and inspiration; neither have they all been so transformed and purified as to remove the limitations of human history and the imperfections of human nature.

The fact that biblical revelation is of the nature of an historical process compels us to use the terms of "revelation" and "inspiration," when applied to the writings of the Bible, in several somewhat different meanings. The different meanings of the terms only correspond to differences in the facts. What these different meanings are, we shall consider more specifically farther on. It is enough in this connection to say that an historical process of revelation involves the commitment of the ideas and truths of direct revelation to the keeping of either oral or written tradition. Having once been *revealed*, in the strictest sense of the word "revelation," they afterward remain as ideas and truths of revelation in only a secondary sense. Every soul, however, which comes to a real apprehension of these ideas and truths, to a living seizure of them, for the purposes of ethical

and religious life, has them revealed to itself anew : every such soul is necessarily, therefore, an inspired soul. The only revealer of the reality of ethico-religious truth is the Spirit of the ever-living Source of truth. Moreover, in experience it is not easy to distinguish between new and old, — between those traditional ideas and truths which become the possession of the individual soul through the illumining of the Spirit, and the immediate revelations of new truths, or new forms of old truths, which are made by the same Spirit.

We have, then, to recur to the thought of a work of revelation and inspiration which penetrates and influences an entire community of believers in the entire course of their history. Such a work of revelation and inspiration was abundantly manifest in Israel and in the Christian Church ; and this work has penetrated the Hebrew and Christian writings. Most of the writings of the Old Testament exhibit obvious tokens of such penetrating influence. They, indeed, exhibit such tokens in varying degrees of energy. The energy of inspiration, in its formative work upon the Hebrew Scriptures, may be said to fade gradually away from the centre toward those portions which are least penetrated and influenced by great ethical and religious truths. But in the New Testament the energy of the Spirit is seen at work with an exclusiveness and an intensive quality which belong to the age of the Spirit, and which fitly characterize the establishing of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ. The biblical writings, therefore, may be spoken of as inspired, according as the ideas and truths of revelation have penetrated and influenced the minds of their authors. In even this secondary meaning of the word "inspiration," there are some few portions of the Old Testament which make little or no claim, and give little or no proof, of being inspired. Other larger portions of the Old Testament exhibit the marks of inspiration in very low degree. But the proportion of such parts to those which are quite obviously moulded by the work of the Spirit of revelation and inspiration is so small, that the latter, rather than the former, are entitled to give a term to the characteristics of the whole.

In the above-mentioned meanings of the word "inspiration," both the claims and the phenomena of the Bible entitle us to call a large proportion of its writings inspired. But neither one of these meanings, nor any other appropriate meaning of the term, authorizes us to speak of the biblical writings, from

Genesis to Revelation, as being in all respects alike inspired. Much of the history of the Bible is obviously unlike other history, because it is written by men providentially selected for this purpose, and penetrated with the same ethical and religious ideas which are embodied in the history. According to the evidence of the operation of such spiritual influences upon the minds of the writers, do we properly speak of the historical writings of the Bible as inspired. The proverbs of Israel are not, in any sense of the word, inspired writing, except so far as they are penetrated with the ethical and religious ideas of the Torah and of Prophetism. But by the true conception of a Canon of Sacred Scripture we acquire a certain additional right to consider the biblical writings as constituting an inspired whole. To be sure, we thus employ the word *inspiration* in a still lower and looser sense. But we express our well-founded conviction that the Divine Spirit, acting as Providence and as the Illuminer of the Church, has guided the community of believers in its judgment (for the most part involuntarily exercised) as to the writings which it shall deem sacred and inspired.

In brief: we call the biblical writings inspired in the various meanings which we find can be attached to that word when applied to each one of the writings in particular, and also when applied to the Bible as a whole.

Is it objected, however, that the foregoing definitions of the unity, infallibility, and inspiration of Sacred Scripture do not serve to class the Bible in all respects apart from the works of all other human teachers and authors? The answer must be: Precisely so; the definitions define according to the facts. It is a fact, that the biblical writings are not in all respects unlike all other human literary products. But men do not abolish all marked specific differences whenever they bring a species under a genus. We do not need two spirits, in order to account for the diversities of gifts administered by one and the same Holy Spirit; or two human natures in order to account for the human elements of the sacred writings, in their points of likeness and unlikeness when compared with other literary works. If the true inductive theory forbids that we should conceive of the unity, infallibility, and inspiration of Sacred Scripture in such a way as to distinguish it, in all respects, from other results of human thought and feeling, nevertheless, the same theory most clearly and indisputably evinces the lofty distinctions which, in some most important respects, require that the biblical writings

should be placed in a class by themselves. Daylight and twilight are not of the same value to walk by safely, simply because both kinds of light are from the same source. The wheat and the thistle are not of the same value and uses, simply because they have both been created for some good purpose by the same God. Moreover, the Bible has certain qualities which do not appear in their peerless strength and brilliancy to the eye of critical and historical science; nor are such highest qualities to be affirmed of it on its own witness alone. But to affirm such qualities requires a detailed consideration of the relation which the Bible sustains to the moral and religious consciousness of the Church and of mankind.

The testing and approbating of the Bible by the moral and religious consciousness still lie before us. But there has been gained, as the priceless result of a long and careful induction, this conclusion: The Bible claims to contain, and does contain, those sacred and inspired writings which constitute the sources of the history of divine redemption in Christ, and of those ideas and truths of revelation which have been imparted in an historical process to the ever-living Church of God.

